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THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING
The COMMONWEALTH,
AND
The Reigns of CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

By DAVID HUME, Eſq;

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ERRATA.

PAge 34. l. 14. *read* to men. *P.* 43. *l.* 14. *read* ſat. *P.* 44. *l.* 5. *read* ſat. *P.* 46. *l.* 4. *from the bottom*, *read* In compariſon of the eloquent ſpeakers. *P.* 60. *l.* 25. *read* iniquitous. *P.* 93. *l.* 16. *read* accept ſo rich. *P.* 109. *l.* 4. *read* deem. *P.* 113. *l.* 4. *read* of thoſe conditions. *P.* 131. *l.* 17. *read* four. *P.* 165. *l. ult. dele* all. *P.* 196. *l.* 1. *read* long adjournment. *P.* 243. *l.* 16. *dele* that. *P.* 272. *l.* 8. *read* iniquitous. *l.* 21. *read* the bonds illegally required of them. *P.* 284. *l.* 27. *dele* ſafely. *P.* 291. *l.* 5. *from the bottom*, *read* made it appear. *P.* 342. *l.* 16. *read* nor ſenſe. *P.* 365. *l.* 32. *for* little *read* tittle.

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

CHAP. I.

State of England.——Of Scotland.——Of Ireland.——Levellers ſuppreſſed.——Siege of Dublin raiſed.——Tredah ſtormed.——Covenanters.——Montroſe taken priſoner.——Executed.——Covenanters.——Battle of Dunbar.——Of Worceſter.——King's eſcape.——The Commonwealth.——Dutch war.——Diſſolution of the Parliament.

1649. State of England.

THE confuſion, which overſpred England after the murder of the King, proceeded, as well from the ſpirit of refinement and innovation, which agitated the ruling party, as from the diſſolution of all that authority, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, by which the nation had ever been accuſtomed to be governed. Every man had framed the model of a republic; and, however new or fantaſtical, he was eager of recommending it to his fellow citizens, or even of impoſing it by force upon them. Every man had adjuſted a ſyſtem of religion, which, being derived from no traditional authority, was peculiar to himſelf; and being founded on ſuppoſed inſpiration, not on any principles of human reaſoning, had no means, beſides cant and low rhetoric, by which it could recommend itſelf to others. The Levellers inſiſted on an equal diſtribution of property and power, and diſclaimed all dependance and ſubordination. The Millenarians or Fifth-Monarchy-men required, that government itſelf ſhould be aboliſhed, and all human powers be laid in the duſt, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Chriſt, whoſe ſecond coming on earth they ſuddenly expected. The Antinomians even inſiſted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were ſuſpended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle, more perfect and divine, were ſuperior to the *beggarly elements* of juſtice and humanity. A conſiderable party declaimed againſt tythes and a hireling prieſthood, and were reſolved, that the magiſtrate ſhould not ſupport by power or revenue any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Another party inveighed againſt the law and its profeſſors; and under pretext of rendering more ſimple the diſtribution of juſtice, were deſirous of aboliſhing the whole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence, which ſeemed interwoven with monarchical government. Even thoſe among the Republicans, who adopted not ſuch extravagancies, were ſo intoxicated with their ſaintly character, that they ſuppoſed themſelves poſſeſſed of peculiar privileges; and all profeſſions, oaths, laws, and engagements had, in a great meaſure, loſt their influence over them. The bands of ſociety were every where looſened; and the irregular paſſions of men were encouraged by ſpeculative principles, ſtill more unſocial and irregular.

The Royaliſts, conſiſting of the nobles and more conſiderable gentry, being degraded from their authority and plundered of their property, were inflamed with the higheſt reſentment and indignation againſt thoſe ignoble adverſaries, who had reduced them to ſubjection. The Preſbyterians, whoſe credit had firſt ſupported the arms of the Parliament, were enraged to find, that, by the treachery or ſuperior cunning of their aſſociates, the fruits of all their ſucceſsful labors were raviſhed from them. The former party, from inclination and principle, zealouſly attached themſelves to the ſon of their unfortunate Monarch, whoſe memory they reſpected, and whoſe tragical death they deplored. The latter caſt their eyes towards the ſame object; but they had ſtill many prejudices to overcome, many fears and jealouſies to be allayed, 'ere they could cordially entertain thoughts of reſtoring that family, whom they had ſo grievouſly offended, and whoſe principles they regarded with ſuch violent abhorrence.

The only ſolid ſupport of the republican independant faction, which, tho' it formed ſo ſmall a part of the nation, had violently uſurped the government of the whole, was a numerous army of about fifty thouſand men. But this army, formidable from its diſcipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a ſpirit, that rendered it extremely dangerous to the aſſembly, which had aſſumed the command over it. Accuſtomed to indulge every chimera in politics, every frenzy

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frenzy in religion, the ſoldiers knew little of the ſubordination of citizens, and had only learned, from apparent neceſſity, ſome maxims of military obedience. And while they ſtill maintained, that all thoſe enormous violations of law and equity, of which they had been guilty, were juſtified by the ſucceſs, with which providence had bleſſed them; they were ready to break out into any new diſorder, where-ever they had the proſpect of a like ſanction and authority.

What alone gave ſome poize and ſtability to all theſe unſettled humors, was the great influence, both civil and military, acquired by Oliver Cromwel. This man, ſuited to the age, in which he lived, and to that alone, was equally qualified to gain the affection and confidence of men, by what was mean, vulgar, and ridiculous in his character; as to command their obedience by what was great, daring, and enterprizing. Familiar even to buffoonery with the meaneſt ſentinel, he never loſt his authority: Tranſported to a degree of madneſs with religious extaſies, he never forgot the political purpoſes, to which they might ſerve. Hating monarchy, while a ſubject; deſpiſing liberty, while a citizen; tho' he retained for a time all orders of men under a ſeeming obedience to the Parliament; he was ſecretly paving the way, by artifice and courage, to his own unlimited authority.

The Parliament, for ſo we muſt henceforth call a ſmall and inconſiderable part of the houſe of Commons, having murdered their Sovereign with ſo many appearing circumſtances of ſolemnity and juſtice, and ſo much real violence and even fury, began to aſſume more the air of a civil, legal power, and to enlarge a little the narrow bottom, upon which they ſtood. A few of the excluded and abſent members, ſuch as were liable to leaſt exception, they admitted; but on condition, that they ſhould ſign an approbation of whatever had been done in their abſence with regard to the King's trial: And ſome of them were willing to acquire a ſhare of power on ſuch terms: The greateſt part diſdained to lend their authority to ſuch apparent uſurpations. Some writs they iſſued for new elections, where they hoped to have intereſt enough to bring in their own friends and dependants. They named a council of ſtate to the number of thirty eight, to whom all addreſſes were made, who gave orders to all generals and admirals, who executed the laws, and who digeſted all buſineſs before it was introduced into Parliament.* They pretended to employ themſelves entirely in adjuſting the laws, forms, and methods of a new repreſentative; and as ſoon as they ſhould have ſettled the nation,

* Their names were, the Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Saliſbury, Lords Grey, Fairfax, Lord Grey of Groby, Lord Liſle, Rolles, St. John, Wilde, Bradſhaw, Cromwel, Skippon, Pickering, Maſſam, Haſelrig, Harrington, Vane jun. Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Conſtable, Pennington, Wilſon, Whitlocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Heviningham, Wallop, Hutchinſon, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Purefoy, Jones.

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they profeſſed their intention of reſtoring the power to the people, from whom, they acknowleged, they had entirely derived it.

The Commonwealth found every thing in England compoſed into a ſeeming tranquillity by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themſelves, had no leizure nor inclination to interpoſe in the domeſtic diſſenſions of this iſland. The young King, poor and neglected, living ſometimes in Holland, ſometimes in France, ſometimes in Jerſey, comforted himſelf, amidſt his preſent diſtreſſes, with the proſpect of better fortune. The ſituation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate inquietude to the new Republic.

Of Scotland.

After the ſucceſſive defeats of Montroſe and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, that party which was moſt averſe to the intereſts of the royal family. Their enmity, however, againſt the independants, who had prevented the long wiſhed for ſettlement of Preſbyterian diſcipline in England, carried them to embrace oppoſite maxims in their political conduct. Tho' invited by the Engliſh Parliament to model their government into a republican form, they reſolved ſtill to adhere to Monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the expreſs terms of their Covenant, they were obliged to defend. They conſidered beſides, that as the property of the kingdom lay chiefly in the hands of great families, it would be difficult to eſtabliſh a Commonwealth, or, without ſome chief magiſtrate, inveſted with royal authority, to preſerve peace or juſtice in the community. The execution, therefore, of the King, againſt which they had always proteſted, having occaſioned a vacancy of the throne, they immediately proclaimed his ſon and ſucceſſor, Charles the ſecond; but upon condition "of "his good behavior and ſtrict obſervance of the Covenant, and his entertaining no "other perſons about him but ſuch as were godly men and faithful to that obliga-"tion." Theſe unuſual clauſes, inſerted in the very firſt acknowlegement of their Prince, ſufficiently ſhewed their intention of limiting extremely his authority. And the Engliſh Commonwealth, having no pretext to interpoſe in the affairs of that kingdom, allowed the Scotch, for the preſent, to take their own meaſures in ſettling their government.

Of Ireland.

The dominion, which England claimed over Ireland, demanded more immediately their efforts for ſubduing that country. In order to convey a juſt notion of Iriſh affairs, it will be neceſſary to look backwards ſome years, and to relate briefly thoſe tranſactions, which had paſt during the memorable revolutions in England. When the late King agreed to that ceſſation of arms with the Popiſh rebels, which was become ſo requiſite, as well for the ſecurity of the Iriſh Proteſ-

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* 1643.

tants as for promoting his intereſts in England, the Parliament, in order to blacken his conduct, reproached him with favoring that odious rebellion, and exclaimed loudly againſt the terms of the ceſſation. They even went ſo far as to declare it entirely null and invalid, becauſe finiſhed without their conſent; and to this declaration the Scotch in Ulſter, and the Earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munſter, profeſſed to adhere. By their means, the war was ſtill kept alive; but as the dangerous diſtractions in England hindered the Parliament from ſending any conſiderable aſſiſtance to their allies in Ireland, Inchiquin entered into an accommodation with Ormond, whom the King had created Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom. This latter nobleman, being a native of Ireland and a perſon endowed with great prudence and virtue, formed a ſcheme for compoſing the diſorders of his country, and for engaging the rebel Iriſh to ſupport the cauſe of his royal maſter. There were many circumſtances, which ſtrongly invited the Iriſh to embrace the King's party. The maxims of that Prince had always led him to give a reaſonable indulgence to the Catholics thro'out all his dominions; and one chief ground of that enmity, which the Puritans profeſſed againſt him, was this tacite toleration. The Parliament, even when unprovoked, had ever menaced the Papiſts with the moſt rigid reſtraint, if not a total extirpation; and immediately after the commencement of the Iriſh rebellion, they put to ſale the whole eſtates of the rebels, and had engaged the public faith for transferring them to the adventurers, who had already advanced money upon that condition. The ſucceſs, therefore, which the arms of the Parliament met with at Naſeby, ſtruck a juſt terror into the Iriſh; and engaged the council of Kilkenny, compoſed of deputies from all the Catholic counties and cities, to conclude a peace with the Marqueſs of Ormond.* They profeſſed to return to their duty and allegiance, engaged to furniſh ten thouſand men for the ſupport of the King's authority in England, and were contented with ſtipulating, in return, indemnity for their rebellion and toleration of their religion.

Ormond not doubting but a peace, ſo advantageous and even neceſſary to the Iriſh, would be ſtrictly obſerved, advanced with a ſmall body of troops to Kilkenny, in order to concert meaſures for common defence with his new allies. The Pope had ſent over to Ireland a nuncio, Rinuccini, an Italian; and this man, whoſe commiſſion empowered him to direct the ſpiritual concerns of the Iriſh, was emboldened, by their ignorance and bigotry, to aſſume the chief authority in the civil government. Foreſeeing that a general ſubmiſſion to the Lord Lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, he conſpired with Owen Oneal, who commanded the native Iriſh in Ulſter, and who bore a great jealouſy to Preſton;

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* 1646.

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1649.

ton; the General chiefly truſted by the council of Kilkenny. By concert, theſe two malcontents ſecretly drew forces together, and were ready to fall on Ormond, who remained in ſecurity, truſting to the pacification ſo lately concluded with the rebels. He received intelligence of their treachery, made his retreat with great celerity and conduct, and ſheltered his ſmall army in Dublin and the other fortified towns, which ſtill remained in the hands of the Proteſtants.

The nuncio, full of arrogance, levity, and ambition, was not contented with this violation of treaty. He ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare againſt that pacification, which the civil council had concluded with their lawful ſovereign. He even thundered out a ſentence of excommunication againſt all thoſe who ſhould adhere to a peace, ſo prejudicial, as he pretended, to the Catholic religion; and the deluded Iriſh, terrified with his ſpiritual menaces, ranged themſelves every where on his ſide, and ſubmitted to his authority. Without ſcruple, he carried on war againſt the Lieutenant, and threatened with a ſiege the Proteſtant garriſons, which were, all of them, very ill provided for defence.

MEANWHILE, the unfortunate King was neceſſitated to take ſhelter in the Scotch army; and being there reduced to cloſe confinement, and ſecluded from all commerce with his friends, deſpaired, that his authority, or even his liberty, would be reſtored to him. He ſent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himſelf, rather to ſubmit to the Engliſh than the Iriſh rebels; and accordingly the Lord Lieutenant, being reduced to the laſt extremity, delivered up Dublin, Tredah, Dundalk, and other garriſons to Colonel Michael Jones, who took poſſeſſion of them in the name of the Engliſh Parliament. Ormond himſelf went over to England, was admitted to the King's preſence, received a grateful acknowlegement for all his paſt ſervices, and during ſome time lived in tranquillity near London. But being baniſhed, along with the other Royaliſts, to a diſtance from that city, and ſeeing every event turn out unfortunately for his royal maſter, and threaten him with a cataſtrophe ſtill more direful, he thought proper to retire into France, where he joined the Queen and the Prince of Wales.

IN Ireland, during theſe tranſactions, the authority of the nuncio prevailed without control among all the Catholics; and by his indiſcretion and inſolence he ſoon made them repent of the power, with which they had entruſted him. Prudent men likewiſe were ſenſible of the total deſtruction, which was hanging over the nation from the Engliſh Parliament, and ſaw no reſſource nor ſafety but in giving ſupport to the declining authority of the King. The Earl of Clanricarde, a nobleman of a very antient family, a perſon too of great merit, who had ever preſerved his loyalty, was ſenſible of the ruin which threatened his countrymen, and was reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent it. He ſecretly formed a combination among the Catholics; he entered into a correſpondence with Inchiquin, who preſerved great authority over the Proteſtants in Munſter; he attacked the nuncio, whom he chaced out of the iſland; and he ſent to Paris a deputation, who invited the Lord Lieutenant to return and take poſſeſſion of his government.

Ormond on his arrival in Ireland found the kingdom divided into many factions, among whom either open war or ſecret enmity prevailed. The authority of the Engliſh Parliament was eſtabliſhed in Dublin, and the other towns, which he himſelf had delivered into their hands. Oneale maintained his credit in Ulſter; and having entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the parliamentary generals, was more intent on ſchemes for his own perſonal ſafety than anxious for the preſervation of his country or religion. The other Iriſh, divided betwixt their clergy, who were averſe to Ormond, and their nobility, who were attached to him, were very uncertain in their motions and feeble in their meaſures. The Scotch in the North, enraged, as well as their other countrymen, againſt the uſurpations of the Sectarian army, profeſſed their adherence to the King; but were ſtill hindered by many prejudices from entering into a cordial union with his Lieutenant. All theſe diſtracted councils and contrary humors checked the progreſs of Ormond, and enabled the parliamentary forces in Ireland to maintain their ground againſt him. The Engliſh army, while employed in ſubduing the revolted Royaliſts, in reducing the Parliament to ſubjection, in the trial, condemnation, and execution of their ſovereign, totally neglected the ſupply of Ireland, and allowed Jones and the forces in Dublin to remain in the utmoſt weakneſs and neceſſity. But the lieutenant, having at laſt, with much difficulty, aſſembled an army of 16000 men, advanced upon the Engliſh garriſons. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the garriſon, who mutinied againſt their governor. Tredah, Neury, and other forts were taken. Dublin was threatned with a ſiege; and the affairs of the lieutenant appeared in ſo proſperous a condition, that the young King entertained thoughts of coming in perſon into Ireland.

The Engliſh ſtate being brought to ſome tolerable appearance of ſettlement, men began to caſt their eyes towards the neighbouring iſland. During the conteſt of the two parties, the government of Ireland had remained a great object of intrigue; and the Preſbyterians endeavoured to obtain the lieutenancy for Waller, the Independants for Lambert. After the execution of the King, Cromwel himſelf began to aſpire to a command, where ſo much glory, he ſaw, might be won, and ſo much authority acquired. In his abſence, he took care to have his name propoſed to the council of ſtate; and both friends and enemies concurred immediately to vote 15th of March. him

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him into that important office: The former ſuſpected, that the matter had not been propoſed merely by chance, without his own concurrence; the latter deſired to remove him to a diſtance, and hoped, during his abſence, to gain the aſcendant over Fairfax, whom he had ſo long blinded by his hypocritical profeſſions. Cromwel himſelf, when informed of his election, feigned ſurprize, and pretended at firſt to heſitate with regard to the acceptance of the command. And Lambert, either deceived by his diſſimulation, or, in his turn, feigning to be deceived, ſtill continued, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, his friendſhip and connexions with Cromwel.

THE new Lieutenant immediately applied himſelf with his wonted vigilance to make preparations for his expedition. Many diſorders in England it behoved him previouſly to compoſe. All places were full of danger and inquietude. Tho' men, aſtoniſhed with the ſucceſſes of the army, remained in ſeeming tranquillity, ſymptoms of the higheſt diſcontent every where appeared. The Engliſh, long accuſtomed to a mild government, and unacquainted with diſſimulation, could not conform their ſpeech and countenance to the preſent neceſſity, or pretend attachment to a form of government, which they regarded with ſuch violent abhorrence. It was requiſite to change the magiſtracy of London, and degrade, as well as puniſh, the mayor and ſome of the aldermen, before the proclamation for the abolition of Monarchy could be publiſhed in the city. An engagement being framed to ſupport the Commonwealth without King or Houſe of Peers, the army were with ſome difficulty brought to ſubſcribe it; but tho' it was impoſed upon the reſt of the nation under ſevere penalties, no leſs than the putting all refuſers out of the protection of law; ſuch obſtinate reluctance was obſerved in the people, that even the imperious Parliament were obliged to deſiſt from it. The ſpirit of Fanaticiſm, by which that aſſembly had at firſt been ſtrongly ſupported, was now turned, in a great meaſure, againſt them. The pulpits, being chiefly filled with Preſbyterians, or diſguiſed Royaliſts, and having been long the ſcene of news and politics, could by no penalties be reſtrained from declarations, unfavorable to the eſtabliſhed government. Numberleſs were the extravagances, which broke out among the people. Everard, a diſbanded ſoldier, having preached that the time was now come when the community of goods would be renewed among Chriſtians, led out his followers to take poſſeſſion of the land; and being carried before the General, he refuſed to ſalute him; becauſe he was but his fellow creature[*]. What ſeemed more dangerous: The army itſelf was infected with like humors[†]. Tho' the Levellers had for a time been ſuppreſſed by the audacious ſpirit of Cromwel, they ſtill continued to propagate their doctrines among the private men and inferior officers, who pretended a right to be conſulted, as before, in the adminiſtration of the Commonwealth. They now practiſed againſt their officers the ſame leſſon, which they had been taught againſt the Parliament. They framed a remonſtrance, and ſent five agitators to preſent it to the General and council of war: Theſe were caſhiered with ignominy by ſentence of a court-martial. One Lockier, having carried his ſedition farther, was ſentenced to death; but this puniſhment was ſo far from quelling the mutinous ſpirit, that above a thouſand of his companions ſhowed their adherence to him, by attending his funeral, and wearing in their hats black and ſea-green ribbons by way of favors. About four thouſand aſſembled at Burford under the command of Thomſon, a man formerly condemned for ſedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the General. Colonel Reynolds, and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwel, fell upon them while unprepared for defence, and ſeduced by the appearance of a treaty. Four hundred were taken priſoners: Some of them capitally puniſhed: The reſt pardoned: And this tumultuous ſpirit, tho' it

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[*] Whitlock.

[†] The following inſtance of extravagance is given by Walker, in his Hiſtory of Independancy, part II. p. 152. About this time, there came ſix ſoldiers into the pariſh church of Walton upon Thames,

Levellers ſuppreſſed.

May.

Thames, near twilight; Mr. Faucet, the preacher there, not having till then ended his ſermon. One of the ſoldiers had a lanthorn in his hand, and a candle burning in it, and in the other hand four candles not lighted. He deſired the pariſhioners to ſtay a while, ſaying he had a meſſage from God unto them, and thereupon offered to go into the pulpit. But the people refuſing to give him leave ſo to do, or to ſtay in the church, he went into the church-yard, and there told them, that he had a viſion wherein he had received a command from God to deliver his will unto them, which he was to deliver, and they to receive upon pain of damnation; conſiſting of five lights. (1) "That the ſabbath was aboliſhed as unneceſſary, Jewiſh, and merely ceremonial. And here (quoth he) I ſhould put out the firſt light, but the wind is ſo high I cannot kindle it. (2) That tythes are aboliſhed as Jewiſh and ceremonial, a great burthen to the Saints of God, and a diſcouragement of induſtry and tillage. And here I ſhould put out my ſecond light, &c. (3) That miniſters are aboliſhed as Antichriſtian, and of no longer uſe now Chriſt himſelf deſcends into the hearts of his ſaints, and his Spirit enlighteneth them with revelations and inſpirations. And here I ſhould put out my third light, &c. (4) Magiſtrates are aboliſhed as uſeleſs now that Chriſt himſelf is in purity amongſt us, and hath erected the kingdom of the ſaints upon earth. Beſides, they are tyrants, and oppreſſors of the liberty of the ſaints, and tye them to laws and ordinances, mere human inventions: And here I ſhould put out my fourth light, &c. (5) Then putting his hand into his pocket, and pulling out a little Bible, he ſhowed it open to the people, ſaying, Here is a book you have in great veneration, conſiſting of two parts, the old and new Teſtament: I muſt tell you it is aboliſhed; it containeth beggarly rudiments, milk for babes: But now Chriſt is in glory amongſt us, and imparts a farther meaſure of his ſpirit to his ſaints than this can afford. I am commanded to burn it before your face. Then putting out the candle he ſaid; and here my fifth light is extinguiſhed." It became a pretty common doctrine at that time, that it was unworthy of a Chriſtian man to pay rent to his fellow creatures; and landlords were obliged to uſe all the penalties of law againſt their tenants, whoſe conſcience was ſcrupulous.

Chap. I. 1649. ſtill lurked ſecretly in the army, and broke out from time to time, ſeemed for the preſent to be ſuppreſſed.

Petitions framed in the ſame ſpirit of oppoſition were preſented to the Parliament by lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, the perſon who, for diſperſing ſeditious pamphlets, had formerly been treated with ſuch ſeverity by the Star Chamber. His liberty was at this time as ill reliſhed by the Parliament, and he was thrown into priſon, as a promoter of ſedition and diſorder in the Commonwealth. The women applied by petition for his releaſe; but were now deſired to mind their houſehold affairs, and leave the government of the ſtate to the men. From all quarters, the Parliament were harraſſed with petitions of a very free nature, which ſtrongly ſpoke the ſenſe of the nation, and proved how ardently all men longed for the reſtoration of their laws and liberties. Even in a feaſt, which the city gave to the Parliament and Council of State, it was eſteemed a requiſite precaution, if we may credit Walker and Dugdale, to ſwear all the cooks, that they would ſerve nothing but wholeſome food to them. Such perpetual terrors hang over tyranny and injuſtice!

The laws of high-treaſon the Parliament judged it neceſſary to enlarge beyond thoſe narrow bounds, within which they had been confined during the monarchy. They even comprehended verbal offences, nay intentions, tho' fruſtrated; crimes, which few civilized ſtates ever puniſhed with ſuch ſeverity. To affirm the preſent government to be an uſurpation, to aſſert that the Parliament or council of ſtate were tyrannical or illegal, to endeavor the ſubverting their authority or ſtirring up ſedition againſt them; theſe offences were declared to be high-treaſon. The power of impriſonment, of which the petition of right had bereaved the King, it was now found requiſite to reſtore to the Council of State; and all the jails of England were filled with men whom the jealouſies and fears of the ruling party had repreſented as dangerous*. The taxes, continued by the new government, and which, being unuſual, were eſteemed heavy, encreaſed the general ill will under which it labored. Beſides the cuſtoms and exciſe, ninety thouſand pounds a month were levied on land for the ſubſiſtance of the army. The ſequeſtrations and compoſitions of the Royaliſts, the ſale of the crown lands, and of the dean and chapter lands, tho' they yielded immenſe ſums, were not ſufficient to ſupply the vaſt expences, and, as was ſuſpected, the great depredations, of the Parliament and of their creatures.

Amidst all theſe difficulties and diſturbances, the ſteddy mind of Cromwel, without confuſion or embarraſſment, ſtill purſued its purpoſe. While he was collecting an army of twelve thouſand men in the weſt of England, he ſent to Ireland, under Reynolds and Venables, a reinforcement of four thouſand horſe and foot, in order to ſtrengthen Jones, and enable him to defend himſelf againſt the marqueſs of Ormond, who lay at Finglaſs and began to threaten Dublin. Inchiquin, with a ſeparate body, having taken Tredah and Dundalk, gave a defeat to Offarrell who ſerved under Oneale, and to young Coot who commanded ſome parliamentary forces. After he had joined his troops to the main army, with whom, for ſome time, he remained united, Ormond paſſed the river Liffy, and took poſt at Rathmines two miles from Dublin, with a view of commencing the ſiege of that city. In order to cut off all farther ſupply from Jones, he had begun the reparation of an old fort, which lay at the gates of Dublin; and being exhauſted with continual fatigue for ſome days, he had retired to reſt, after leaving orders to keep his forces under arms. He was ſuddenly awaked with the noiſe of firing; and ſtarting from his bed, ſaw every thing already in tumult and confuſion. Jones, an excellent officer, formerly a lawyer, had ſallied out with the reinforcement newly arrived; and attacking the party employed in repairing the fort, he totally routed them, purſued the advantage, and fell in with the army, which had neglected Ormond's orders. Theſe he ſoon threw into diſorder; put them to flight, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Lord-Lieutenant; chaced them off the field; ſeized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing three thouſand men, and taking above two thouſand priſoners.

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* Hiſtory of Independancy, part II.

2d of Auguſt.

Siege of Dublin raiſed.

THIS loſs, which threw ſome blemiſh on the military character of Ormond, was irreparable to the royal cauſe. That numerous army, which, with ſo much pains and difficulty, the Lieutenant had been collecting for more than a year, was diſſipated in a moment. Cromwel ſoon after arrived in Dublin, where he was welcomed with mighty ſhouts and rejoicings. He haſtened immediately to Tredah. That town was well fortified; and Ormond had thrown into it a good garriſon of three thouſand men, under Sir Arthur Aſton, an officer of reputation. He expected that Tredah, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin, would firſt be attempted by Cromwel, and he was willing to employ the enemy ſome time in that ſiege, while he himſelf ſhould repair his broken forces. But Cromwel knew the importance of diſpatch. Having made a breach, he ordered a general aſſault. Tho' twice repulſed with great loſs, he renewed the attack, and himſelf, along with Ireton, led on his men. All oppoſition was overborne by the furious valor of the troops. The town was taken ſword in hand; and orders being iſſued to give no quarter, a cruel ſlaughter was made of the garriſon. Even a few, who were ſaved by the ſoldiers, ſatiated with blood, were next day miſerably butchered by orders from the General. One perſon alone of the whole garriſon eſcaped to be a meſſenger of this univerſal havoc and deſtruction. About thirty were ſold ſlaves to Barbadoes.

September.
Tredah ſtormed.

Chap. I. 1649.

CROMWEL pretended by this ſevere execution to retaliate the cruelty of the Iriſh maſſacre: But he well knew, that almoſt the whole garriſon was Engliſh; and his juſtice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all other garriſons from reſiſtance. His policy, however, had the deſired effect. Having led the army without delay to Wexford, he began to batter the town. The garriſon after a ſlight defence offered to capitulate; but before they obtained a ceſſation, they imprudently neglected their guards; and the Engliſh army ruſhed in upon them. The ſame ſeverity was exerciſed as at Tredah.

EVERY town, before which Cromwel preſented himſelf, now opened its gates without reſiſtance. Roſs, tho' ſtrongly garriſoned, was ſurrendered by lord Taffe. October. Having taken Eſtionage; Cromwel threw a bridge over the Barrow, and made himſelf maſter of Paſſage and Carric. Owen Oneale ſubmitted at diſcretion, and ſoon afterwards died. The Engliſh had no difficulties to encounter but what aroſe from fatigue and the advanced ſeaſon. Fluxes and contagious diſtempers crept in among the ſoldiers, who periſhed in great numbers. Jones himſelf, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwel had ſo far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to ſubſiſt in the enemies country, or retreat to his own garriſons. But while he was in theſe ſtraits, Corke, Kinſale, and all the Engliſh garriſons in Munſter deſerted to him, and opening November. their gates reſolved to ſhare the fortunes of their victorious countrymen.

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THIS deſertion of the Engliſh put an end entirely to Ormond's authority, which was already much diminiſhed by the misfortunes at Dublin, Tredah and Wexford. The Iriſh, actuated by national and religious prejudices, could no longer be kept in obedience by a proteſtant governor, who was ſo unſucceſsful in all his enterprizes. The clergy renewed their excommunications againſt him and his adherents, and added the terrors of ſuperſtition to thoſe ariſing from a victorious enemy. Cromwel, having received a reinforcement from England, again took the field early in the ſpring. After a ſiege, he made himſelf maſter of Kilkenny, the only place where he met with any vigorous reſiſtance. The whole frame of the Iriſh union being in a manner diſſolved, Ormond, ſoon after, left the iſland, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs ſo deſperate as to admit of no remedy. The Iriſh were glad to embrace baniſhment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men paſſed into foreign ſervice; and Cromwel, pleaſed to free the iſland from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the Engliſh, gave them full liberty and leiſure for their embarkation.

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WHILE Cromwel proceeded with ſuch uninterrupted ſucceſs in Ireland, which in the ſpace of nine months he had almoſt entirely ſubdued, fortune was preparing for him a new ſcene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague, when Sir Joſeph Douglas brought him intelligence, that he was proclaimed King by the Scotch parliament. At the ſame time, Douglas informed him of the hard conditions annexed to the proclamation, and damped extremely that joy, which might ariſe from his being recognized ſovereign in one of his kingdoms. Charles too conſidered, that thoſe who pretended to acknowlege his title, were at that very time in actual rebellion againſt his family, and would be careful to intruſt very little authority into his hands, and ſcarcely would afford him perſonal liberty and ſecurity. As the proſpect of affairs in Ireland was at that time very promiſing, he intended rather to try his fortune in that kingdom, from which he expected more dutiful ſubmiſſion and obedience.

MEAN while he found it expedient to depart from Holland. The people in the United Provinces were much attached to his intereſt. Beſides his connexion with the family of Orange, which was extremely beloved by the populace, all men regarded with compaſſion his helpleſs condition, and expreſſed the utmoſt abhorrence againſt the murder of his father; a deed, to which nothing, they thought, but the utmoſt rage of fanaticiſm and faction could have impelled the Parliament. But tho' the public in general bore a great favor to the King, the States were uneaſy at his preſence. They dreaded the Parliament, ſo formidable by their power, and ſo proſperous in all their enterprizes. They apprehended the moſt precipitant reſolutions from men of ſuch violent and haughty diſpoſitions. And after the murder of Doriſlaus, they found it ſtill more requiſite to ſatisfy the Engliſh Commonwealth, by removing the King at a diſtance from them.

DORISLAUS, tho' a native of Holland, had lived long in England; and being employed as aſſiſtant to the high court of juſtice, which condemned the King, he had riſen to great credit and favor with the ruling party. They ſent him envoy into Holland; but no ſooner had he arrived at the Hague, than he was ſet upon by ſome royaliſts, chiefly retainers to Montroſe. They ruſhed into the room, where he was ſitting with ſome company; dragg'd him from the table; put him to death as the firſt victim to their murder'd ſovereign; very leiſurely and peaceably ſeparated; and tho' orders were iſſued by the magiſtrates to arreſt them, theſe were executed with ſuch ſlowneſs and reluctance, that the criminals had, all of them, opportunity to make their eſcape.

CHARLES, having paſs'd ſome time at Paris, where no aſſiſtance was given him, and even few civilities were paid him, made his retreat into Jerſey, where his au-

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thority was ſtill acknowleged. Winram, laird of Liberton, came to him as deputy from the committee of eſtates in Scotland, and informed him of the conditions, to which he muſt neceſſarily ſubmit before he could be admitted to the exerciſe of his authority. Conditions, more ſevere, were never impoſed by ſubjects upon their ſovereign; but as the affairs of Ireland began extremely to decline, and the King found it no longer ſafe to venture himſelf in that iſland, he gave a civil anſwer to Winram, and deſired commiſſioners to meet him at Breda, in order to enter into a treaty with regard to theſe conditions.

Covenanters.

THE earls of Caſſilis and Lothian, the lord Burley, the laird of Liberton and other commiſſioners arrived at Breda; but without any power of treating: The King muſt ſubmit without reſerve to the terms impoſed upon him. The terms were, That he ſhould iſſue a proclamation, baniſhing from court all excommunicated perſons, that is, all thoſe, who either under Hamilton or Montroſe, had ventured their lives for his family; that no Engliſh ſubject, who had ſerved againſt the Parliament, ſhould be allowed to approach him; that he ſhould bind himſelf by his royal promiſe to take the covenant; that he ſhould ratify all acts of Parliament, by which Preſbyterian government, the directory of worſhip, confeſſion of faith and catechiſm are enjoined; and that in civil affairs he ſhould govern himſelf entirely according to the direction of Parliament, and in eccleſiaſtical according to that of the aſſembly. Theſe propoſals, the commiſſioners, after paſſing ſome time in ſermons and prayers, in order to mark the more determined reſolution, very ſolemnly delivered to the King.

THE King's friends were extremely divided with regard to the part, which he ſhould act in this critical conjuncture. Moſt of his Engliſh counſellors diſſuaded him from accepting conditions, ſo diſadvantageous and diſhonorable. They ſaid, that the men, who now governed Scotland, were the moſt furious and bigotted of that party, which, notwithſtanding his gentle government, had firſt excited a rebellion againſt the late King; after the moſt unlimited conceſſions, had renewed their rebellion, and ſtopt the progreſs of his victories; and after he had entruſted his perſon with them in his uttermoſt diſtreſs, had baſely ſold him, along with their own honor, to his barbarous enemies: That they had as yet ſhown no marks of repentance, and even in the terms, which they now propoſed, diſplayed the ſame antimonarchical principles, and the ſame jealouſy of their Sovereign, by which they had ever been actuated: That nothing could be more diſhonorable, than that the King, in his firſt enterprize, ſhould ſacrifice, merely for the empty name of royalty, thoſe principles, for which his father had died a martyr, and in which he himſelf had been ſtrictly educated: That by this hypocriſy he might loſe the Royaliſts, who alone were ſincerely attached to him; but never would gain the preſbyterians, who were averſe from his family and his cauſe, and would aſcribe his compliance merely to politics and neceſſity: That the Scots had refuſed to give him any aſſurances of their intending to reſtore him to the throne of England; and could they even be engaged to make ſuch an attempt, it had ſufficiently appeared, by the event of Hamilton's engagement, how unequal their force was to ſo great an enterprize: That on the firſt check, which they ſhould receive, Argyle and his partizans would lay hold of the quickeſt expedient for reconciling themſelves to the Engliſh parliament, and would betray the King, as they had done his father, into the hands of his enemies: And that, however deſperate the royal cauſe, no maxims of prudence could juſtify him in ſacrificing his honor for no other purchaſe than to endanger his life or liberty.

The Earl of Laneric, now Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party, who had been baniſhed their country for the late engagement, were then with the King; and being deſirous of returning home in his retinue, they joined the opinion of the young Duke of Buckingham, and very earneſtly preſſed him to accept the conditions, required of him. It was urged, that nothing would more gratify the King's enemies than to ſee him fall into the ſnare laid for him, and by ſo ſcrupulous a nicety leave the poſſeſſion of his dominions to thoſe who deſired but a pretext for excluding him: That Argyle, not daring ſo far to oppoſe the bent of the nation as to throw off all allegiance to his ſovereign, had embraced this expedient, by which he hoped to make Charles dethrone himſelf, and refuſe a kingdom, which was offered him: That it was not to be doubted but the ſame national ſpirit, aſſiſted by Hamilton and his party, would ſtill riſe higher in favor of their Prince after he had intruſted himſelf to their fidelity, and would much relax the rigor of thoſe conditions, now impoſed upon him: That whatever might be the preſent intentions of the ruling party, they muſt unavoidably be engaged in a war with England, and muſt accept the aſſiſtance of the King's friends of all parties, in order to ſupport themſelves againſt a power, ſo much ſuperior: That however a ſteddy, uniform conduct might have been ſuitable to the advanced age and ſtrict engagements of the late King, no one would throw any blame on a young Prince for complying with conditions, which neceſſity had extorted from him: That even the rigor of thoſe principles, profeſſed by his father, tho' with ſome it had exalted his character, had been extremely prejudicial to his intereſt; nor could any thing be more ſerviceable to the royal cauſe than to give all parties room to hope for more equal and more indulgent maxims of government: And that where affairs were reduced to ſo deſperate a condition, dangers ought little to be regarded; and the King's honor lay rather in ſhowing ſome early ſymptoms of courage and activity than in determining ſtrictly among theological controverſies, with which, it might be ſuppoſed, he was, as yet, very little acquainted.

These arguments, ſeconded by the advice of the Queen and the Prince of Orange, the King's brother in law, who both of them eſteemed it ridiculous to refuſe a kingdom, merely from regard to epiſcopacy, had great influence on Charles. But what chiefly determined him to comply was the account brought him of the fate of Montroſe, who, with all the circumſtances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen. Tho' in this inſtance the King ſaw more evidently the furious ſpirit, by which the Scotch were actuated, he had now no farther reſſource, and was obliged to grant whatever was demanded of him.

Montrose, having laid down his arms at the command of the late King, had retired into France, and contrary to his natural diſpoſition, lived for ſome time inactive at Paris. He there became acquainted with the famous Cardinal de Retz; and that penetrating judge celebrates him in his memoirs as one of thoſe heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch. Deſirous of improving his martial genius, he took a journey to Germany, was extremely careſſed by the Emperor, received the rank of Mareſchal, and propoſed to levy a regiment for the Imperial ſervice. While employed for that purpoſe in the Low Countries, he heard of the tragical death of the King; and at the ſame time received from his young maſter a renewal of his commiſſion of Captain General in Scotland*. His ardent and daring ſpirit needed but this authority to put him in action. In Holland and the north of Germany he gathered followers, whom his great reputation allured to him. The King of Denmark and Duke of Holſtein ſent him ſome ſmall ſupplies of money: The Queen of Sweden furniſhed him with arms: The Prince of Orange with ſhips: And Montroſe, haſtening his enterprize, leſt the King's agreement with the Scotch ſhould make him revoke his commiſſion, ſet out for the Orkneys with about 500 men, moſt of them Germans. Theſe were all the preparations, which he could make againſt a kingdom, ſettled in domeſtic peace, ſupported by a diſciplined army, fully apprized of his enterprize, and prepared againſt him. Some of his retainers having told him of a propheſy that *to him and him alone it was reſerved to reſtore the King's authority in all his dominions*; he lent a willing ear to ſuggeſtions, which, however ill grounded or improbable, were ſo conformable to his own magnanimous diſpoſition.

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* Burnet, Clarendon.

Several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, tho' an unwarlike people, he armed and carried over with him to Caithneſs; hoping, that the general affection to the King's ſervice and the fame of his former exploits, would make the mountaniers flock to his ſtandard. But all men were now harraſſed and fatigued with wars and diſorders: Many of thoſe, who formerly adhered to him, had been ſeverely puniſhed by the covenanters: And no proſpect of ſucceſs was entertained in oppoſition to ſo great a force as was drawn together againſt him. But however weak Montroſe's army, the memory of paſt events ſtruck a great terror into the committee of eſtates. They immediately ordered Leſley and Holborne to march againſt him with an army of 4000 men. Strahan was ſent before with a body of cavalry to check his progreſs. He fell unexpectedly on Montroſe, who had no horſe to bring him intelligence. The royaliſts were put to flight; all of them either killed or taken priſoners; and Montroſe himſelf, having put on the diſguiſe of a peaſant, was diſcovered, and treacherouſly delivered into the hands of his enemies.

Montroſe taken priſoner.

All the inſolence, which ſucceſs can produce in ungenerous minds, was exercised by the covenanters againſt Montroſe, whom they ſo much hated and ſo much dreaded. Theological antipathy farther encreaſed their indignities towards a perſon, whom they regarded as execrable on account of the excommunication, which had been pronounced againſt him. Leſley led him about for ſeveral days in the ſame low habit, under which he had diſguiſed himſelf. The vulgar, wherever he paſſed, were inſtigated, tho' ſometimes with reluctance, to reproach and vilify him. When he came to Edinburgh, every circumſtance of elaborate rage and inſult was put in practice by order of the Parliament. At the eaſtern gate of the city, he was met by the magiſtrates, and put into a new cart, purpoſely made with a high chair or bench, where he was placed, that the people might have a full view of him. He was bound with a cord, drawn over his breaſt and ſhoulders, and faſtened thro' holes made in the cart. When in this poſture, the hangman took off the hat of the noble priſoner, and rode himſelf before the cart in his livery and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken priſoners along with the Marqueſs, walking two and two before them.

The populace, more generous and humane, when they ſaw ſo mighty a change of fortune in this great man, ſo lately their dread and terror, into whoſe hands the magiſtrates, a few years before, had on their knees delivered the keys of the city, were ſtruck with compaſſion, and viewed him with ſilent tears and admiration. The preachers, next Sunday, exclaimed againſt theſe movements of rebel nature, as they expreſſed it; and reproached the people with their profane tenderneſs towards this capital enemy of all piety and religion.

Chap. I.
1650.

MONTROSE himſelf, tho' paſſionately fond of true glory, knew to deſpiſe unmerited ignominy, and, wherever he was carried, received with manly ſcorn and indifference the inſults of his enemies: Their ignoble behavior he conſidered as ſufficient vengeance for all their injuries. In the road, he had paſſed by the Earl of Southeſk's houſe, his father in law, and was allowed to ſee his children, who lived there: Not even the tenderneſs of this laſt adieu could diſturb the even tenor of his heroic mind, or extort a complaint againſt the injuſtice of men or the cruelty of fortune.

WHEN he was carried before the Parliament, which was then ſitting, Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the breach of the national covenant, which he had ſubſcribed; his rebellion againſt God, the King, and the Kingdom; and the many horrible murders, treaſons, and impieties, for which he was now brought to condign puniſhment. Montroſe in his anſwer maintained the ſame ſuperiority above his enemies, to which, by his fame and great actions, as well as by the conſcience of a good cauſe, he was juſtly entitled. He told the Parliament, that ſince the King, as he was informed, had ſo far avowed their authority as to enter into treaty with them, he now appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a reſpect, which, while they ſtood in open defiance to their ſovereign, they would in vain have required of him. That he acknowleged with infinite ſhame and remorſe the errors of his early conduct, when their plauſible pretexts had ſeduced him to tread with them the paths of rebellion, and bear arms againſt his Prince and Country. That his following ſervices, he hoped, had ſufficiently teſtified his repentance, and his death would now attone for that guilt, the only one with which he could juſtly reproach himſelf. That in all his warlike enterprizes he was warranted by that commiſſion, which he had received from his and their maſter, againſt whoſe lawful authority they had erected their ſtandard. That to venture his life for his ſovereign was the leaſt part of his merit: He had even thrown down his arms in obedience to the ſacred commands of the King; and had reſigned to them the victory, which, in defiance of all their efforts, he was ſtill enabled to diſpute with them. That no blood had ever been ſhed by him but in the field of battle; and many perſons were now in his eye, many now dared to pronounce the ſentence of death upon him, whoſe life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly ſaved from the fury of the ſoldiers. That he was ſorry to find no better teſtimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of ſo faithful a ſubject, in whoſe death the King's commiſſion muſt be at once ſo highly injured and affronted. That as to himſelf they had in vain endeavoured to vilify and degrade him by all their ſtudied indignities: The juſtice of his cauſe, he knew, would ennoble any fortune; nor had he other affliction than to ſee the authority of his Prince, with which he was inveſted, treated with ſo much ignominy. And that he now joyfully followed, by a like unjuſt ſentence, his late ſovereign; and ſhould be happy, if, in his future deſtiny, he could follow him to the ſame bliſsful manſions, where his piety and humane virtues had already, without doubt, ſecured him an eternal recompence.

Chap. I. 1650.

MONTROSE's ſentence was next pronounced againſt him, "That he, James "Graham" (for this was the only name they vouchſafed him) "ſhould next day "be carried to Edinburgh Croſs, and there be hanged on a gibbet, thirty foot "high, for the ſpace of three hours: Then be taken down, his head be cut off "upon a ſcaffold, and affixed to the priſon: His legs and arms be ſtuck up "on the four chief towns of the kingdom: His body be buried in the place ap"propriated for common malefactors; except the church, upon his repentance, "ſhould take off his excommunication."

THE clergy, hoping that the terrors of immediate death had now given them an advantage over their enemy, flocked about him, and inſulted over his fallen fortunes. They pronounced his damnation, and aſſured him, that the judgement, which he was ſo ſoon to ſuffer, would prove but an eaſy prologue to that which he muſt undergo hereafter. They next offered to pray with him: But he was too well acquainted with thoſe forms of imprecation, which they called prayers. "Lord vouchſafe yet to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible ſin"ner; this wicked, perjured, traiterous, and profane perſon, who refuſes to "hearken to the voice of thy church." Such were the petitions, which, he expected, they would, according to cuſtom, offer up for him. He told them, that they were a miſerable, deluded and deluding people; and would ſhortly bring their country under the moſt inſupportable ſervitude, to which any nation had ever been reduced. "For my part," added he, "I am much prouder to have my "head affixed to the place, where it is ſentenced to ſtand, than to have my picture "hang in the King's bed-chamber. So far from being ſorry, that my legs and "arms are to be ſent to four cities of the kingdom; I wiſh I had limbs enough to "be diſperſed into all the cities of Chriſtendom, there to remain as teſtimonies "in favor of the cauſe, for which I ſuffer." This ſentiment, that very evening, while in priſon, he threw into verſe. The poem remains; a ſignal monument of his heroic ſpirit, and no deſpicable proof of his poetical genius.

21 of May.

Now was led forth, amidſt the inſults of his enemies and the tears of the people, the man of the moſt illuſtrious birth and greateſt renown of the nation, to ſuffer, for his adherence to the laws of his country and the rights of his ſovereign, the

Chap. I. 1650. ignominious death deſtined to the meaneſt malefactor. Every attempt, which the inſolence of the governing party had made to ſubdue his gallant ſpirit, had hitherto proved fruitleſs: They made yet one effort more, in this laſt and melancholy ſcene, when all enmity, ariſing from motives merely human, is commonly ſoftened and diſarmed. The executioner brought that book, which had been publiſhed in elegant Latin of his truly heroic actions, and tied it by a cord about his neck. Montroſe ſmiled at this new inſtance of their malice. He thanked them, however, for their officious zeal; and ſaid, that he bore this teſtimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worne the garter. Having aſked, whether they had any more indignities to put upon him, and renewing ſome devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the laſt act of the executioner. Executed.

THUS periſhed in the thirty eighth year of his age, the gallant Marqueſs of Montroſe; the man whoſe military genius, both by valor and conduct, had ſhone forth beyond any, which, during theſe civil diſorders, had appeared in the three kingdoms. The finer arts too, in his youth, he had ſucceſsfully cultivated; and whatever was ſublime, elegant, or noble touched his great ſoul. Nor was he inſenſible to the pleaſures either of ſociety or of love. Something, however, of the *vaſt* and *unbounded* characterized his whole actions and deportment; and it was merely by an heroic effort of duty, that he brought his mind, impatient of ſuperiority and even of equality, to pay ſuch unlimited ſubmiſſion to the will of his ſovereign.

THE vengeance of the covenanters was not ſatisfied with Montroſe's execution. Urrey, whoſe inconſtancy now led him to take part with the King, ſuffered about the ſame time: Spotiſwood of Daerſie, a youth of eighteen, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetie, and collonel Sibbald, all of them men of birth and character, underwent a like fate. Theſe were taken priſoners along with Montroſe. The Marqueſs of Huntley, about a year before, had fallen a victim to the ſeverity of the covenanters.

THE paſt ſcene diſplays in a full light the barbarity of this theological faction: The ſequel will ſufficiently diſcover their abſurdities. The corruptions of the beſt things produce the worſt; and no wonder that the abuſes of religion ſhould of all others be the moſt odious and ridiculous. In order to mark the genius of the age, we are obliged ſometimes in our narration to make uſe of the ſame cant and expreſſion, which was then ſo prevalent.

THE King, in conſequence of his agreement with the Scotch commiſſioners, ſet ſail for Scotland; and being eſcorted by ſeven Dutch ſhips of war, who were ſent to guard the herring fiſhery, he arrived in the firth of Cromarty. Before he was 23d of June.

ſuffered to land, he was required to ſign the covenant; and many ſermons and lectures were made him, exhorting him to perſevere in that holy confederacy *. Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dunfermling, and other noblemen of that faction whom they called Engagers, were immediately ſeparated from him, and obliged to retire to their houſes, where they lived in a private manner, without truſt or authority. None of his Engliſh friends, who had ſerved his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom. The King himſelf found, that he was conſidered as a mere pageant of ſtate, and that the few remains of royalty, which he poſſeſſed, ſerved only to provoke the greater indignities. One of the quarters of Montroſe, his faithful ſervant, who had borne his commiſſion, he found hanging at Aberdeen. † The general aſſembly, and afterwards the committee of eſtates and the army, who were entirely governed by the aſſembly, ſet forth a public declaration, where they proteſted, "that they did not eſpouſe any malignant quarrel or party, but fought merely on "their former grounds or principles; that they diſclaimed all the ſins and guilt of "the King and of his houſe; nor would they own him or his intereſt, otherwiſe "than with a ſubordination to God, and ſo far as he owned and proſecuted the "cauſe of God, and acknowleged the ſins of his houſe and of his former ways ‡."

Covenanters.

The King, lying entirely at mercy, and having no aſſurance of liberty or life, farther than was agreeable to the fancy of theſe auſtere zealots, was conſtrained to embrace a meaſure, which nothing but the neceſſity of his affairs and his great youth and inexperience could excuſe. He iſſued a declaration, ſuch as they required of him §. He there gave thanks for the merciful diſpenſations of providence, by which he was recovered out of the ſnare of evil councils, had attained a full perſwaſion of the righteouſneſs of the covenant, and was induced to caſt himſelf and his intereſt wholly upon God. He deſired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in ſpirit, becauſe of his father's following evil council, oppoſing the covenant and the work of reformation, and ſhedding the blood of God's people thro' all his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother and the toleration of it in his father's houſe; a matter of great offence, he ſaid, to all the proteſtant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, viſiting the ſins of the father upon the children. He profeſſed, that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he deteſted all popery, ſuperſtition, prelacy, hereſy, ſchiſm, and prophaneneſs; and was reſolved not to tolerate, much leſs to countenance, any of them in any of his dominions. He declared, that he would never love nor favor any who have ſo little conſcience as to follow his intereſts, in preference

16th of Auguſt.

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* Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 159.
† Id. p. 160.
‡ Id. p. 166, 167.
§ Id. p. 170.

Chap. I. 1650. ference to the goſpel and the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. And he expreſſed his hope, that whatever ill ſucceſs his former guilt might have drawn upon his cauſe, yet now, having obtained mercy to be on God's ſide, and to acknowlege his own cauſe ſubordinate to that of God, the divine providence would crown his arms with victory.

STILL the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of the King's ſincerity. The facility, which he diſcovered in making compliances, cauſed them to ſuſpect, that he regarded all his conceſſions merely as ridiculous farces, to which he muſt of neceſſity ſubmit. They had another trial prepared for him. Inſtead of the ſolemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were reſolved, that he ſhould paſs thro' a public humiliation, and do pennance before the whole people. They ſent him twelve articles of repentance, which he was to acknowlege; and the King had agreed, that he would ſubmit to this indignity. The various tranſgreſſions of his father and grandfather, along with the idolatry of his mother, are again enumerated and aggravated in theſe articles; and farther declarations were inſiſted on, that he ſought the reſtitution of his rights, for the ſole advancement of religion, and in ſubordination to the kingdom of Chriſt*. In ſhort, having exalted the altar above the throne, and brought royalty under their feet, the clergy were reſolved to trample on it and vilify it, by every inſtance of contumely, which their preſent influence enabled them to impoſe upon their unhappy prince.

CHARLES in the mean time found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was conſulted in no public meaſure. He was not called to aſſiſt at any councils. His choice was ſufficient to diſcredit any pretender to office or advancement. All efforts, which he made to unite the oppoſite parties, encreaſed the ſuſpicion, which the covenanters had entertained of him, as if he was not entirely their own. Argyle, who by ſubtilties and compliances, partly led and partly was governed by this wild faction, ſtill turned a deaf ear to all advances, which the King made to enter into confidence with him. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be the objects of general hatred and perſecution; and whoever was diſagreeable to the clergy failed not to have one of theſe epithets affixed to him. The fanaticiſm, which prevailed, being ſo full of ſowre and angry principles, and ſo overcharged with various antipathies, had acquired a new object of abhorrence: Theſe were the *Sorcerers*. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers, accuſed of that crime, were burned by ſentence of the magiſtrates thro' all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwic, which contained only fourteen houſes, fourteen perſons were puniſhed with fire†; and it became a ſcience every where much ſtudied and cultivated, to diſtinguiſh a true witch by proper trials and ſymptoms *.

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* Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 178.

† Whitlocke, p. 434, 408.

The advance of the Engliſh army under Cromwel was not able to appeaſe or ſoften the animoſities among the Scotch parties. The clergy were ſtill reſolute to exclude all but their moſt zealous adherents. As ſoon as the Engliſh Parliament found that the treaty betwixt the King and the Scotch would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war, which, they ſaw, would, in the end, prove inevitable. Cromwel, having broke the force and courage of the Iriſh, was ſent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton, who governed that kingdom in the character of deputy, and with great vigilance and induſtry perſevered in the work of ſubduing and expelling the natives.

It was expected, that Fairfax, who ſtill retained the name of General, would continue to act againſt Scotland, and appear at the head of the armies; a ſtation for which he was well qualified, and where alone he made any figure. But Fairfax, tho' he had allowed the army to make uſe of his name in murdering their Sovereign and offering violence to the Parliament, had entertained unſurmountable ſcruples againſt invading the Scotch, whom he conſidered as zealous Preſbyterians, and united to England by the ſacred bands of the covenant. He was farther diſguſted at the extremities into which he had already been hurried; and was confirmed in his reſolution by the exhortations of his wife, who had great influence over him, and was herſelf much governed by the preſbyterian clergy. A committee of Parliament was ſent to reaſon with him; and Cromwel was one of the number. In vain did they urge, that the Scotch had firſt broke the covenant by their invaſion of England under Hamilton; and that they would ſurely renew their hoſtile attempts, if not prevented by the vigorous meaſures of the Commonwealth. Cromwel, who knew the rigid inflexibility of Fairfax, in every thing, which he regarded as matter of principle, ventured to ſollicit him with the utmoſt earneſtneſs; and he went ſo far as to ſhed tears of grief and vexation on this occaſion. No one could ſuſpect any ambition in the man, who labored ſo zealouſly to retain his General in that high office, which, he knew, he himſelf was alone entitled to fill. The ſame warmth of temper, which made Cromwel a moſt frantic enthuſiaſt, rendered him the moſt dangerous of hypocrites; and it was to this turn of mind, as much as to his courage and capacity, that he owed all his wonderful ſucceſſes. By the contagious ferment of his zeal, he engaged every one to co-operate with him in his meaſures; and entering eaſily and affectionately into every part, which he was diſpoſed to

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* Whitlocke, p. 396, 418.

Chap. I. 1650. to act, he was enabled, even after multiplied deceits, to cover, under a tempeſt of paſſion, all his crooked ſchemes and profound artifices.

FAIRFAX having reſigned his commiſſion, it was beſtowed on Cromwel, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. This command, in a Commonwealth, which ſtood entirely by arms, was of the utmoſt importance; and was the chief ſtep, which this ambitious politician had yet made towards ſovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of 16000 men.

THE command of the Scotch army was given to Leſley, a good officer, who formed a very proper plan for defence. He entrenched himſelf in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merſe and the Lothians every thing which could ſerve to ſupport the Engliſh army. Cromwel advanced to the Scotch camp, and endeavored, by every expedient, to bring Leſley to a battle: The prudent Scotchman knew, that, tho' ſuperior in numbers, his army was much inferior in diſcipline and experience to the Engliſh; and he kept himſelf carefully within his entrenchments. By ſkirmiſhes and ſmall rencounters he tried to confirm the ſpirits of his ſoldiers; and he was ſucceſsful in theſe enterprizes. His army encreaſed daily both in numbers and courage. The King came to the camp; and having exerted himſelf in an action, gained extremely on the affections of the ſoldiery, who were more deſirous of ſerving under a young prince of ſpirit and vivacity than under a committee of talking gownmen. The clergy were alarmed. They ordered the King immediately to leave the camp. They alſo purged it carefully of about 4000 *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whoſe zeal had led them to attend the King, and who were the ſoldiers of chief credit and experience in the nation*. They then concluded, that they had an army compoſed entirely of ſaints, and could not be beaten. They murmured extremely, not only againſt their prudent General, but alſo againſt the Lord, on account of his delays in giving them deliverance†; and they plainly told him, that, if he would not ſave them from the Engliſh ſectaries, he ſhould no longer be their God‡. An advantage having offered itſelf on a Sunday, they hindered the General from making uſe of it, leſt he ſhould involve the nation in the guilt of ſabbath-breaking.

CROMWEL found himſelf in a very bad ſituation. He had no proviſions but what he received by ſea. He had not had the precaution to bring theſe in ſufficient quantities; and his army was reduced to difficulties. He retired to Dunbar.

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* Sir Ed. Walker, p. 165. † Id. p. 168. ‡ Whitlocke, p. 449.

Leſley followed him and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. There lay many difficult paſſes betwixt Dunbar and Berwic, and of theſe Leſley had taken poſſeſſion. The Engliſh general was brought to extremity. He had even entertained a reſolution of ſending by ſea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking thro', at all hazards, with his cavalry. The madneſs of the Scotch eccleſiaſtics ſaved him from this loſs and diſhonor.

Battle of Dunbar.

3d of September.

NIGHT and day the miniſters had been wreſtling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they fancied, that they had at laſt obtained the victory. Revelations, they ſaid, were made them, that the ſectarian and heretical army, along with Agag, meaning Cromwel, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of theſe viſions, they forced their general, maugre all his remonſtrances, to deſcend into the plain, with a view of attacking the Engliſh in their retreat. Cromwel, looking thro' a perſpective glaſs, ſaw the Scotch camp in motion; and foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered his enemies into *his* hands. He gave orders immediately for an attack. In this battle it was eaſily obſerved, that nothing, in military actions, can ſupply the place of diſcipline and experience; and that, in the preſence of real danger, where men are not accuſtomed to it, the fumes of enthuſiaſm preſently diſſipate, and loſe their influence. The Scotch, tho' double in number to the Engliſh, were ſoon put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter. The chief, if not only reſiſtance was made by one regiment of Highlanders, that part of the army which was the leaſt infected with enthuſiaſm. No victory could be more compleat than this obtained by Cromwel. About 3000 men were ſlain, and 9000 taken priſoners. Cromwel purſued his advantage, and took poſſeſſion of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnants of the Scotch army fled to Stirling. The approach of the winter ſeaſon, and an ague, which ſeized Cromwel, kept him from puſhing the victory any farther.

THE clergy made great lamentations, and told the Lord, that it was little to them to ſacrifice their lives and eſtates, but to him it was a great loſs to ſuffer his elect and choſen to be deſtroyed*. They publiſhed a declaration, containing the cauſe of late misfortunes. Theſe viſitations they aſcribed to the manifold provocations of the King's houſe, of which, they feared, he had not yet thorowly repented; the ſecret intruſion of malignants into the King's family and even into the camp; the leaving of a moſt malignant and profane guard of horſe, who, being ſent for to be purged, came two days before the defeat, and were allowed to fight in the army; the owning of the King's quarrel by many without ſubordination to religion and liberty; and the carnal ſelf-ſeeking of ſome, along with the neglect of family prayers in others.

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* Sir Edward Walker.

1650. Cromwel having been ſo ſucceſsful in the war of the ſword, took up the pen againſt the Scotch eccleſiaſtics. He wrote them ſome polemical letters, in which he maintained the chief points of the independent theology. He took care likewiſe to retort on them their favorite argument of providence, and aſked them whether the Lord had not declared againſt them. But the miniſters thought, that the ſame events, which to their enemies were judgements, to them were but trials; and they replied, that the Lord had only hid his face, for a time, from Jacob. But Cromwel inſiſted, that the appeal had been made to God in the moſt expreſs and ſolemn manner, and that in the fields of Dunbar an irrevocable deciſion had been awarded in favor of the Engliſh army *.

1651. The defeat of the Scotch was regarded by the King as a very fortunate event. The armies, which fought on both ſides, were almoſt equally his enemies; and the vanquiſhed were now obliged to give him ſome more authority, and apply to him for ſupport. The Parliament was ſummoned to meet at St. Johnſtone. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the Engagers were admitted into court and camp, on condition of doing public pennance, and expreſſing repentance for their late tranſgreſſions. Some Malignants alſo crept in under various pretexts. The intended humiliation or pennance of the King was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which (1st of January.) with great pomp and magnificence was performed at Scone. But amidſt all this appearance of reſpect, Charles remained in the hands of the moſt rigid Covenanters; and tho' treated with civility and courteſy by Argyle, a man of parts and addreſs, he was little better than a priſoner, and was ſtill expoſed to all the rudeneſs and pedantry of the eccleſiaſtics.

This young prince was in a ſituation, which very ill ſuited his temper and diſpoſition. All thoſe good qualities which he poſſeſſed, his affability, his wit, his gaiety,

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* This is the beſt of Cromwel's wretched compoſitions that remain, and we ſhall here extract a paſſage out of it. "You ſay you have not ſo learned Chriſt as to hang the equity of your cauſe upon "events. We could wiſh that blindneſs had not been upon your eyes to all thoſe marvellous diſpenſa"tions, which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you ſolemnly appeal and pray? "Did not we do ſo too? And ought not we and you to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of "the great God, in this mighty and ſtrange appearance of his, but can ſlightly call it an event? Were "not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, while we waited on God, to ſee "which way he would manifeſt himſelf upon our appeals? And ſhall we, after all theſe our prayers, "faſtings, tears, expectations and ſolemn appeals, call theſe mere events? The Lord pity you. Surely "we fear, becauſe it has been a merciful and a gracious deliverance to us.

"I beſeech you in the bowels of Chriſt, ſearch after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we "ſhall help you by our prayers that you may find it. For yet, if we know our heart at all, our bowels "do in Chriſt yearn after the godly in Scotland." Thurloe, Vol. I. p. 158.

gaiety, his gentlemanly, diſengaged behavior, were here ſo many vices; and his love of eaſe, liberty, and pleaſure was regarded as the higheſt enormity. Tho' artful in the practice of courtly diſſimulation, the ſanctified ſtyle was utterly unknown to him; and he never could mould his deportment into that ſtarched grimace, which the Covenanters required as the infallible mark of his converſion. The duke of Buckingham was the only Engliſh courtier allowed to attend him; and by his ingenious talent of ridicule, he had rendered himſelf extremely agreeable to his maſter. While ſo many objects of deriſion ſurrounded them, it was difficult to be altogether inſenſible to the temptation, and wholly to ſuppreſs the laugh. Obliged to attend from morning to night at prayers and ſermons, they betrayed evident ſymptoms of weerineſs or contempt. The clergy never could eſteem the King ſufficiently regenerated: And by continued exhortations, remonſtrances, and reprimands, they ſtill endeavored to bring him to a juſter ſenſe of his ſpiritual duty.

Chap. I. 1651.

The King's paſſion for the fair could not altogether be reſtrained. He had once been obſerved uſing ſome familiarities with a young woman; and a committee of miniſters was appointed to reprove him for a behavior ſo unbecoming a covenanted monarch. The ſpokeſman of the committee, one Douglaſs, began with a ſevere aſpect, informed the King that great ſcandal had been given to the godly, enlarged on the heinous nature of ſin, and concluded with exhorting his Majeſty, whenever he was diſpoſed to amuſe himſelf, to be more careful, for the future, in ſhutting his windows. This delicacy, ſo unuſual to the place and to the character of the man, was remarked by the King; and he never forgot the obligation.

The King, ſhocked with all the indignities, and perhaps, ſtill more tired with all the formalities, which he underwent, made an attempt to regain his liberty. General Middleton, at the head of ſome Royaliſts, being proſcribed by the Covenanters, kept in the mountains, expecting ſome opportunity of ſerving his maſter. The King reſolved to join them. He ſecretly made his eſcape from Argyle, and fled towards the Highlands. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horſe, was ſent in purſuit of him. He overtook the King, and perſwaded him to return. The Royaliſts, being too weak to ſupport him, Charles was the more eaſily induced to comply. This incident procured him afterwards better treatment and more authority; the Covenanters being afraid of driving him by their rigors, to ſome deſperate reſolution. Argyle renewed his courtſhip to the King, and the King, with equal diſſimulation, pretended to repoſe great confidence in Argyle. He even went ſo far as to drop hints of his intention to marry that nobleman's daughter: But he had to do with a man too wiſe to be ſeduced by ſuch groſs artifices.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the Scotch army was aſſembled under Hamilton and Leſley; and the King was allowed to join the camp. The forces of the weſtern

counties,

Chap. I. 1651. counties, notwithſtanding the imminent danger, which threatened their country, were reſolved not to unite their cauſe with that of an army, which admitted any Engagers or Malignants among them; and they kept in a body apart under Ker. They called themſelves the *Proteſters*; and their frantic clergy declaimed equally againſt the King and Cromwel. The other party were denominated *Reſolutioners*; and theſe diſtinctions continued long after to divide and agitate the kingdom.

CHARLES encamped at the Torwood; and his generals reſolved to conduct themſelves by the ſame cautious maxims, which, ſo long as they were embraced, had been ſucceſsful during the former campaign. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north ſupplied him with proviſions. Strong entrenchments defended his front; and it was in vain that Cromwel made every attempt to bring him to an engagement. After loſing much time, the Engliſh general ſent Lambert over the firth into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the proviſions of the Scotch army. Lambert fell upon Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scotch, and with great ſlaughter put them to rout. Cromwel alſo paſſed over with his whole army, and lying at the back of the King, made it impoſſible for him to keep his poſt any longer.

CHARLES, reduced to deſpair, embraced a reſolution worthy a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open to England, he reſolved immediately to march into that country, where he expected, that all his friends and all thoſe diſcontented with the preſent government would flock to his ſtandard. He perſwaded the generals to enter into the ſame views; and with one conſent the army, to the number of 14000 men, roſe from their camp, and advanced by great journies towards the ſouth.

CROMWEL was ſurprized at the movements of the Scotch army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had expoſed his friends to the moſt imminent danger, and ſaw the King with a large army marching into England, where his preſence, from the general hatred, which prevailed againſt the Parliament, was capable of operating ſome great revolution. But if this conduct was an overſight in Cromwel, he quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He diſpatched letters to the Parliament, exhorting them not to be terrified at the approach of the Scotch: He ſent orders every where for aſſembling forces to oppoſe the King: He ordered Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and infeſt their march: And he himſelf, leaving Monk with 7000 men to compleat the reduction of Scotland, followed the King with all the expedition poſſible.

CHARLES found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations of encreaſing his army. The Scotch, terrified at the proſpect of ſo hazardous an enterprize, fell off in great numbers. The Engliſh preſbyterians, having no warning given them of the

King's approach, were not prepared to join him. To the Royaliſts, this meaſure was equally unexpected; and they were farther deterred from joining the Scotch army by the orders which the committee of miniſters had iſſued, not to admit any, even in this deſperate extremity, who would not ſubſcribe the covenant. The earl of Derby, leaving the Iſle of Man, where he had maintained his independance on the Parliament, was employed in levying forces in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire; but was ſoon ſuppreſſed by a party of the parliamentary army. And the King, when he arrived at Worceſter, found, that his forces, extremely harraſſed by a haſty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous, than when he roſe from his camp in the Torwood.

3d of September.

Battle of Worceſter.

SUCH is the influence of eſtabliſhed government, that the Commonwealth, tho' founded in uſurpation the moſt unjuſt and unpopular, had authority ſufficient to raiſe every where the militia of the counties; and theſe, united with the regular forces, bent all their efforts againſt the King. With an army of above 40000 men, Cromwel fell upon Worceſter; and attacking it on all ſides, and meeting with little reſiſtance except from Hamilton and Middleton, broke in upon the diſordered Royaliſts. The ſtreets of the city were ſtrowed with the dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of great bravery and honor, was mortally wounded; Maſſey wounded and taken priſoner; the King, having given many proofs of perſonal valor, was obliged to fly. The whole Scotch army were either killed or taken priſoners. The few, who were able to eſcape from the field of battle, the country people, inflamed with national antipathy, inhumanly put to death.

The King's eſcape.

THE King left Worceſter at ſix o'clock in the afternoon, and without halting, travelled about twenty-ſix miles, in company with fifty or ſixty of his friends. To ſecure himſelf, he thought it beſt to ſeparate from his companions; and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the earl of Derby's directions, he went to Boſcobel, a lone houſe in the borders of Staffordſhire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To him Charles entruſted himſelf. The man had dignity of ſentiments much above his condition; and tho' death was denounced againſt all who concealed the King, and a great reward promiſed to whoever ſhould betray him, he profeſſed and maintained unſhaken fidelity. He took the aſſiſtance of his four brothers, equally honorable with himſelf; and having cloathed the King in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighboring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themſelves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon ſtraw in the houſe, and fed upon ſuch homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he ſheltered himſelf among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. Several ſoldiers he ſaw paſs by. All of them were intent in ſearch of the King; and many expreſſed in his hearing their earneſt wiſhes of ſeizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the *Royal Oak*; and for many years was regarded by the whole neighborhood with great veneration.

Charles was in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither ſtay in his retreat, nor ſtir a ſtep from it, without the moſt imminent danger. Fears, hopes, and party zeal intereſted multitudes to diſcover him; and even the ſmalleſt indiſcretion of his friends might prove fatal. Having joined lord Wilmot, who was ſkulking in the neighborhood, they agreed to put themſelves into the hands of colonel Lane, a zealous Royaliſt, who lived at Bentley, not many miles diſtant. The King's feet were ſo hurt by walking about in heavy boots or countrymen's ſhoes not made for him, that he was obliged to mount on horſeback; and he travelled in this ſituation to Bentley, attended by the five Penderells, who had been ſo faithful to him. Lane formed a ſcheme for his journey to Briſtol, where, it was hoped, he would find a ſhip, in which he might tranſport himſelf. He had a near kinſwoman, Mrs. Norton, who lived within three miles of that city, and was with child, very near the time of her delivery. He obtained a paſs (for during thoſe times of confuſion this precaution was requiſite) for his ſiſter Jane Lane and a ſervant, to travel towards Briſtol, under pretext of viſiting and attending her relation. The King rode before the lady, and perſonated the ſervant: Wilmot, carrying a hawk on his hand, paſſed for a ſtranger, who had accidentally joined them.

When they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended, that ſhe had brought along as her ſervant, a poor lad, a neighboring farmer's ſon, who was ill of an ague; and ſhe begged a private room for him, where he might be quiet. Tho' Charles kept himſelf retired in this chamber, the butler, one Pope, ſoon knew him; and throwing himſelf on his knees, prayed for his Majeſty's life and preſervation. The King was alarmed; but made the butler promiſe that he would keep the ſecret from every mortal, even from his maſter; and he was faithful to his engagement.

No ſhip, it was found, would, for a month, ſet ſail from Briſtol, either for France or Spain; and the King was obliged to go elſewhere for a paſſage. He entruſted himſelf to colonel Windham of Dorſetſhire, an affectionate partizan of the royal family. The natural effect of the long civil wars and of the furious rage, to which all men were wrought up in their different factions, was, that every one's inclinations and affections were thorowly known, and even the courage and fidelity of moſt men, by the variety of incidents, had been put to trial. The Royaliſts too had, many of them, been obliged to contrive concealments in their houſes for themſelves, their friends, or moſt valuable effects; and the arts of eluding the enemy had been often practiſed. All theſe circumſtances proved favorable to the King in the preſent exigency. As he paſſed often thro' the hands of Catholics, the *Prieſt's hole*, as they called it, the place, where they were obliged to conceal their perſecuted prieſts, was ſometimes employed for ſheltering their diſtreſſed ſovereign.

Windham, before he received the King, aſked leave to entruſt the important ſecret to his mother, his wife, and four ſervants, on whoſe fidelity he could entirely depend. Of all theſe perſons, no one proved wanting either in honor or diſcretion. The venerable old matron, on the reception of her royal gueſt, expreſſed the utmoſt joy, that, having loſt, without regret, three ſons and one grandchild in defence of his father, ſhe was now reſerved, in her declining years, to be inſtrumental in the preſervation of himſelf. Windham told the King, that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year *1636*, a few days before his death, called to him his five ſons. " My children," ſaid he, " we have hitherto ſeen ſerene and " quiet times under our three laſt ſovereigns: But I muſt now warn you to pre" pare for clouds and ſtorms. Factions ariſe on every ſide and threaten the tran" quillity of your native country. But whatever happen, do you faithfully honor " and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown. I charge you never to forſake " the Crown, tho' it ſhould hang upon a buſh." " Theſe laſt words," added Windham, " made ſuch impreſſions on all our breaſts, that the many afflictions " of theſe ſad times could never efface their indelible characters." From innumerable inſtances it appears how deep rooted in the minds of the Engliſh gentry of that age was the principle of loyalty to their ſovereign; that noble and generous principle, inferior only in excellence to the more enlarged and more inlightened affection towards a legal conſtitution. But during thoſe times of military uſurpation, theſe paſſions were the ſame.

The King continued nineteen days in Windham's houſe; and all his friends in Britain and in every part of Europe, remained in the moſt anxious ſuſpence with regard to his fortune: No one could conjecture whether he was dead or alive; and the report of his death, being generally believed, happily relaxed the vigilant ſearch of his enemies. Trials were made to procure a veſſel for his eſcape; but he ſtill met with diſappointments. Having left Windham's houſe, he was obliged again to return to it. He paſſed thro' many other adventures; aſſumed different diſguiſes; in every ſtep was expoſed to imminent perils; and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The ſagacity of a ſmith, who remarked, that his horſe's ſhoes had been made in the north, not in the weſt, as he pretended, once detected him; and he narrowly eſcaped. At Shoreham in Suſſex a veſſel was at laſt found, in which he embarked. He had been known to ſo many, that, if he had not ſet ſail in that critical moment, it had been impoſſible for him to eſcape.

Chap. I.
1651.

After one and forty days concealment, he arrived ſafely at Feſcamp in Normandy. No leſs than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his eſcape*.

The battle of Worceſter afforded Cromwel what he called his *crowning mercy*. So elated was he, that he intended to have knighted in the field two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood; but was diſſwaded by his friends from exerting this act of regal authority. His power and ambition were too great to brook ſubjection to the empty name of a Republic, which ſtood chiefly by his influence and was ſupported by his victories. How early he entertained thoughts of taking into his hand the reins of government is uncertain. We are only aſſured, that he now diſcovered to his intimate friends theſe aſpiring views; and even expreſſed a deſire of aſſuming the rank of King, which he had contributed, with ſuch ſeeming zeal, to aboliſh †.

The Commonwealth.

The little popularity and credit, acquired by the Republicans, farther ſtimulated the ambition of this enterprizing politician. Theſe men had not that large thought nor comprehenſive views, which might qualify them for acting the part of legiſlators: Selfiſh aims and bigotry chiefly engroſſed their attention. They carried their rigid auſterity ſo far as to enact laws, declaring fornication, after the firſt act, to be felony, without benefit of clergy ‡. They made ſmall progreſs in that important work, which they profeſſed to have ſo much at heart, the ſettling a new model of repreſentation, and fixing a plan of government: The nation began to apprehend, that they intended to eſtabliſh themſelves as a perpetual legiſlature, and to confine the whole power to 60 or 70 perſons, who called themſelves the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. And while they pretended to beſtow new liberties upon the nation, they found themſelves obliged to infringe even the moſt valuable of thoſe, which, thro' time immemorial, had been tranſmitted from their anceſtors. Not daring to entruſt the trials of treaſon to juries, who, being choſen indifferently from among the people, would have been little favorable to the Commonwealth, and would have formed their verdict upon the antient laws, they eluded that noble inſtitution, by which the government of this iſland has ever been ſo much diſtinguiſhed. They had ſeen evidently in the trial of Lilburn what they could expect from juries. This man, the moſt turbulent, but the moſt upright and courageous of human kind, was tried for a tranſgreſſion of the new ſtatute of treaſons: But tho' he was plainly guilty, he was acquitted, to the infinite joy of the people. Weſtminſter Hall, nay the whole city, rang with ſhouts and acclamations. Never did any eſtabliſhed power receive ſo ſtrong a declaration of its uſurpation and invalidity; and from no other inſtitution, beſides the admirable one of juries, could be expected this magnanimous effort.

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* Heathe's Chronicle, p. 301.

† Whitelocke, p. 523.

‡ Scobel, p. 121.

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That they might not for the future be expoſed to affronts, which ſo much leſſened their authority, the Parliament erected a high court of juſtice, who were to receive indictments from the council of ſtate. This court was compoſed entirely of men, devoted to the ruling party, without name or character, determined to ſacrifice every thing to their own ſafety or ambition. Colonel Euſebius Andrews, colonel Walter Slingſby were tried by this court for conſpiracies, and condemned to death. They were Royaliſts, and refuſed to plead before ſo illegal a juriſdiction. Love, Gibbons, and other preſbyterians, having entered into a plot againſt the Republic, were alſo tried and executed. The earl of Derby, ſir Timothy Fetherſtone, Benbowe, being taken priſoners after the battle of Worceſter, were put to death by ſentence of a court martial: A method of proceeding declared unlawful by that very petition of right, for which a former Parliament had ſo ſtrenuouſly contended, and which, after great efforts, they had extorted from the King.

Excepting their principles of toleration, the maxims, by which the Republicans regulated eccleſiaſtical affairs, no more prognoſticated any durable ſettlement, than thoſe by which they conducted their civil concerns. The preſbyterian model of congregations, claſſes, and aſſemblies was not allowed to be finiſhed: It ſeemed even the intention of many leaders in the Parliament to admit of no eſtabliſhed church, and to leave every one, without any guidance of the magiſtrate, to embrace whatever ſect and to ſupport whatever clergy were moſt agreeable to him. It was not perceived, that by this policy the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit muſt of neceſſity, from a concurrence of the emulation and intereſted views of the eccleſiaſtics, be raiſed to ſuch a height as to elude all the tyes of civil and moral duty.

The Parliament went ſo far as to make ſome approaches, in one province, to their independant model. Almoſt all the clergy of Wales being ejected as malignants, itinerant preachers with a ſmall ſallary were ſettled, not above four or five in each county; and theſe, being furniſhed with horſes at the public charge, hurried from place to place, and carried, as they expreſſed themſelves, the glad tidings of the goſpel *. They were all of them men of the loweſt birth and education, who had deſerted mechanical trades, in order to follow this new profeſſion: And in this particular, as well as in their wandering life, they fooliſhly pretended to be more truly apoſtolical.

The Republicans, both by the turn of their diſpoſition, and by the nature of the inſtruments, which they employed, were better qualified for acts of force and vigor

* Dr. John Walker's attempt, p. 147. & ſeq.

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vigor than for the ſlow and deliberate work of legiſlation. Notwithſtanding the late wars and bloodſhed and the preſent factions, the power of England had never, in any period, been ſo formidable to the neighboring kingdoms as at this time it appeared in the hands of the Commonwealth. A numerous army ſerved equally to retain every one, in implicite ſubjection to eſtabliſhed authority, and to ſtrike a terror into foreign nations. The power of peace and war was lodged in the ſame hands with that of impoſing taxes; and no difference of views, among the ſeveral members of the legiſlature, could any longer be apprehended. The preſent impoſitions, tho' much ſuperior to what had ever formerly been experienced, were in reality very moderate, and what a nation, ſo opulent, could eaſily bear. The military genius of the people, by the civil conteſts, had been rouzed from its former lethargy; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of ſervice. The confuſion, into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity men of low ſtations to break thro' their obſcurity, and to raiſe themſelves by their courage to commands, which they were well qualified to exerciſe, but to which their birth could never have entitled them. And while ſo great power was lodged in ſuch active hands, no wonder the Republic was ſucceſsful in all its enterprizes.

Blake, a man of heroic courage and a generous diſpoſition, the ſame perſon, who had defended Lyme and Taunton with ſuch unſhaken obſtinacy againſt the King, was made an admiral; and tho' he had hitherto been accuſtomed only to land ſervice, into which too he had not entered till paſt fifty years of age, he ſoon raiſed the naval glory of the nation to a higher pitch than in any former period it had ever attained. A fleet was committed to him, and he received orders to purſue Prince Rupert, to whom the King had given the command of that ſquadron, which had deſerted to him. Rupert took ſhelter in Kinſale; and eſcaping thence, fled towards the coaſt of Portugal. Blake purſued, and chaced him into the Tagus, where he intended to attack that Prince. But the King of Portugal, moved by the favor, which, thro'out all Europe, attended the royal cauſe, refuſed Blake admittance, and aided Rupert in making his eſcape. To be revenged of this partiality, the Engliſh admiral made prize of twenty Portugueſe ſhips richly laden, and threatened ſtill farther vengeance. The King of Portugal, dreading ſo dangerous a foe to his new acquired dominion, and ſenſible of the unequal conteſt, in which he was engaged, made all poſſible ſubmiſſions to the haughty Republic, and was at laſt admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Rupert, having loſt a great part of his ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain, made ſail towards the Weſt Indies. His brother, Prince Maurice, was there ſhip-wrecked in a hurricane. Every where, this ſquadron ſubſiſted by privateering, ſometimes on

Engliſh, ſometimes on Spaniſh veſſels. And Rupert at laſt returned to France, where he diſpoſed of the remnants of his fleet, along with all his prizes.

ALL the ſettlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the ſettlement of the Republic; and Sir George Ayſcue was ſent with a ſquadron to reduce them to obedience. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia were ſoon ſubdued. Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, made ſome reſiſtance; but was at laſt obliged to ſubmit.

WITH equal eaſe were Jerſey, Guerneſey, Scilly, and the Iſle of Man brought under ſubjection to the Republic; and the ſea, which had been much infeſted by privateers from theſe iſlands, was rendered entirely ſafe to the Engliſh commerce. The Counteſs of Derby defended the Iſle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the neceſſity of ſurrendering to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illuſtrious houſe of Trimoüille in France, had, during the civil wars, diſplayed a manly courage by her obſtinate defence of Latham-Houſe againſt the parliamentary forces; and ſhe retained the glory of being the laſt perſon in the three kingdoms and in all their dependant dominions, who ſubmitted to the victorious Commonwealth.

IRELAND and Scotland were now entirely ſubdued and reduced to tranquillity. Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland, commanding a numerous army of 30,000 men, proſecuted the work of ſubduing the revolted Iriſh; and he defeated them in many rencounters, which, tho' in themſelves of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cauſe. All the priſoners, who had any hand in the maſſacres, Ireton puniſhed without mercy. Sir Phelim Oneale, among the reſt, was, ſome time afterwards, brought to the gibbet, and ſuffered an ignominious death, which by his inhuman cruelties he had ſo well merited. Limeric, a conſiderable town, ſtill remained in the hands of the Iriſh; and Ireton, after a vigorous ſiege, made himſelf maſter of it. He was here infected with the plague, and ſhortly after died; a very memorable perſonage, much celebrated for his vigilance, induſtry, capacity, even for the ſtrict execution of juſtice in that unlimited command, which he poſſeſſed in Ireland. He was obſerved to be inflexible in all his purpoſes; and it was believed by many, that he was animated with a ſincere and paſſionate love for liberty, and never could have been induced, by any motive, to ſubmit to the ſmalleſt appearance of regal government. Cromwel appeared to be much afflicted by his death; and the Republicans, who repoſed great confidence in him, were inconſoleable. To ſhow their regard for his merit and ſervices, they beſtowed an eſtate of two thouſand pounds a year on his family, and honored him with a magnificent funeral at the public charge. Tho' the eſtabliſhed government was but the mere ſhadow of a Commonwealth, yet was it beginning by proper

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arts to foſter that public ſpirit, which no other ſpecies of civil polity is ever able fully to inſpire.

The command of the army in Ireland devolved on lieutenant-general Ludlow. The civil government of the iſland was entruſted to commiſſioners. Ludlow continued to puſh the advantages againſt the Iriſh, and every where obtained an eaſy victory. That unhappy people, diſguſted with the King on account of thoſe violent declarations againſt them and their religion, which had been extorted by the Scotch, applied to the King of Spain, to the duke of Lorraine; and found aſſiſtance no where. Clanricarde, unable any longer to reſiſt the prevailing power, made ſubmiſſions to the Parliament, and retired into England, where he ſoon after died. He was a ſteddy catholic; but a man much reſpected by all parties.

The ſucceſſes, which attended Monk in Scotland, were no leſs deciſive. That able general laid ſiege to Stirling caſtle; and tho' it was well provided for defence, it was ſoon ſurrendered to him. He there became maſter of all the records of the kingdom, along with the crown and ſcepter; and he ſent them to England. The earl of Leven, the earl of Crawford, lord Ogilvy, and other noblemen, having met near Perth, in order to concert means for raiſing a new army, were ſuddenly ſet upon by colonel Alured, and moſt of them taken priſoners. Sir Philip Muſgrave, along with ſome Scotch, being engaged at Dumfries in a like enterprize, met with the ſame fate. Dundee was a town well fortified, ſupplied with a good garriſon under Lumiſden, and full of all the rich furniture, the plate and money of the kingdom, which had been ſent thither as to a place of ſafety. Monk appeared before it; and having made a breach gave a general aſſault. He carried the town; and following the example and inſtructions of Cromwel, put the whole inhabitants to the ſword, in order to ſtrike a general terror into the kingdom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Inverneſs, and other towns and forts, of their own accord, yielded to the enemy. Argyle made his ſubmiſſions to the Engliſh Commonwealth; and excepting a few Royaliſts, who remained ſome time in the mountains, under the earl of Glencairn, lord Balcarras, and general Middleton, that kingdom, which had hitherto, thro' all ages, by means of its ſituation, poverty, and valor, maintained its independance, was reduced to a total ſubjection.

The Engliſh Parliament ſent Sir Harry Vane, St. John, and other commiſſioners to ſettle Scotland. These men, who poſſeſſed little of the real ſpirit of liberty, knew how to maintain all the appearances of it; and they required the voluntary conſent of all the counties and towns of this conquered kingdom, before they would unite them into the ſame Commonwealth with England. The clergy proteſted; becauſe, they ſaid, this incorporation would draw along with it a ſubordination of the church to the ſtate in the things of Chriſt *. Engliſh judges,

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* Whitelocke, p. 496.

joined to ſome Scotch, were appointed to determine all cauſes; juſtice was ſtrictly executed; order and peace maintained; the Scotch being freed from the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtics, were not much diſſatisfied with the preſent government.* The prudent conduct of Monk, a man who poſſeſſed a good capacity for the arts both of peace and war, ſerved much to reconcile the minds of men and allay their prejudices.

1652. Dutch war.

By the total reduction and pacification of the Britiſh dominions, the Parliament had leiſure to look abroad, and to exert their vigor in foreign enterprizes. The Dutch were the firſt who felt the weight of their arms.

During the life of Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, the States had maintained an exact neutrality in the civil wars of England, and had never interpoſed, except by their good offices, betwixt the contending parties. When William, who had married an Engliſh Princeſs, ſucceeded to his father's commands and authority †, the States, both before and after the execution of the late King, were accuſed of taking ſteps more favorable to the royal cauſe, and of betraying a great alienation from the Parliament. It was long before the Envoy of the Engliſh Commonwealth could obtain an audience of the States General. The murderers of Doriſlaus were not purſued with ſuch vigor as the Parliament expected. And much regard had been payed the King, and many good offices performed to him, both by the public and by men of all ranks, in the United Provinces.

After the death of William, Prince of Orange ‡, which was attended with the depreſſion of his party and the triumph of the Republicans, the Parliament thought,

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* It had been an uſual policy of the preſbyterian eccleſiaſtics to ſettle a chaplain in the great families, who acted as a ſpy upon his maſter, and gave them intelligence of the moſt private tranſactions and diſcourſes of the family. A ſignal inſtance of prieſtly tyranny, and the ſubjection of the nobility! They even obliged the ſervants to give intelligence againſt their maſters. Whitlocke, p. 502. The ſame author, p. 512, tells the following ſtory. The ſynod meeting at Perth, and citing the miniſters and people, who had expreſſed a diſlike of *their heavenly government*, the men being out of the way, their wives reſolved to anſwer for them. And on the day of appearance, 120 women with good clubs in their hands came and beſieged the church, where the reverend miniſters ſat. They ſent one of their number to treat with the females, and he threatening excommunication, they baſted him for his labor, kept him priſoner, and ſent a party of 60, who routed the reſt of the clergy, bruiſed their bodies ſorely, took all their baggage and 12 horſes. One of the miniſters, after a mile's running, taking all creatures for his foes, meeting with a ſoldier fell on his knees, who knowing nothing of the matter asked the blackcoat what he meant. The female conquerors, having laid hold on the ſynod clerk, beat him till he forſwore his office. Thirteen miniſters rallied about 4 miles from the place, and voted that this village ſhould never more have a ſynod in it, but be accurſed; and that tho' in the years 1638 and 39, the godly women were cried up for ſtoning the biſhops, yet now the whole ſex ſhould be eſteemed wicked.

† In 1647.

‡ In October 17, 1650.

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thought, that the time was now come of cementing a cloſer confederacy with the United Provinces. St. John, lord chief juſtice, who was ſent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a ſpecies of coalition betwixt the two Republics, which would have rendered their intereſts totally inſeparable; but fearing that ſo extraordinary a project would not be reliſhed, he contented himſelf with dropping ſome hints of it, and openly went no farther than to propoſe a ſtrict defenſive alliance betwixt England and the States, ſuch as has now, for near ſeventy years, taken place betwixt theſe friendly powers *. But the States, who were unwilling to form a nearer confederacy with a government, whoſe meaſures were ſo obnoxious and whoſe ſituation ſeemed ſo precarious, offered only to renew the former alliances with England. And the haughty St. John, diſguſted with this refuſal, as well as enraged at many affronts, which with impunity had been offered him, by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and endeavored to excite a quarrel betwixt the two Republics.

The movements of great ſtates are often directed by as ſlender ſprings as thoſe of individuals. Tho' war with ſo conſiderable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their other neighbors, might ſeem dangerous to the yet unſettled Commonwealth, there were ſeveral motives, which at this time engaged the Engliſh Parliament into hoſtile meaſures. Many of the members thought, that a foreign war would ſerve as a pretext for continuing the ſame Parliament, and delaying the new model of a repreſentative, with which the nation had ſo long been flattered. Others hoped, that the war would furniſh a reaſon for maintaining, ſome time longer, that numerous mercenary army, which was ſo much complained of †. On the other hand, ſome, who dreaded the encreaſing power of Cromwel, expected, that the great expence of naval armaments would prove a motive for diminiſhing the military eſtabliſhment. To divert the attention of the public from domeſtic quarrels towards foreign tranſactions ſeemed in the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds to be good policy. The ſuperior power of the Engliſh Commonwealth, along with the advantages of ſituation, promiſed it ſucceſs; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to diſtreſs and ſink their floriſhing commerce, and by victories to throw a luſtre on their eſtabliſhment, which was ſo new and unpopular. All theſe views, enforced by the violent ſpirit of St. John, who had a mighty influence over Cromwel, determined the Parliament

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* Thurloe, vol. I. p. 182.

† We are told in the life of Sir Harry Vane, that that famous Republican oppoſed the Dutch war, and that it was the military gentlemen chiefly who ſupported that meaſure.

Parliament to change the propoſed alliance into a furious war againſt the United Provinces.

To cover theſe hoſtile intentions, the Parliament, under pretext of providing for the intereſts of commerce, embraced ſuch meaſures as, they knew, would give diſguſt to the States. They framed the famous act of navigation, which prohibited all nations to import into England in their bottoms any commodity, which was not the growth and manufactory of their own country. By this law, tho' it was general, the Dutch were chiefly hurt, whoſe country produces few commodities, and who ſubſiſt chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of the world. Letters of reprizal were granted to ſeveral merchants, on account of ſome injuries, which they pretended to have received from the States; and above eighty Dutch ſhips fell into their hands and were made prize of. The cruelties, practiſed on the Engliſh at Amboyna, which were certainly moſt enormous, but which ſeemed to be buried in oblivion by a thirty years ſilence, were again complained of. And the allowing the murderers of Doriſlaus to eſcape, and the conniving at the inſults to which St. John had been expoſed, were repreſented as ſymptoms of an unfriendly, if not a hoſtile, diſpoſition in the States.

THE States, alarmed at all theſe ſteps, ſent over orders to their ambaſſadors to endeavor the renewal of the treaty of alliance, which had been broke off by the abrupt departure of St. John. Not to be unprepared, they equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty ſail, and took care, by their miniſters at London, to inform the council of ſtate of that armament. This intelligence, inſtead of ſtriking terror into the Engliſh Republic, was conſidered as a menace, and farther confirmed the Parliament in their hoſtile reſolutions. The minds of men, in both ſtates, were every day more irritated againſt each other; and it was not long before theſe malignant humors broke forth into action.

TROMP, an admiral of great renown, received from the States the command of a fleet of forty-two ſail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation againſt the privateers of the Engliſh. He was forced by ſtreſs of weather, as he alleged, to take ſhelter in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an Engliſh fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggreſſor in the action, which enſued betwixt theſe two admirals, both of them men of ſuch prompt and fiery diſpoſitions, it is not eaſy to determine; ſince each of them ſent to his own ſtate a relation totally oppoſite in all its circumſtances to that of the other, and yet ſupported by the teſtimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended, that, having given a ſignal to the Dutch admiral to ſtrike, Tromp, inſtead of complying, fired a broad-ſide upon him. Tromp aſſerted, that he was preparing to ſtrike, and that the Engliſh admiral, nevertheleſs, began hoſtilities. It is certain, that the admiralty of Holland,

19th of May.

land, who are diſtinct from the council of ſtate, had given Tromp no orders to ſtrike, but had left him to his own diſcretion with regard to that vain, but much conteſted, ceremonial. They ſeemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new Commonwealth, and to interpret the former reſpect, which they had ever payed the Engliſh flag, as a deference due only to the Monarchy. This circumſtance forms a ſtrong preſumption againſt the narration of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it muſt be remarked, to which Tromp was ſuſpected to adhere, were deſirous of a war with England.

BLAKE, tho' his ſquadron conſiſted only of fifteen veſſels, re-inforced, after the battle began, by eight under captain Bourne, maintained the fight with great bravery for five hours, and ſunk one ſhip of the enemy and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coaſt of Holland. The populace of London were enraged, and would have inſulted the Dutch ambaſſadors, who lived at Chelſea, had not the council of ſtate ſent guards to protect them.

WHEN the States heard of this action, of which the fatal conſequences were eaſily foreſeen, they were in the utmoſt conſternation. They immediately diſpatched Paw, penſionary of Holland, as their ambaſſador extraordinary to London, and ordered him to lay before the Parliament the narrative which Tromp had ſent of the late rencounter. They entreated them, by all the bands of their common religion, and common liberties, not to precipitate themſelves into hoſtile meaſures, but to appoint commiſſioners, who ſhould examine every circumſtance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obſcurity. And they pretended, that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the Engliſh, but would ſeverely puniſh him, if they found, upon enquiry, that he had been guilty of an action, which they ſo much diſapproved. The imperious Parliament would hearken to none of theſe reaſons or remonſtrances. Elated with the multiplied ſucceſſes, which they had obtained over their domeſtic enemies, they thought, that every thing muſt yield to their fortunate arms; and they gladly ſeized the opportunity, which they ſought, of making war upon the States. They demanded, that, without any farther delay or enquiry, reparation ſhould be made for all the damages, which the Engliſh had ſuſtained. And when this demand was not complied with, they diſpatched orders for commencing war againſt the United Provinces.

BLAKE ſailed northwards with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring buſhes, which were eſcorted by twelve men of war. All theſe he either took or diſperſed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred ſail. When theſe two admirals were within ſight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious ſtorm attacked them. Blake took ſhelter in the Engliſh harbors. The Dutch fleet was diſperſed and received great damage.

16th of Auguſt. SIR GEORGE AYSCUE, near Plymouth, tho' he commanded only forty ſhips according to the Engliſh accounts, engaged the famous de Ruiter, who had under him fifty ſhips of war, along with thirty merchant-men. The Dutch ſhips were indeed of inferior force to the Engliſh. De Ruiter, the only admiral in Europe, who has attained a renown equal to that of the greateſt general, defended himſelf ſo well, that Ayſcue gained no advantage over him. Night parted them in the greateſt heat of the combat. De Ruiter next day ſailed off with his convoy. The Engliſh had been ſo ſhattered in the action, that they were not able to purſue.

28th of October. NEAR the coaſt of Kent, Blake, ſeconded by Bourne and Pen, met the Dutch fleet, nearly equal in number, commanded by de Witte and de Ruiter. A battle was fought much to the diſadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other veſſels were ſunk and one blown up. The Dutch fleet next day made ſail towards Holland.

THE Engliſh were not ſo ſucceſsful in the Mediterranean. Van Galen with much ſuperior force attacked captain Badily, and defeated him. His victory however he bought with the loſs of his life.

29th of November. SEA-FIGHTS are ſeldom ſo deciſive as to diſable the vanquiſhed from making head in a little time againſt the victors. Tromp, ſeconded by de Ruiter, met, near the Goodwins, with Blake, whoſe fleet was inferior to theirs, but who was reſolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both ſides, as well as the inferior officers and ſeamen, exerted extraordinary bravery. In this action, the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himſelf was wounded. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken. Two ſhips were burned and one ſunk. Night came very opportunely to ſave the Engliſh fleet. After this victory, Tromp in a bravado affixed a broom to his main-maſt; as if he were reſolved to ſweep the ſea entirely of all Engliſh veſſels.

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18th of February. GREAT preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this diſgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty ſail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, along with Monk, who had been ſent for from Scotland. When they lay off Portland, they deſcried near break of day the Dutch fleet of ſeventy-ſix veſſels, ſailing up the Channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchant-men, who had received orders to wait at the Iſle of Rhé, till the fleet ſhould arrive to eſcorte them. Tromp and de Ruiter commanded the Dutch. This battle was the moſt furious which had yet been fought, betwixt theſe two warlike and rival nations. Three days was the battle continued with the utmoſt rage and obſtinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honor than Tromp, who was vanquiſhed. The Dutch admiral

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admiral made a ſkilful retreat, and ſaved all the merchant ſhips, except thirty. He loſt however eleven ſhips of war, had 2000 men ſlain, and near 1500 taken priſoners. The Engliſh, tho' many of their ſhips were extremely ſhattered, had but one ſunk. Their ſlain were not much inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy.

All theſe ſucceſſes of the Engliſh were chiefly owing to the ſuperior ſize of their veſſels; an advantage which all the ſkill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compenſate. By means of ſhip-money, an impoſition, which had been ſo much complained of, and in ſome reſpects with reaſon, the late King had put the navy into a ſituation, which it had never attained in any former reign; and he ventured to build ſhips of a ſize, which was then unuſual. But the misfortunes, which the Dutch met with in battle, were ſmall in compariſon of thoſe, which their trade ſuſtained from the Engliſh. Their whole commerce by the Channel was cut off: Even that to the Baltic was much infeſted by the Engliſh privateers. Their fiſheries were totally ſuſpended. A great number of their ſhips, above 1600, had fallen into the enemies hands. And all this diſtreſs they ſuffered, not for any national intereſt or neceſſity; but from vain points of honor and perſonal reſentments, of which it was difficult to give a ſatisfactory account to the public. They reſolved therefore to gratify the pride of the Parliament, and to make ſome advances towards a peace. Their reception, however, was not favorable; and it was not without great ſatisfaction, that they learned the diſſolution of that haughty aſſembly by the violence of Cromwel; an event from which they expected a more proſperous turn to their affairs.

Diſſolution of the Parliament.

The zealous Republicans in the Parliament had not been the chief or firſt promoters of the war; but when it was once entered upon, they endeavored to draw from it every poſſible advantage. On all occaſions, they ſet up the fleet in oppoſition to the army, and celebrated the glory and ſucceſſes of their naval armaments. They inſiſted on the intolerable expence to which the nation was ſubjected, and urged the neceſſity of diminiſhing it by a reduction of their land forces. Some regiments they had ordered to ſerve on board the fleet in the quality of marines: And Cromwel, by the whole train of their proceedings, evidently ſaw, that they had entertained a jealouſy of his power and ambition, and were reſolved to bring him to a ſubordination under their authority. Without ſcruple or delay he reſolved to prevent them.

On ſuch firm foundations was built the credit of this extraordinary man, that, tho' a great maſter of fraud, he judged it ſuperfluous to employ any artifice or diſſimulation in conducting that bold enterprize. He ſummoned a general council of officers; and immediately found, that they were diſpoſed to receive whatever impreſſions he was pleaſed to give them. Moſt of them were his creatures, had owed their advancement to his favor, and relied entirely upon him for their future preferment. The breach being already made, when the late King was ſeized at Holmby, betwixt the military and civil powers, the general officers eſteemed the Parliament to be at once their creature and their rival, and thought that they themſelves were entitled to ſhare among them thoſe offices and riches, of which its members had ſo long kept poſſeſſion. Harriſon, Rich, Overton, and a few others, who retained ſome principle, were guided by notions ſo extravagant, that they were eaſily deluded into meaſures the moſt violent and moſt criminal. And the whole army had already been guilty of ſuch illegal and atrocious actions, that they could entertain no farther ſcruples with regard to any enterprize, which might ſerve their ſelfiſh or fanatical purpoſes.

In the council of officers it was preſently voted to frame a remonſtrance to the Parliament. After complaining of the arrears, which were due to the army, they there deſired the Parliament to remember how many years that aſſembly had ſate, and what profeſſions they had formerly made of their intentions to new model the repreſentative, and eſtabliſh ſucceſſive Parliaments, who might bear that burthen of national affairs, from which they themſelves would gladly, after ſo much danger and fatigue, be at laſt relieved. They confeſſed, that the Parliament had atchieved great enterprizes, and ſurmounted mighty difficulties; yet was it an injury, they ſaid, to the reſt of the nation to be excluded from bearing any part in the ſervice of their country. It was now full time for them to give place to others; and, after ſettling a council, who might execute the laws during the interval, to ſummon a new Parliament, and eſtabliſh that free and equal government, which they had ſo long promiſed to the people.

The Parliament took this remonſtrance in very ill part, and made a ſharp reply to the council of officers. The officers inſiſted on their advice; and by mutual altercation and oppoſition, the breach ſtill farther widened betwixt the army and the Commonwealth. Cromwel, finding matters ripe for his purpoſe, called a council of officers, in order to come to a determination with regard to the public ſettlement. As he had here many friends, ſo had he alſo ſome opponents. Harriſon having aſſured the council, that the General ſought only to pave the way for the government of Jeſus and his ſaints, major Streater briſkly replied, that Jeſus ought then to come quickly: For if he delayed it till after Chriſtmas, he would come too late; he would find his place occupied. While the officers were in debate, colonel Ingoldſby informs Cromwel, that the Parliament were ſitting, and had come to a reſolution not to diſſolve themſelves, but to fill up the houſe by new elections; and were at that very time engaged in reaſonings with regard to this expedient. Cromwel in a rage immediately haſtens to the houſe, and carries a body of 300 ſoldiers

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along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, ſome in the lobby, ſome on the ſtairs. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St. John, and told him, that he then came with a purpoſe of doing what grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears prayed the Lord not to impoſe upon him: But there was a neceſſity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He ſate down for ſome time, and heard the debates with regard to the act for filling up the Parliament. He beckoned Harriſon, and told him, that he now judged the Parliament ripe for a diſſolution. "Sir," ſaid Harriſon, "the work is very great and dangerous: I "deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider, before you engage in it." "You ſay well," replied the General; and thereupon ſat ſtill about a quarter of an hour. When the queſtion was ready to be put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, "This is the time: I "muſt do it." And ſuddenly ſtarting up, he loaded the Parliament with the vileſt reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppreſſion, and robbery of the public. Then ſtamping with his foot, which was the ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, "For "ſhame," ſaid he to the Parliament, "get you gone: Give place to honeſter "men; to thoſe who will more faithfully diſcharge their truſt. You are no longer "a Parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a Parliament. The Lord has done "with you: He has choſen other inſtruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming againſt this procedure, he cried with a loud voice, "O! "Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, "Thou art a whoremaſter," ſaid he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a "glutton:" "And thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a ſoldier to ſeize the mace. "What ſhall we do with this bauble? Here take it away. It is "you," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the Houſe, "that have forced me upon this. "I have ſought the Lord, night and day, that he would rather ſlay me than put "me upon this work." Having commanded the ſoldiers to clear the hall, he himſelf went out the laſt, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

In this furious manner, which ſo well marks his genuine character, did Cromwel, without the leaſt oppoſition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous aſſembly, which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with aſtoniſhment at its crimes, and whoſe commencement was not more ardently deſired by the people than was its final diſſolution. All parties now reaped ſucceſſively the diſmal pleaſure of ſeeing the injuries, which they had ſuffered, revenged on their enemies; and that too by the ſame arts, which had been practiſed againſt them. The King had ſtretched his prerogative beyond its juſt bounds; and aided by the church, had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The Preſbyterians checked the progreſs of the court and clergy, and excited, by cant and hypocriſy, the populace, firſt to tumults, then to war, againſt the King, the Peers, and all the Royaliſts. No ſooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur, than the Independants, under the appearance of ſtill greater ſanctity, inſtigated the army againſt them, and reduced them to ſubjection. The Independants, amidſt their empty dreams of liberty, or rather of dominion, were oppreſſed by the rebellion of their own ſervants, and found themſelves at once expoſed to the inſults of power and hatred of the people. By recent, as well as all antient example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with whatever pretexts it may be covered, and whatever object it may purſue, muſt inevitably end at laſt in the arbitrary and deſpotic government of a ſingle perſon.

CHAP. II.

Cromwel's birth and private life.——Barebone's Parliament.——Cromwel made Protector.——Peace with Holland.——A new Parliament.——Inſurrection of the Royaliſts.——State of Europe.——War with Spain.——Jamaica conquered.——Succeſs and death of admiral Blake.——Domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel.——Humble Petition and Advice.——Dunkirk taken.——Sickneſs of the Protector.——His Death.——And Character.

1653.
Cromwel's birth and private life.

OLIVER CROMWEL, in whoſe hands the diſſolution of the Parliament had left the whole power, civil and military, of three kingdoms, was born at Huntingdon, the laſt year of the former century, of a very good family; tho' he himſelf, being the ſon of a ſecond brother, inherited but a ſmall eſtate from his father. In the courſe of his education he had been ſent to the univerſity; but his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning; and he made ſmall proficiency in his ſtudies. He even threw himſelf into a very diſſolute and diſorderly courſe of life; and in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots, he conſumed the more early years of his youth, and diſſipated part of his fortune. All of a ſudden, the ſpirit of reformation ſeized him; he married, affected a grave and compoſed behavior, entered into all the zeal and rigor of the puritanical party, and offered to reſtore to every one whatever ſums he had formerly gained by gaming. The ſame vehemence of temper, which had tranſported him

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FROM accident and intrigue he was choſen by the town of Cambridge member of the long Parliament. His domeſtic affairs were then in great diſorder; and he ſeemed not to poſſeſs any talents, which could qualify him to riſe in that public ſphere, into which he was now at laſt entered. His perſon was ungraceful, his dreſs ſlovenly, his voice untuneable, his elocution homely, tedious, obſcure, and embarraſſed. The fervor of his ſpirit frequently prompted him to riſe in the houſe; but he was heard with no attention: His name, for above two years, is not to be found oftner than twice in any committee; and thoſe committees, into which he was admitted, were choſen for affairs, which would more intereſt the zealots than the men of buſineſs. Amidſt the eloquent ſpeakers and fine gentlemen of the houſe he was entirely overlooked; and his friend Hambden alone was acquainted with the depth of his genius, and foretold, that, if a civil war ſhould enſue, he would ſoon riſe to eminence and diſtinction.

Cromwel himſelf ſeems to have been conſcious where his ſtrength lay; and partly from that motive, partly from the uncontroleable fury of his zeal, he always joined that party, which puſhed every thing to extremity againſt the King. He was very active for the famous remonſtrance, which was the ſignal for all the enſuing commotions; and when, after a long debate, it was carried by a ſmall majority, he told lord Falkland, that, if the queſtion had been loſt, he was reſolved next day to have converted into ready money the remains of his fortune, and immediately to have left the kingdom. Nor was this reſolution, he ſaid, peculiar to himſelf: Many others of his party he knew to be equally determined.

He was no leſs than forty three years of age, when he firſt embraced the military profeſſion; and by force of genius, without any maſter, he ſoon became an excellent officer; tho' perhaps he never reached the fame of a conſummate commander. He raiſed a troop of horſe, fixed his quarters in Cambridge, exerted great ſeverity towards that univerſity, which zealouſly adhered to the royal party; and ſhowed himſelf a man who would go all lengths in favor of that cauſe, which he had eſpouſed. He would not allow his ſoldiers to perplex their heads with thoſe ſubtilities of fighting by the King's authority againſt his perſon, and of obeying his Majeſty's orders ſignified by both houſes of Parliament: He plainly told them, that, if he met the King in battle, he would fire a piſtol in his face as readily as againſt any other man. His troop of horſe he ſoon augmented to a regiment, and firſt inſtituted that diſcipline and inſpired that ſpirit, which rendered the parliamentary armies, in the end, victorious. "Your troops," ſaid he to Hambden, according to his own account *, "are moſt of them old decayed ſerving men and tapſters, and ſuch kind of fellows; the King's forces are compoſed of gentlemen's younger ſons and perſons of good quality. And do you think, that the mean ſpirits of ſuch baſe and low fellows as ours will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honor and courage and reſolution in them? You muſt get men of ſpirit; and take it not ill that I ſay, of a ſpirit, that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or elſe I am ſure you will ſtill be beaten, as you have hitherto been, in every rencounter." He did as he propoſed. He inliſted freeholders and farmer's ſons. He carefully invited into his regiment all the zealous fanatics thro'out England. When collected in a body, their enthuſiaſtic ſpirit ſtill roſe to a higher pitch. Their collonel, from his own natural character, as much as from policy, was ſufficiently inclined to encreaſe the flame. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he puniſhed, he rewarded. The wild enthuſiaſm, along with valor and diſcipline, ſtill propagated itſelf; and all men caſt their eyes on ſo pious and ſo ſucceſsful a leader. From low commands,

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* Conference held at Whitehall.

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he roſe with great rapidity to be really the firſt, tho' in appearance only the ſecond, in the army. By fraud and violence, he ſoon rendered himſelf the firſt in the ſtate. In proportion to the encreaſe of his authority, his talents ſeemed always to expand themſelves; and he diſplayed every day new abilities, which had lain dormant till the very emergence, by which they were called forth into action. All Europe ſtood aſtoniſhed to ſee a nation, ſo turbulent and unruly, who, for encroachments on their privileges, had dethroned and murdered an excellent Prince, deſcended from a long line of monarchs, now at laſt ſubdued and reduced to ſlavery by one, who, a few years before, was no better than a private gentleman, whoſe name was not known in the nation, and who was very little regarded even in that low ſphere, to which he had always been confined.

The indignation, entertained by the people, againſt an authority, founded on ſuch manifeſt uſurpation, was not ſo violent as might naturally be expected. Congratulatory addreſſes, the firſt of the kind, were made to Cromwel by the fleet, the army, even many of the chief corporations and counties of England; but eſpecially by the ſeveral congregations of pretended ſaints, diſperſed thro'-out the kingdom *. The Royaliſts, tho' they could not love the man, who had embrued his hands in the blood of their ſovereign, expected more lenity from him, than from the jealous and imperious Republicans, who had hitherto governed. The presbyterians were pleaſed to ſee thoſe men, by whom they had been outwitted and expelled, now in the end expelled and outwitted by their own ſervant; and they applauded him for this laſt act of violence upon the Parliament. Theſe two parties compoſed the bulk of the nation, and kept the people in ſome tolerable temper. All men, likewiſe, harraſſed with wars and factions, were glad to ſee any proſpect of juſtice and ſettlement. And they eſteemed it leſs ignominious to ſubmit to a perſon of ſuch admirable talents and capacity than to a number of ignoble enthuſiaſtic hypocrites, who, under the name of a Republic, had reduced them to a cruel ſubjection.

The Republicans, being dethroned by Cromwel, were the party whoſe reſentment he had the greateſt reaſon to apprehend. That party, beſides the independants, contained two ſets of men, who are ſeemingly of the moſt oppoſite principles, but who were then united by a ſimilitude of genius and of character. The firſt and moſt numerous were the Millenarians or Fifth Monarchy men, who inſiſted, that, dominion being founded in grace, all diſtinction of magiſtracy muſt be aboliſhed, except what aroſe from piety and holineſs; who expected ſuddenly the ſecond coming of Chriſt upon earth; and who pretended, that the ſaints in the mean while, that is, themſelves, were alone entitled to govern. The ſecond were

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* See Milton's State papers.

were the Deiſts, who had no other object than political liberty, who denied entirely the truth of revelation, and inſinuated, that all the various ſects, ſo heated againſt each other, were alike founded in error. Men of ſuch daring geniuſes were not contented with the eſtabliſhed forms of civil government; but challenged a degree of freedom beyond what they expected, under any Monarchy, ever to enjoy. Martin, Challoner, Harrington, Sidney, Wildman, Nevil, were eſteemed the heads of this ſmall diviſion.

The Deiſts, Cromwel perfectly hated, becauſe he had no hold of enthuſiaſm by which he could govern or over-reach them; he therefore treated them with great rigor and diſdain, and uſually denominated them the *Heathens*. As the Millenarians had a great intereſt in the army, it was much more important for him to gain their confidence; and their ſize of underſtanding afforded him great facility in deceiving them. Of late years, it had been ſo uſual a topic of converſation to diſcourſe of Parliaments and Councils and Senates, and the ſoldiers themſelves had been ſo much accuſtomed to enter into that ſpirit, that Cromwel thought it requiſite to eſtabliſh ſomething which might bear the face of a Commonwealth. He ſuppoſed, that God, in his providence, had thrown the whole right as well as power of government into his hands; and without any more ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he ſent ſummons to a hundred and twenty eight perſons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to ſix of Ireland. The ſupreme authority of the State he pretended, by his ſole act and deed, to devolve upon theſe perſons. This legiſlative power they were to exerciſe during fifteen months; and they were afterwards to chooſe the ſame number of perſons, who might ſucceed them in that high and important office.

Barebone's Parliament.

There were great numbers at that time, always diſpoſed to adhere to the power, which was uppermoſt, and to ſupport the eſtabliſhed government. This maxim is not peculiar to the people of that age; but what may be eſteemed peculiar to them, is, that there prevailed an hypocritical phraſe for expreſſing ſo prudential a conduct: It was called a waiting upon providence. When providence, therefore, was ſo kind as to beſtow on theſe perſons, now aſſembled together, the ſupreme authority, they muſt have been very ungrateful, if, in their turn, they had been wanting in complaiſance towards it. They immediately voted themſelves a Parliament; and having their own conſent, as well as that of Oliver Cromwel, for their legiſlative authority, they now proceeded very gravely to the exerciſe of it. It muſt be confeſſed, that the nation, when it muſt ſubmit to be governed by ſuch thin pretexts as theſe, was reduced to great ſubjection; or if thoſe pretexts were requiſite, in order

4th of July.

order to deceive the military enthuſiaſts, theſe muſt have been ſo blind and ſtupid, that the groſſeſt impoſitions might have ſucceeded with them.

In this notable aſſembly were ſome perſons of the rank of gentlemen; but the far greateſt part were low mechanics; Fifth Monarchy men, Anabaptiſts, Antinomians, Independants; the very dregs of the whole fanatics, themſelves the dregs of the human ſpecies. They began with ſeeking God by prayer. This office was performed by eight or ten *gifted* men of the aſſembly; and with ſo much ſucceſs, that, according to the confeſſion of all, they had never before, in any of their devout exerciſes, enjoyed ſo much of the holy ſpirit as was then communicated to them. Their hearts were, no doubt, dilated when they conſidered the high dignity, to which they ſuppoſed themſelves exalted. They had been told by Cromwel in his firſt diſcourſe, that he never looked to ſee ſuch a day, when Chriſt ſhould be ſo owned [*]: They thought it therefore their duty to proceed to a thorow reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer, and for that great work, which, it was expected, the Lord was to bring forth among them. All fanatics, being conſecrated by their own fond imaginations, naturally bear an antipathy to the clergy, who claim a peculiar ſanctity, derived merely from their office and prieſtly character. This Parliament took into conſideration the abolition of the clerical function, as ſavoring of popery; and the taking away tythes, which they called a relict of Judaiſm. Learning alſo and the univerſities they deemed heatheniſh and unneceſſary: The common law they denominated a badge of the conqueſt and of Norman ſlavery; and threatened the lawyers with a total abrogation of their profeſſion. Some ſteps were even taken towards an abolition of the chancery [†], the higheſt court of judicature in the kingdom; and the Moſaical law was intended to be eſtabliſhed as the ſole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence [‡].

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[*] Theſe are his expreſſions. "Indeed, I have but one word more to ſay to you, tho' in that perhaps I ſhall ſhow my weakneſs: It is by way of encouragement to you in this work; give me leave "to begin thus: I confeſs I never looked to have ſeen ſuch a day as this, it may be nor you neither, "when Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be ſo owned as he is at this day and in this work. Jeſus Chriſt is owned "this day by your call, and you own him by your willingneſs to appear for him, and you manifeſt "this (as far as poor creatures can do) to be a day of the power of Chriſt. I know you well remember that ſcripture, *he makes his people willing in the day of his power*. God manifeſts it to be "the day of the power of Chriſt, having thro' ſo much blood and ſo much tryal as has been upon "this nation, he makes this one of the greateſt mercies, next to his own ſon, to have his people "called to the ſupreme authority. God hath owned his ſon, and hath owned you, and hath made "you to own him. I confeſs, I never looked to have ſeen ſuch a day: I did not." I ſuppoſe at this paſſage he cried: For he was very much given to weeping, and could at any time ſhed abundance of tears. The reſt of the ſpeech may be ſeen among Milton's State papers, page 106. It is very curious, and full of the ſame obſcurity, confuſion, embaraſſment and abſurdity, which appear in almoſt all Oliver's productions.

[†] Whitelocke, p. 543, 548.

[‡] Conference held at Whitehall.

rp research publications

Of all the extraordinary ſchemes, adopted by theſe legiſlators, they had not leiſure to finiſh any, except that which eſtabliſhed the legal ſolemnization of marriage by the civil magiſtrate alone, without the interpoſition of the clergy. They found themſelves expoſed to the deriſion of the public. Among the fanatics of the houſe, there was a very active member, much noted for long prayers, ſermons, and harangues. He was a leather-ſeller in London: His name *Praiſe-god Barebone*. This ridiculous name, which ſeems to have been choſen by ſome poet or allegoriſt to ſuit ſo ridiculous a perſonage, ſtruck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this aſſembly the denomination of Barebone's Parliament *.

The Dutch ambaſſadors endeavored to enter into negotiation with this Parliament; but tho' proteſtants and even presbyterians, they met with a very bad reception from thoſe who pretended to a ſanctity ſo much ſuperior. The Hollanders were regarded as worldly minded men, intent only on commerce and induſtry; whom it was fitting the ſaints ſhould firſt eradicate, ere they undertook that great work, to which they believed themſelves by providence deſtined, of ſubduing Antichriſt, the man of ſin, and extending to the uttermoſt bounds of the earth the kingdom of the Redeemer †. The ambaſſadors, finding themſelves proſcribed, not as enemies of England, but of Chriſt, remained in aſtoniſhment, and knew not which was moſt to be admired, the implacable ſpirit or egregious folly of theſe pretended ſaints.

Cromwel began to be aſhamed of his legiſlature. If he ever had any other deſign in ſummoning ſo prepoſterous an aſſembly beyond amuſing the populace and the army; he had intended to alarm the clergy and lawyers; and he had ſo far

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* It was uſual for the pretended ſaints at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, William, which they regarded as heatheniſh, into others more ſanctified and godly: Even the New Teſtament names, James, Andrew, John, Peter, were not held in ſuch regard as thoſe borrowed from the Old Teſtament, Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joſhua, Zerobabel. Sometimes, a whole godly ſentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury encloſed in the county of Suſſex about that time.

Accepted, Trevor of Norſham.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
Faintnot, Hewet of Heathfield.
Make Peace, Heaton of Hare.
God Reward, Smart of Fivehurſt.
Stand faſt on high, Stringer of Crowhurſt.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lower of the ſame.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.
Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be Faithful, Joiner of Britling.
Fly Debate, Roberts of the ſame.
Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of Eaſt Hadley.
Hope for, Bending of the ſame.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Weep not, Billing of the ſame.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

See Brome's Travels into England, p. 279. "Cromwel," ſays an anonymous author of thoſe times, "hath beat up his drums clean thro' the Old Teſtament. You may learn the genealogy of our Savior by the names of his regiment. The muſter-maſter has no other liſt, than the firſt chapter of St. Mathew."

† Thurloe, Vol. I. p. 273, 591. Alſo Stubbe, p. 91, 92.

ſucceeded as to make them deſire any other government, which might ſecure their profeſſions, now brought in danger by theſe deſperate fanatics. Cromwel himſelf was diſſatisfied, that the Parliament, tho' they had received all their authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord *, and to inſiſt already on their divine commiſſion. He had carefully ſummoned in his writs ſeveral perſons entirely devoted to him. By concert, theſe met early; and it was mentioned by ſome among them, that the ſitting of this Parliament any longer would be of no ſervice to the nation. They haſtened, therefore, to Cromwel, along with Rouſe, their ſpeaker; and by a formal deed or aſſignment, reſigned back into his hands that ſupreme authority, which they had ſo lately received from him. General Harriſon and about twenty more remained in the houſe; and that they might prevent the reign of the ſaints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up proteſts. They were ſoon interrupted by colonel White, with a party of ſoldiers. He aſked them what they did there. "We are ſeeking the Lord," ſaid they. "Then you may go elſewhere," replied he: "For to my certain knowlege, he has not been here theſe ſeveral years."

12th of December.

The military being now in appearance, as well as in reality, the ſole power which prevailed in the nation, Cromwel thought fit to indulge a new fancy: For he ſeems not to have had any very concerted plan in all theſe alterations. Lambert, his creature, who, under the appearance of obſequiouſneſs, indulged a moſt unbounded ambition, propoſed in a council of officers to adopt another ſcheme of government, and to temper the liberty of a Commonwealth by the authority of a ſingle perſon, who ſhould be known by the appellation of Protector. Without delay, he prepared what was called the Inſtrument of Government, containing the plan of this new legiſlature; and as it was ſuppoſed to be agreeable to the general, it was immediately voted by the council of officers. Cromwel was declared Protector; and with great ſolemnity inſtalled in that high office.

Cromwel made Protector,

So little were theſe men endowed with the ſpirit of legiſlation, that they confeſſed or rather boaſted, that they had employed only four days in drawing this inſtrument, by which the whole government of the three kingdoms, for all ſucceeding ages, was pretended to be regulated and adjuſted. There appears no difficulty in believing them; when it is conſidered how crude and undigeſted a ſyſtem of politics they endeavored to eſtabliſh. The chief articles of the Inſtrument are theſe: A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty one, nor be leſs than thirteen perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their office during life or good behavior; and in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the Protector choſe one. The Protector was appointed the ſupreme magiſtrate of the Common-

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* Thurloe, Vol. I. p. 393.

Commonwealth: In his name was all juſtice adminiſtered; from him were all magiſtracy and all honors derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treaſon; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance, reſted in him; but in theſe particulars he was to act entirely by the advice and with the conſent of his council. The power of the ſword was veſted in the Protector, jointly with the Parliament while it was ſitting, or with the council of ſtate in the intervals. A Parliament he was obliged to ſummon every three years, and allow them to ſit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution. The bills, which they enacted, were to be preſented to the Protector for his conſent; but if, within twenty days, it was not obtained, they were to paſs into laws by the authority alone of the Parliament. A ſtanding army for Britain and Ireland was eſtabliſhed, of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horſe; and funds were aſſigned for their ſupport. Theſe were not to be diminiſhed without conſent of the Protector; and in this article alone he aſſumed a negative. During the intervals of Parliament, the Protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were valid till the firſt meeting of Parliament. The chancellor, treaſurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief juſtices of both the benches muſt be choſen with the approbation of Parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by Parliament. The Protector enjoyed his office during life; and on his death, the place was immediately to be ſupplied by the council. This was the inſtrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and ſolemnly ſworn to by Oliver Cromwel. The council of ſtate named by the inſtrument were fifteen; men entirely devoted to the Protector, and not likely, by reaſon of the oppoſition among themſelves in party and principles, ever to combine againſt him.

Cromwel ſaid, that he accepted the dignity of Protector, merely that he might exert the duty of a conſtable, and preſerve peace in the nation. Affairs indeed were brought to that paſs, by the furious animoſities of the ſeveral factions, that the extenſive authority and even arbitrary power of ſome firſt magiſtrate was become a neceſſary evil, in order to keep the people from relapſing into blood and confuſion. The Independants were too ſmall a party ever to eſtabliſh a popular government, or entruſt the nation, where they had ſo little intereſt, with the free choice of its own repreſentatives. The presbyterians had adopted the violent maxims of perſecution; incompatible at all times with the peace of ſociety, much more with the wild zeal of thoſe numerous ſects, which prevailed among the people. The Royaliſts were ſo much enraged by the injuries, which they had ſuffered, that the other prevailing parties would never ſubmit to them, who, they knew, merely by the execution of the antient laws, were enabled to take ſuch ſe-

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vere revenge upon them. Had Cromwel been guilty of no crime but this temporary uſurpation, the plea of neceſſity and public good, which he alleged, might be allowed, in every view, a very reaſonable excuſe for his conduct.

During the variety of ridiculous and diſtracted ſcenes, which the civil government preſented in England, the military force was exerted with the utmoſt vigor, conduct, and unanimity; and never did the kingdom appear more formidable to all foreign nations. Near the coaſt of Flanders, Tromp with a mighty fleet of a hundred ſail, met the Engliſh fleet, equally numerous, commanded by Monk and Dean, and under them by Pen and Lauſon *. The two republics were not inflamed by any national antipathy, and had very little interference of intereſt: Yet few battles have been fought with more fierce and obſtinate courage than were thoſe many naval combats, which occurred during this ſhort, but violent war. The deſire of remaining ſole lords of the ocean animated theſe ſtates to an honorable emulation againſt each other. After a battle of two days, in the firſt of which Dean was killed, the Dutch, inferior in the ſize of their ſhips, were obliged, with great loſs, to retire into their harbors. Blake, towards the end of the fight, joined his countrymen with 18 ſail. The Engliſh fleet lay off the coaſt of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of that republic.

The ambaſſadors, whom the Dutch had ſent into England, gave them hopes of peace. But as they could obtain no ceſſation of hoſtilities, the ſtates, unwilling to ſuffer any longer the loſs and diſgrace of being blockaded by their enemy, made the utmoſt efforts to recover their injured honor. Never on any occaſion did the power and vigor of that ſtate appear in a more conſpicuous light. In a few weeks, they had repaired and manned their fleet; and they equipped ſome ſhips of a larger ſize, than any which they had hitherto ſent to ſea. Tromp iſſued out, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than to yield the conteſt. He met with the enemy, commanded by Monk; and both ſides immediately ruſhed into the combat †. Tromp, gallantly animating his men, with his ſword drawn, was ſhot thro' the heart with a muſquet ball. This event alone decided the battle in favor of the Engliſh. Tho' near thirty ſhips of the Dutch were ſunk and taken, they little regreted this loſs in compariſon with that of their brave admiral.

Meanwhile the negotiations of peace were continually advancing. The ſtates, overwhelmed with the expences of the war, terrified by their loſſes, and mortified by their defeats, were infinitely deſirous of an accommodation with an enemy, whom they found, by experience, to be too powerful for them. The King having ſhown a deſire to ſerve on board their fleet; tho' they expreſſed their ſenſe of the honor intended them, they declined an offer, which might enflame the quarrel

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* 3d of June.

† 29th of July.

quarrel with the Engliſh Commonwealth. The great obſtacle to the peace was found to be, not any animoſity in the Engliſh; but on the contrary, a deſire too earneſt of union and confederacy. Cromwel had revived the chimerical ſcheme of a coalition with the United Provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, intereſts, and councils. This project appeared ſo wild to the States General, that they wondered any man of ſenſe could ever entertain it; and they refuſed to enter into conferences with regard to a propoſal, which could ſerve only to delay any practicable ſcheme of accommodation. The peace was at laſt ſigned by Cromwel, now inveſted with the dignity of Protector; and ſufficiently proves, that the war had been very impolitic, ſince, after the moſt ſignal victories, no terms more advantageous could be obtained. A defenſive league was made betwixt the two republics. They agreed, each of them, to baniſh the enemies of the other; thoſe concerned in the maſſacre of Amboyna were to be puniſhed, if any remained alive; the honor of the flag was yielded to the Engliſh; eighty five thouſand pounds were ſtipulated to be payed by the Dutch Eaſt India company for loſſes, which the Engliſh company had ſuſtained; and the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies was promiſed to be yielded to the latter.

1654.

15th of April.

Peace with Holland.

CROMWEL, jealous of the connexions betwixt the royal family and that of Orange, inſiſted on a ſeparate article; that neither the young Prince nor any of his family ſhould ever be inveſted with the dignity of Stadholder. The province of Holland, ſtrongly prejudiced againſt that office, which they eſteemed dangerous to liberty, ſecretly ratified this article. The Protector, knowing that the other provinces would never be induced to make ſuch a conceſſion, was ſatisfied with that ſecurity.

THE Dutch war, being ſucceſsful, and the peace reaſonable, brought credit to Cromwel's adminiſtration. An act of juſtice, which he exerciſed at home, gave likewiſe ſatisfaction to the people; tho' the regularity of it may perhaps appear ſomewhat doubtful. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and joined with him in the ſame commiſſion[*], fancying himſelf inſulted in London, came upon the Exchange, armed and attended with ſeveral ſervants. By miſtake, they fell upon a gentleman, whom he took for the perſon that had given him the offence, and having butchered him with many wounds, they all took ſhelter in the houſe of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who had connived at this baſe enterprize[†]. The populace ſurrounded the houſe, and threatened to ſet it on fire. Cromwel ſent a guard, who ſeized all the criminals. They were brought to tryal: And notwithſtanding the proteſtations of the ambaſſador, who pleaded the privileges of his office,

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[*] Thurloe, Vol. II. p. 429.

[†] Id. Vol. I. p. 616.

fice, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill. The laws of nations were here plainly violated: But the crime committed by the Portugueſe gentleman was to the laſt degree atrocious; and the vigorous chaſtiſement of it, ſuiting ſo well the undaunted character of Cromwel, was univerſally approved at home and admired among foreign nations. The ſituation of Portugal obliged that court to acquieſce; and the ambaſſador ſoon after ſigned with the Protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the Engliſh commerce.

ANOTHER act of ſeverity, but neceſſary in his ſituation, the Protector, at the very ſame time, exerciſed upon Gerard and Vowel, two Royaliſts, who were accuſed of conſpiring againſt his life. He had erected a high court of juſtice for their trial; an infringement of the antient laws, which at this time was become familiar, but one to which no cuſtom could reconcile the nation. Juries were found altogether unmanageable. The reſtleſs Lilburn, for new offences, had been brought to a new trial; and had been acquitted with new triumph and exultation. If no other method of conviction had been deviſed during this illegal and unpopular government, all its enemies were aſſured of entire impunity.

3d of September.
A new Parliament.

THE Protector had occaſion to obſerve how unpopular his government was, by the diſpoſition of the Parliament, which he ſummoned on the third of September, that day of the year, on which he gained his two great victories of Dunbar and Worceſter, and which he always regarded as fortunate for him. It muſt be confeſſed, that, if we are left to gather Cromwel's intentions from his inſtrument of government, it is ſuch a motley piece, that we cannot eaſily conjecture, whether he ſeriouſly meant to eſtabliſh a tyranny or a republic. On the one hand, a firſt magiſtrate, in ſo extenſive a government, ſeemed requiſite both for the dignity and tranquillity of the ſtate; and the authority, which he aſſumed as Protector, was, in ſome reſpects, inferior to the prerogatives, which the laws entruſted and ſtill entruſt to the King. On the other hand, the legiſlative power, which he reſerved to himſelf and council, along with ſo great an army, independant of the Parliament, were bad prognoſtics of his intention to ſubmit to a civil and legal conſtitution. But if this was not his intention, the method, in which he diſtributed and conducted the elections, being ſo favorable to liberty, form an inconſiſtency which is not eaſily accounted for. He deprived of their right of election all the ſmall burroughs, which are ſo much expoſed to influence and corruption. Of 400 members, which repreſented England, 270 were choſen by the counties. The reſt were elected by London and the more conſiderable corporations. The lower populace too, ſo eaſily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections: An eſtate of 200 pounds value was requiſite to entitle any one to a vote. The elections of this Parliament were conducted with perfect freedom; and, excepting that ſuch of the Royaliſts as had borne arms againſt the Parliament and all their ſons were excluded, a more fair repreſentation of the people could not be deſired nor expected. Thirty members were returned from Scotland; as many from Ireland.

The Protector ſeems to have been diſappointed, when he found, that all theſe precautions, which were probably nothing but covers to his ambition, had not procured him the confidence of the public. Tho' Cromwel's adminiſtration was leſs odious to every party than that of any other party, yet was it entirely acceptable to none of them. The Royaliſts had been inſtructed by the King to remain quiet, and to cover themſelves under the appearance of Republicans; and they found in this latter faction ſuch inveterate hatred againſt the Protector, that they could not wiſh for more zealous adverſaries to his authority. It was maintained by them, that the pretence of liberty and popular election was but a new artifice of this grand deceiver, in order to lay aſleep the deluded nation, and give himſelf leizure to rivet their chains more ſecurely upon them: That in the inſtrument of government he openly declared his intention of ſtill retaining the ſame mercenary army, by whoſe aſſiſtance he had ſubdued the antient, eſtabliſhed government, and who would with leſs ſcruple obey him, in overturning, whenever he ſhould pleaſe to order them, that new ſyſtem, which he himſelf had been pleaſed to model: That being ſenſible of the danger and uncertainty of all military government, he endeavored to intermix ſome appearance, and but an appearance, of civil adminiſtration, and to ballance the army by a ſeeming conſent of the people: That the abſurd trial, which he had made of a Parliament, elected by himſelf, appointed perpetually to elect their ſucceſſors, plainly proved, that he aimed at nothing but temporary expedients, was totally averſe to a free republican government, and poſſeſſed not that mature and deliberate reflection, which could qualify him to act the part of a legiſlator: That his imperious character, which had betrayed itſelf in ſo many incidents, would never ſeriouſly ſubmit to legal limitations; nor would the very image of popular government be longer upheld than while it was conformable to his arbitrary will and pleaſure: And that the beſt policy was to oblige him to take off the maſk at once; and either ſubmit entirely to that Parliament which he had ſummoned, or by totally rejecting its authority, leave himſelf no reſource but his ſeditious and enthuſiaſtic army.

In proſecution of theſe views, the Parliament, having heard the Protector's harangue of three hours *, and having choſen Lenthal for their ſpeaker, immediately entered into a diſcuſſion of the pretended inſtrument of government, and of that authority, which Cromwel, under the title of Protector, had aſſumed over the nation. The greateſt liberty was uſed in arraigning this new dignity; and even the perſonal

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* Thurloe, vol. ii, p. 588.

Chap. II. 1654. perſonal character and conduct of Cromwel eſcaped not altogether without cenſure. The utmoſt, which could be obtained by the officers and by the court party, for ſo they were called, was, by arguments and long ſpeeches, to protract the debate, and prevent the deciſion of a queſtion, which, they were ſenſible, would, by a great majority, be carried againſt them. The Protector, ſurpriſed and enraged at this refractory ſpirit in the Parliament, which however he had ſo much reaſon to expect, ſent for them to the Painted Chamber, and with an air of great authority inveighed againſt their conduct. He told them, that nothing could be more abſurd than for them to diſpute his title; ſince the ſame inſtrument of government, which made them a Parliament, had inveſted him with the Protectorſhip; that ſome points in the new conſtitution were ſuppoſed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretext, to be altered or diſputed; that among theſe were to be eſteemed the government of the nation by one perſon and a Parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the ſucceſſion of new Parliaments, and liberty of conſcience; and that, with regard to theſe particulars, there was reſerved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumſtances of government, he confeſſed himſelf no way intitled.

The Protector now found himſelf neceſſitated to exact a ſecurity, which, had he foreſeen the ſpirit of the houſe, he would with much better grace have required at their firſt meeting*. He obliged the members to ſign a recognition of his authority and an engagement not to propoſe or conſent to any alteration of the government, as it was ſettled in one ſingle perſon and a Parliament; and he placed guards at the door of the houſe, who allowed none but ſubſcribers to enter. Moſt of the members, after ſome heſitation, ſubmitted to this condition; but retained the ſame refractory ſpirit, which they had diſcovered in their firſt debates. The inſtrument of government was taken in pieces, and examined, one article after another, with the moſt ſcrupulous accuracy: Very free topics were advanced with the general approbation of the houſe: And during the whole courſe of their tranſactions, they neither ſent up one law to the Protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed, that conſpiracies were entered into between the members and ſome malecontent officers of the army; he haſtened to a diſſolution of ſo dangerous an aſſembly. By the inſtrument of government, to which he had ſworn, no Parliament could be diſſolved, till it had ſate five months; but Cromwel pretended, that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practiſed in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to this reckoning, being elapſed; the Parliament was ordered to attend the Protector, where he made them a tedious, confuſed, embarraſſed, angry harangue, and diſmiſſed

1655. 22d of January.

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* Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 620.

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diſmiſſed them. Were we to judge of Cromwel's capacity by this, and indeed by all his other compoſitions, we ſhould be apt to entertain no very favorable idea of it. But in the great variety of human geniuſes, there are ſome, which, tho' they ſee their object clearly and diſtinctly in general; yet, when they come to unfold its parts by diſcourſe or writing, loſe that luminous conception, which they had before attained. All accounts agree in aſcribing to Cromwel a tireſome, dark, unintelligible elocution, even when he had no intention to diſguiſe his meaning: Yet no man's actions were ever, in ſuch a variety of difficult incidents, more deciſive and judicious.

THE electing a diſcontented Parliament is a ſure proof of a diſcontented nation: The angry and abrupt diſſolution of that Parliament is ſure always to encreaſe the general diſcontent. The members of this aſſembly, returning to their counties, propagated that ſpirit of mutiny, which they had foſtered in the houſe. Sir Harry Vane and the old Republicans, who maintained the indiſſoluble authority of the long Parliament, encouraged the murmurs againſt the preſent uſurpation; tho' they acted ſo cautiouſly as to give the Protector no handle againſt them. Wildman and ſome others of that party carried farther their conſpiracies againſt the Protector's authority. The Royaliſts, obſerving this general ill will towards the eſtabliſhment, could no longer be retained in ſubjection; but fancied, that every one, who was diſſatisfied like them, had alſo embraced the ſame views and inclinations. They conſidered not, that all the old parliamentary party, tho' many of them were diſpleaſed with Cromwel, who had diſpoſſeſſed them of their power, were ſtill more apprehenſive of any ſucceſs to the royal cauſe; whence, beſides a certain proſpect of the ſame inconvenience, they had ſo much reaſon to dread the ſevereſt vengeance for their paſt tranſgreſſions.

Inſurrection of the Royaliſts.

11th of March.

IN concert with the King a conſpiracy was entered into by the Royaliſts thro'out England, and a day of general riſing appointed. Information of this deſign was conveyed to Cromwel. The Protector's adminiſtration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his ſecretary, had ſpies every where. Manning, who had acceſs to the King's family, kept a regular correſpondence with him. And it was not difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy, ſo generally diffuſed among a party, who valued themſelves more on zeal and courage, than on ſecrecy and ſobriety. Many of the Royaliſts were thrown into priſon. Others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the undertaking, and remained at home. In one place alone the conſpiracy broke out into action. Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen of the weſt entered Saliſbury with about 200 horſe; at the very time when the ſheriff and judges were holding the aſſizes. Theſe they made priſoners; and proclaimed the King. Contrary to their expectations, they received no acceſſion of

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force; ſo prevalent was the terror of the eſtabliſhed government. Having in vain wandered about for ſome time, they were totally diſcouraged; and one troop of horſe was able at laſt to ſuppreſs them. The leaders of the conſpiracy, being taken priſoners, were capitally puniſhed. The reſt were ſold for ſlaves, and tranſported to Barbadoes.

The eaſy ſubduing this inſurrection, which, by the boldneſs of the undertaking, ſtruck at firſt an infinite terror into the nation, was a ſingular felicity to the Protector, who could not, without danger, have brought together any conſiderable body of his mutinous army, in order to ſuppreſs it. The very inſurrection itſelf he regarded as a fortunate event; ſince it proved the reality of thoſe conſpiracies, which his enemies, on every occaſion, repreſented as mere fictions, invented to color his jealous ſeverities. He reſolved to keep no longer any terms with the Royaliſts, who, tho' they were not perhaps the moſt implacable of his enemies, were thoſe whom he could oppreſs under the moſt plauſible appearances, and who met with leaſt countenance and protection from his adherents. With the conſent of his council, he iſſued an edict for decimating that whole party; in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expences, to which their mutinous diſpoſition continually expoſed the public. Without regard to compoſitions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity, all the Royaliſts, however harraſſed with former expences and oppreſſions, were obliged anew to redeem themſelves by great ſums of money; and many of them were reduced by theſe multiplied diſaſters to extreme poverty. Whoever was known to be diſaffected or even lay under any ſuſpicion, tho' no guilt could be proved againſt him, was expoſed to this exaction.

In order to raiſe an impoſition, ſo oppreſſive and iniquous, the Protector inſtituted ten * major-generals; and divided the whole kingdom of England into ſo many military juriſdictions. Theſe men, aſſiſted by commiſſioners, had power to ſubject whom they pleaſed to decimation, to levy all the taxes impoſed by the Protector and his council, and to impriſon any perſon who ſhould be expoſed to their jealouſy or ſuſpicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the Protector himſelf and his council. Under color of theſe powers, which were ſufficiently exorbitant, the generals exerciſed an authority ſtill more arbitrary, and acted as if abſolute maſters of the property and perſon of every ſubject. All reaſonable men now concluded, that the very maſque of liberty was thrown aſide, and that the nation was for ever ſubjected to military and deſpotic government, exerciſed not in the legal manner of Europæan nations, but according to the maxims of eaſtern

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* Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 88. Moſt hiſtorians ſay, that the major-generals were eleven: Dugdale and Bates fourteen.

eaſtern tyranny. Not only the ſupreme magiſtrate owed his authority to illegal force and uſurpation: He had parcelled out the people into ſo many ſubdiviſions of ſlavery, and had delegated to his inferior miniſters the ſame unlimited authority, which he himſelf had ſo violently aſſumed.

A GOVERNMENT, totally military and deſpotic, is ſure, after ſome time, to fall into impotence and languor: But when it immediately ſucceeds a legal conſtitution, it may, at firſt, to foreign nations appear very vigorous and active, and exert with more unanimity that power, ſpirit, and riches, which had been acquired under a better form of government. It ſeems now proper, after ſo long an interval, to look abroad to the general ſtate of Europe, and to conſider the meaſures, which England, at this time, embraced in its negotiations with the neighboring Princes. The moderate temper and unwarlike genius of the two laſt princes, the extreme difficulties under which they labored at home, and the great ſecurity which they enjoyed from foreign enemies, had rendered them very negligent of the tranſactions of the continent; and England, during their reigns, had been in a manner overlooked in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The bold and reſtleſs ſpirit of the Protector led him to extend his alliances and enterprizes to every corner of Chriſtendom; and partly from the aſcendant of his magnanimous genius, partly from the ſituation of foreign kingdoms, the weight of England, even under its juſteſt and braveſt princes, was never more ſenſibly felt than during this illegal and violent uſurpation.

State of Europe.

A WAR of thirty years, the moſt ſignal and moſt furious which had appeared in modern annals, was at laſt finiſhed in Germany*; and by the treaty of Weſtphalia, were compoſed thoſe fatal quarrels, which had been excited by the Palatine's precipitant acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. The young Palatine was reſtored to a portion of his dignities and of his dominions: The rights, privileges, and authority of the ſeveral members of the Germanic body were fixed and aſcertained: Sovereign Princes and free States were in ſome degree reduced to obedience under laws: And by the valor of the heroic Guſtavus, the enterprizes of the active Richelieu, the intrigues of the artful Mazarine, was in part effectuated, after an infinite expence of blood and treaſure, what had been expected and demanded from the feeble efforts of the pacific James, ſeconded by the ſcanty ſupplies of his jealous Parliaments.

SWEDEN, which had acquired by conqueſt very large dominions in the north of Germany, was engaged in enterprizes, which promiſed her, from her ſucceſs and valor, ſtill more extenſive acquiſitions on the ſide both of Poland and of Denmark. Charles the tenth, who had mounted the throne of that Kingdom after the volun-

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* In 1648.

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tary reſignation of Chriſtina, being ſtimulated by the fame of the great Guſtavus as well as by his own martial diſpoſition, carried his conquering arms to the ſouth of the Baltic, and gained the celebrated victory of Warſaw, which, during the ſpace of three days, had been obſtinately conteſted againſt him. The Protector, at the time his alliance was courted by every power in Europe, anxiouſly courted the alliance of Sweden; and he was fond of forming a confederacy with a proteſtant power of ſuch renown, even tho' it threatened the whole north with conqueſt and ſubjection.

The tranſactions of the Parliament and Protector with France had been various and complicated. The emiſſaries of Richelieu had furniſhed fuel to the flame of rebellion, when it firſt broke out in Scotland; but after the conflagration had diffuſed itſelf, the French court, obſerving the materials to be of themſelves ſufficiently combuſtible, found it unneceſſary any longer to animate the King's ſubjects to an oppoſition of their Sovereign. On the contrary, they offered their mediation for compoſing theſe inteſtine diſorders; and their ambaſſadors, from decency, pretended to act in concert with the court of England, and to receive directions from a Prince, with whom their maſter was connected by ſo near an affinity. Mean while, Richelieu died, and ſoon after him, the French King, Louis the thirteenth; leaving his ſon an infant four years old, and his widow, Anne of Auſtria, regent of the kingdom. Cardinal Mazarine ſucceeded Richelieu in the miniſtry; and the ſame plan of adminiſtration, tho' by men of ſuch oppoſite characters, was ſtill continued in the French councils. The eſtabliſhment of royal authority, the reduction of the Auſtrian family, were purſued with ardor and ſucceſs; and every year brought an acceſſion of force and grandeur to the French monarchy. Not only battles were gained, towns and fortreſſes taken; the genius too of the nation ſeemed gradually to improve, and to compoſe itſelf to the ſpirit of dutiful obedience and of ſteddy enterprize. A Condé, a Turenne were formed; and the troops animated by their valor, and guided by their diſcipline, acquired daily a greater aſcendant over the Spaniards. All of a ſudden, from ſome intrigues of the court, and ſome diſcontents in the courts of judicature, which the French call Parliaments, inteſtine commotions were excited, and every thing relapſed into confuſion. But theſe rebellions of the French, neither ennobled by the ſpirit of liberty, nor diſgraced by the fanatical extravagancies, which diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh civil wars, were conducted with little bloodſhed, and made but ſmall impreſſion on the minds of the people. Tho' ſeconded by the force of Spain, and conducted by the heroic Condé, the malecontents, in a little time, were either expelled or ſubdued; and the French monarchy, having loſt a few of its conqueſts, returned again, with freſh vigor, to the acquiſition of new dominion.

The Queen of England and her ſon, Charles, during theſe commotions, paſſed moſt of their time at Paris; and notwithſtanding their near connexion of blood, received but few civilities, and ſtill leſs ſupport, from the French court. Had the Queen regent been ever ſo much inclined to aſſiſt the Engliſh Prince, the diſorders of her own affairs, for a long time, would have rendered ſuch intentions abſolutely impracticable. The baniſhed Queen had a moderate penſion aſſigned her; but it was ſo ill payed, and her credit ran ſo low, Cardinal de Retz tells us, that, one morning, when he waited on her, ſhe informed him, that her daughter, the Princeſs Henrietta, was obliged to lie abed, for want of a fire to warm her. To ſuch a condition was reduced, in the midſt of Paris, a Queen of England and daughter of Henry the fourth of France!

The Engliſh Parliament, however, having aſſumed the ſovereignty of the State, reſented the countenance, cold as it was, which the French court gave to the unfortunate Monarch. Under pretext of injuries, of which their merchants complained, they iſſued letters of reprizal upon the French; and Blake went ſo far as to attack and ſeize a whole ſquadron of ſhips, which were carrying ſupplies to Dunkirk, then cloſely beſieged by the Spaniards. That town, diſappointed of theſe ſupplies, fell into the enemies hands. The court of France ſoon found it requiſite to change their meaſures. They treated Charles with ſuch affected indifference, that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and to ſave them the ſhame of deſiring his abſence. He went firſt to Spaw, thence he retired to Cologne; where he lived two years on a ſmall penſion, about 6000 pounds a year, payed him by the French Monarch, and on ſome contributions ſent him by his friends in England. In the management of his family, he diſcovered a diſpoſition to order and oeconomy; and his temper, cheerful, careleſs, and ſociable, was more than a ſufficient compenſation for that empire, of which his enemies had bereaved him. Sir Edward Hyde, created lord chancellor, and the Marqueſs of Ormond were his chief friends and confidents.

If the French miniſtry had thought it prudent to bend under the Engliſh Parliament, they eſteemed it ſtill more requiſite to pay deference to the Protector, when he aſſumed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom all the French councils were directed, and who, tho' a ſtranger, had reduced the moſt powerful kingdom of Europe under his feet, was artful and vigilant, ſupple and patient, falſe and intriguing; deſirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, and placing his honor more in the final ſucceſs of his meaſures than in the ſplendor and magnanimity of the means, which he employed. Cromwel, by his imperious character,

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character, rather than by the advantage of his ſituation, acquired an aſcendant over this man; and each propoſal made by the Protector, however unreaſonable in itſelf and urged with whatever inſolence, met with a ready compliance from the politic and timid cardinal. Bourdeaux was ſent over to England as miniſter; and every circumſtance of reſpect was payed to the daring uſurper, who had embrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, a prince ſo nearly related to the crown of France. With indefatigable patience did Bourdeaux conduct this negotiation, which Cromwel ſeemed entirely to neglect; and tho' privatiers with Engliſh commiſſions, committed daily ravages on the French commerce, Mazarine was contented, in hopes of a fortunate iſſue, ſtill to ſubmit to theſe indignities *.

The court of Spain, leſs connected with the unfortunate royal family, and reduced to greater diſtreſs than the French monarchy, had been ſtill more forward in their advances to the proſperous Parliament and Protector. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spaniſh envoy, was the firſt public miniſter, who recognized the authority of the new Republic; and in return to this civility, Aſcham was by the Parliament ſent envoy into Spain. No ſooner had this miniſter arrived in Madrid, than ſome of the baniſhed Royaliſts, inflamed by that inveterate hatred, which animated the Engliſh factions, broke into his chamber, and murdered him together with his ſecretary. Immediately, they took ſanctuary in the churches; and aſſiſted by the general favor, which every where attended the royal cauſe, were enabled, moſt of them, to make their eſcape. Only one of the criminals ſuffered death; and the Parliament ſeemed to reſt contented with this atonement.

Spain at this time, aſſailed every where by vigorous enemies from without, and laboring under many internal diſorders, retained nothing of her former enormous grandeur, except the haughty pride of her councils, and the hatred and jealoſy of all her neighbors. Portugal had revolted, and eſtabliſhed its monarchy in the houſe of Braganza: Catalonia, complaining of violated privileges, had delivered itſelf over to France: Naples was ſhook with unheard-of convulſions: The Low Countries were invaded with ſuperior forces, and ſeemed ready to change their maſter: The Spaniſh infantry, antiently ſo formidable, had been annihilated by Condé in the fields of Rocroy: And tho' the ſame Prince, baniſhed France, ſuſtained, by his activity and valor, the falling fortunes of Spain, he could only hope to protract, not prevent, the ruin, with which that monarchy was viſibly threatened.

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* Thurloe, Vol. iii. p. 103, 619, 653. In the treaty, which was ſigned after long negotiation, the Protector's name was inſerted before the King's in that copy which remained in England. Thurloe, Vol. vi. p. 116. See farther, Vol. vii. p. 178.

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HAD Cromwel underſtood and regarded the intereſts of his country, he would have ſupported the declining condition of Spain againſt the dangerous ambition of France, and preſerved that ballance of power, on which the greatneſs and ſecurity of England ſo much depends. Had he ſtudied only his own intereſts, he would have maintained an exact neutrality betwixt thoſe two great monarchies; nor would he ever have hazarded his ill acquired and unſettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend aſſiſtance to domeſtic faction, and overturn his tottering throne. But his magnanimous courage undervalued danger: His active diſpoſition and avidity of extenſive glory made him incapable of repoſe: And as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, no ſooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he ſhould invade with his victorious arms.

War with Spain.

THE extenſive dominion and yet extreme weakneſs of Spain in the Weſt Indies; the vigorous courage and great naval power of England; were circumſtances, which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterprizing Protector, and made him hope, that, by ſome gainful conqueſt, he would for ever render illuſtrious that dominion, which he had aſſumed over his country. Should he fail of theſe durable acquiſitions, the Indian treaſures, which muſt every year croſs the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a ſure prey to the Engliſh navy, and would ſupport his military force, without laying new burthens on the diſcontented people. From France a vigorous reſiſtance muſt be expected: No plunder, no conqueſts could be hoped for. The progreſs of his arms, even if attended with ſucceſs, muſt there be ſlow and gradual; and the advantages acquired, however real, would be leſs ſtriking to the ignorant multitude, whom it was his intereſt to allure. The royal family, ſo cloſely connected with the French Monarch, might receive great aſſiſtance from that neighboring kingdom; and an army of French Proteſtants, landed in England, would be able, he dreaded, to unite the moſt oppoſite factions againſt the preſent uſurpation [*].

THESE motives of policy were probably ſeconded by his bigotted prejudices; as no human mind ever contained ſo ſtrange a mixture of ſagacity and abſurdity as that of this extraordinary perſonage. The Swediſh alliance, tho' much contrary to the intereſts of England, he had contracted merely from his zeal for Proteſtantiſm [†]; and Sweden being cloſely connected with France, he could not hope to maintain that confederacy, in which he ſo much prided himſelf, ſhould

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[*] See the account of the negotiations with France and Spain by Thurloe, Vol. i. p: 759.

[†] He propoſed to Sweden a general league and confederacy of all the Proteſtants. Whitlocke, p. 620. Thurloe, Vol. vii. p. 1. In order to judge of the maxims, by which he conducted his foreign politics, ſee farther Thurloe, Vol. iv. p. 295, p. 343, p. 443. Vol. vii. p. 174.

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a rupture enſue betwixt England and this latter kingdom[*]. The Hugonots, he expected, would meet with better treatment, while he engaged in a cloſe alliance with their ſovereign[†]. And as the Spaniards were much more Papiſts than the French, were much more expoſed to the old puritanical hatred[‡], and had even erected the bloody tribunal of the inquiſition, whoſe rigors, on Cromwel's ſollicitation, they had refuſed to mitigate[§]; he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with ſuch idolaters could not fail of protection from Heaven[‖]. A preacher likewiſe, inſpired, as was ſuppoſed, by a prophetic ſpirit, bid him *go and proſper*; calling him *a ſtone cut out of the mountains without hands, that ſhould break the pride of the Spaniard, cruſh Antichriſt, and make way for the purity of the Goſpel over the whole world*[¶].

Actuated equally by thoſe bigotted, thoſe ambitious, and thoſe intereſted motives, the Protector equipped two conſiderable ſquadrons; and while he was making theſe preparations, all the neighboring nations, ignorant of his intentions, remained in ſuſpence, and looked with anxious expectation on what ſide the ſtorm would diſcharge itſelf. One of the ſquadrons, conſiſting of thirty capital ſhips, was ſent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whoſe fame was now ſpred over all Europe. No Engliſh ſquadron, except during the Croiſades, had ever before ſailed thoſe ſeas; and from one extremity to the other, there was no naval force, Chriſtian or Mahometan, able to reſiſt them. The Roman pontiff, whoſe weakneſs and whoſe pride, equally provoke attacks, dreaded invaſion from a power, which profeſſed the moſt inveterate enmity againſt him, and which ſo little regulated its movements by the common motives of intereſt and prudence. Blake, caſting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained of the grand Duke ſatiſfaction for ſome loſſes, which the Engliſh commerce had formerly ſuſtained from him. He next ſailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make peace and to reſtrain his pyratical ſubjects from all farther violences on the Engliſh. He preſented himſelf before Tunis, and having made the ſame demands, the Dey of that republic bade him look to the caſtles of Porto-Farino and Goletta, and do his utmoſt. Blake needed not to be rouzed by ſuch a bravado: His ſhips he drew cloſe up to the caſtles, and tore them in pieces with the thunder of his artillery. A numerous detachment of ſeamen he ſent in their long boats into the harbor, and burned every ſhip which lay there. This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered ſafe, was executed with very little loſs, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of Engliſh valor.

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[*] Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 759.

[†] Id. Ibid.

[‡] Id. Ibid.

[§] Id. Ibid. Don Alonzo ſaid, that the Indian trade and the inquiſition were his maſter's two eyes, and the Protector inſiſted upon the putting out both of them at once.

[‖] Carrington, p. 191.

[¶] Bates.

It has been remarked, that Blake was the firſt, who taught the ſeamen to deſpiſe caſtles at land, and by that means much extended the terror of naval enterprizes. The caſtles, which at that time guarded the entrance into harbors, were commonly built on the brink of the water: If they were raiſed to any height, their ſhot paſſed over the ſhips, and they were themſelves ſoon deſtroyed by the ſuperior fire of the veſſels; if low, the ſmall arms of the ſeamen, who overlooked them, rendered it impoſſible for the ſoldiers to ſtand to their guns. At preſent, the caſtles are removed to ſome diſtance, and ſunk to a level with the water; which renders ſuch enterprizes as thoſe of Blake in reality as impracticable, as before his time they were univerſally eſteemed.

Jamaica conquered.

The other ſquadron was not equally ſucceſsful. It was commanded by Pen, and carried 4000 men, under the command of Venables. About 5000 more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Chriſtophers. Both theſe officers were inclined to the King's ſervice *; and it is pretended, that Cromwel was obliged to hurry the ſoldiers on board, in order to prevent the execution of a conſpiracy, which had been formed †. The ill ſucceſs of this enterprize may juſtly be aſcribed, as much to the injudicious contrivance of the Protector, who planed it, as to the bad execution of the officers, by whom it was conducted. The ſoldiers were the refuſe of the whole army: The forces inliſted in the Weſt Indies were the moſt profligate of mankind: The admiral and general were of very incompatible tempers: The troops were not furniſhed with arms fit for ſuch an expedition: The proviſions were very defective both in quantity and quality: All hopes of pillage, the beſt incentive to valor among ſuch men, were refuſed the ſoldiers and ſeamen: No directions nor intelligence were given to conduct the officers in their enterprize: And at the ſame time, they were tied down to follow the advice of commiſſioners, who extremely diſconcerted them in all their projects ‡.

13th of April.

It was agreed to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of ſtrength in the iſland of Hiſpaniola. On their approach, the Spaniards in a fright deſerted their houſes and fled into the woods. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the ſoldiers were diſembarked without guides ten leagues diſtant from the town. They wandered four days thro' the woods without proviſions, and what was ſtill more intolerable in

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* Clarendon.

† Vita D. Berwici, p. 124.

‡ Burchet's Naval Hiſtory. See alſo Carte's Collection, Vol. ii. p. 46, 47. Thurloe, Vol. iii. p. 505.

1655. in that ſultry climate, without water. The Spaniards gathered courage, and attacked them. The Engliſh, diſcouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, and ſcarce alive from hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, had no ſpirit to reſiſt. A very inconſiderable number of the enemy put the whole army to rout, killed 600 of them, and chaced the reſt on board their veſſels.

THE fleet, in order to attone, if poſſible, for this unproſperous attempt, bent their courſe to Jamaica, which without a blow was ſurrendered to them. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them ſent to the Tower by the Protector, who, tho' commonly maſter of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent paſſion at this diſappointment. He had made a conqueſt of much greater importance, than he was himſelf at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vaſt projects, which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to ſupport it by men and money; and that iſland has ever ſince remained in the hands of the Engliſh; the chief acquiſition which they owe to the enterprizing ſpirit of Cromwel.

1656. AS ſoon as the news of this enterprize, which was a moſt unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war againſt England, and ſeized all the ſhips and goods of Engliſh merchants, of which they could make themſelves maſters. The Spaniſh commerce, ſo profitable to the nation, was cut off; and near 1500 veſſels, it is computed *, fell in a few years into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himſelf for hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards.

SEVERAL ſea officers, having entertained ſcruples of conſcience with regard to the juſtice of the Spaniſh war, threw up their commiſſions, and retired home †. No command, they thought, of their ſuperiors could juſtify a war, which was contrary to the principles of natural equity, and which the civil magiſtrate had no right to order. Individuals, they maintained, in reſigning to the public their natural liberty, could beſtow on it only what they themſelves were poſſeſſed of, a right of performing lawful actions, and could inveſt it with no authority of commanding what is contrary to the decrees of Heaven. Such maxims, tho' they ſeem reaſonable, are too perfect for human nature, and muſt be regarded as one effect, tho' of the moſt innocent and even honorable kind, of that ſpirit, partly fanatical, partly republican, which predominated in England.

Succeſs, BLAKE lay ſome time off Cadiz, in expectation of intercepting the plate fleet, but was at laſt obliged, for want of water, to make ſail towards Portugal. Captain

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[*] Thurloe, Vol. iv. p. 135. World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwel, in the Harl. Miſcel. Vol. i.

[†] Thurloe, Vol. iv. p. 570, 589.

September.

tain Stayner, whom he had left on the coaſt with a ſquadron of ſeven veſſels, came in ſight of the galleons, and immediately haſtened to purſue them. The Spaniſh admiral ran his ſhip aſhore: Two others followed his example: The Engliſh took two ſhips valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. Two galleons were ſet on fire; and the Marqueſs of Bajadox, Viceroy of Peru, with his wife and his daughter, betrothed to the young Duke of Medina-Celi, were deſtroyed in them. The Marqueſs himſelf might have eſcaped; but ſeeing theſe unfortunate women, aſtoniſhed with the danger, fall in a ſwoon and periſh in the flames, he choſe rather to die along with them than drag out a life, embittered with the remembrance of theſe diſmal ſcenes *. Such events, which melt the tender heart of humanity, are matter of triumph and exultation in the barbarous trade of war. When the treaſures, gained by this enterprize, arrived at Portſmouth, the Protector, from a ſpirit of oſtentation, ordered them to be tranſported by land to London.

THE next action againſt the Spaniards was more glorious, tho' leſs profitable to the nation. Blake, having heard that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips, much richer than the former, had taken ſhelter in the Canaries, immediately made ſail towards them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, diſpoſed in a moſt formidable poſture. The bay was ſecured with a ſtrong caſtle, well fortified with cannon, beſides ſeven forts in ſeveral parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, ordered all his ſmaller veſſels to moor cloſe to the ſhore, and poſted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadſides to the ſea.

BLAKE was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind ſeconded his courage, and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickeſt of his enemies. After a reſiſtance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to the Engliſh valor, and abandoned their ſhips, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſures. The greateſt danger ſtill remained to the Engliſh. They lay under the fire of the caſtles and all the forts, which muſt, in a little time, have torne them in pieces. But the wind ſuddenly ſhifting, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in aſtoniſhment at the happy temerity of their audacious victors.

and death of admiral Blake.

THIS was the laſt and greateſt action of the gallant Blake. He was conſumed with a dropſy and ſcurvy, and haſtened home, that he might yield up his laſt breath in his native country, which he ſo paſſionately loved, and which he had ſo much adorned by his valor. As he came within ſight of land, he expired. Never

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* Thurloe, Vol. v. p. 433.

† 20th of April, 1657.

ver man, ſo zealous for a faction, was ſo much reſpected and eſteemed even by the oppoſite factions. By principle, he was an inflexible Republican; and the late uſurpations, however much he was truſted and careſſed, were thought to be very little grateful to him. *It is ſtill our duty*, he ſaid to the ſeamen, *to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall.* Diſintereſted, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies: His errors he ſhared in common with multitudes; his virtues were peculiar to himſelf. The Protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: But the tears of his countrymen were the moſt honorable panegyric on his memory.

THE conduct of the Protector in foreign affairs, tho' imprudent and impolitic, was full of vigor and enterprize, and drew a conſideration on his country, which, ſince the reign of Elizabeth, it ſeemed to have totally loſt. The great mind of this ſucceſsful uſurper was intent on ſpreading the renown of the Engliſh name; and while he ſtruck mankind with aſtoniſhment at his extraordinary fortune, he ſeemed to ennoble, inſtead of debaſing, that people, whom he had reduced to ſubjection. It was his boaſt, that he would render the name of an Engliſhman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found ſome reality in theſe pretenſions, their national vanity, being gratified, made them bear with the more patience all the indignities and calamities under which they labored.

Domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel.

IT muſt alſo be acknowleged, that the Protector, in his civil and domeſtic adminiſtration, diſplayed as great regard both to juſtice and clemency, as his uſurped authority, derived from no law, and founded only on the ſword, could poſſibly permit. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled with men of the higheſt integrity: Amidſt the utmoſt virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial: And to every man but himſelf, and to himſelf, except where neceſſity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of conduct and behavior. Vane and Lilburn, whoſe credit with the Republicans and Levellers he dreaded, he did indeed for ſome time confine to priſon: Cony, who refuſed to pay illegal taxes, he obliged by menaces to depart from his obſtinacy: High courts of juſtice he erected to try thoſe who had engaged in conſpiracies and inſurrections againſt him, and whom he could not ſafely commit to the verdict of juries. But theſe irregularities were deemed inevitable conſequences of his illegal authority. And tho' often urged by his officers, as is pretended [*], to attempt a general maſſacre of the Royaliſts, he always with horror rejected ſuch ſanguinary councils.

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[*] Clarendon, Life of Dr. Berwick, &c.

In the army was laid the ſole baſis of the Protector's power; and in managing the army conſiſted the chief art and delicacy of his government. The ſoldiers were held in the moſt exact diſcipline; a policy, which both accuſtomed them to rigid obedience, and made them leſs hateful and burthenſome to the people. Their pay he augmented; tho' the public neceſſities ſometimes obliged him to run in arrears with them. Their intereſts, they were ſenſible, were cloſely united with thoſe of their General and Protector. And their affectionate regard he entirely commanded, by his ability and ſucceſs in almoſt every enterprize, which he had hitherto undertaken. But all military government is precarious; much more where it ſtands in oppoſition to civil eſtabliſhments; and ſtill more, where it encounters religious prejudices. By the wild fanaticiſm, which he had nouriſhed in the ſoldiers, he had tranſported and ſeduced them into meaſures, for which, if openly propoſed to them, they would have entertained the utmoſt averſion. But this ſame ſpirit rendered them more difficult to be governed, and made their caprices terrible even to that hand which directed their movements. So often taught, that the office of King was an uſurpation upon Chriſt, they were apt to ſuſpect a Protector not to be altogether compatible with that divine authority. Harriſon, tho' raiſed to the higheſt dignity, and poſſeſſed entirely of Cromwel's confidence, became his moſt inveterate enemy as ſoon as he eſtabliſhed the authority of a ſingle perſon, againſt which he had always made ſuch violent proteſtations. Overton, Rich, Okey, officers of great rank in the army, were actuated with like principles; and Cromwel was obliged to deprive them of their commiſſions. Their influence, which was before thought unbounded among the troops, ſeemed from that moment to be totally annihilated.

The more effectually to curb the enthuſiaſtic and ſeditious ſpirit of the troops, Cromwel eſtabliſhed a kind of militia in the ſeveral counties. Companies of infantry and cavalry were inliſted under proper officers, regular pay diſtributed amongſt them, and a reſource by that means provided both againſt the inſurrections of the Royaliſts, and mutiny of the army.

Religion can never be deemed a point of ſmall conſequence in civil government: But during this period it may be regarded as the great ſpring of men's actions and determinations. Tho' tranſported, himſelf, with the moſt frantic whimſies, Cromwel's ſcheme for the regulating this principle in others was ſagacious and politic. Being reſolved to maintain a national church, and yet determined neither to admit Epiſcopacy nor Preſbytery, he eſtabliſhed a number of commiſſioners, under the name of *Tryers*, partly laymen, partly eccleſiaſtics, ſome Preſbyterians, ſome Independants. Theſe preſented to all livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown; they examined and admitted ſuch perſons as received holy orders; and they inſpected the life, doctrine, and behavior of all the clergy. Inſtead of ſupporting that union betwixt learning and theology, which has ſo long been maintained in Europe, theſe Tryers embraced the latter principle in its full purity, and made it the ſole object of their examinations. The candidates were no more perplexed with queſtions concerning their progreſs in Greek and Roman erudition; concerning their talent for profane arts and ſciences: The chief object of ſcrutiny regarded their advances in grace, and fixing the critical moment of their converſion.

WITH the pretended ſaints of all denominations Cromwel was familiar and eaſy. Laying aſide the ſtate of Protector, which, on other occaſions, he well knew how to maintain, he inſinuated to them, that nothing but neceſſity could ever induce him to inveſt himſelf with it. He talked ſpiritually to them; he ſighed, he weeped, he canted, he prayed. He even entered with them into an emulation of ghoſtly gifts; and theſe men, inſtead of grieving to be outdone in their own way, were proud, that his Highneſs, by his princely example, had dignified thoſe practices, in which they themſelves were daily occupied*.

IF Cromwel could be ſaid to adhere to any particular form of religion, they were the Independants who could chiefly boaſt of his favor; and it may be affirmed, that ſuch paſtors of that ſect, as were not paſſionately addicted to civil liberty, were all of them devoted to him. The Preſbyterians alſo, being ſaved from the ravages of the Anabaptiſts and Millenarians, and enjoying their eſtabliſhments and tythes, were not averſe from his government; tho' he ſtill entertained a great jealouſy of that ambitious and reſtleſs ſpirit, by which they were actuated. An unbounded liberty of conſcience, to all but Catholics and Prelatiſts, he granted; and by that means, he both attached the wild ſectaries to his own perſon, and employed them in curbing the domineering ſpirit of the Preſbyterians. "I am the "only man," he was often heard to ſay, "who has known how to ſubdue that "inſolent ſect, which can ſuffer none but itſelf."

THE proteſtant zeal, which poſſeſſed the Preſbyterians and Independants, was highly gratified by the haughty manner, in which the Protector ſo ſucceſsfully ſupported the perſecuted Proteſtants thro'out all Europe. Even the Duke of Savoy, ſo remote a Prince, and ſo little expoſed to the naval power of England, was obliged, by the authority of France, to comply with his mediation, and to tolerate the Proteſtants of the Vallies, againſt whom that Prince had commenced a furious perſecution. France itſelf was conſtrained to bear, not only with the religion, but even, in ſome inſtances, with the ſeditious inſolence of the Hugonots; and when that court applied for a reciprocal toleration of the Catholic religion in England, the Protector, who arrogated in every thing the ſuperiority, would hearken to no ſuch propoſal. He had entertained a project of inſtituting a college in imitation of that at Rome, for the propagation of the faith; and his apoſtles, in zeal, tho' not in unanimity, had certainly been a full match for the Catholics.

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* Cromwel followed, tho' but in part, the advice which he received from general Harriſon, at the time when the intimacy and endearment moſt ſtrongly ſubſiſted betwixt them. "Let the waiting upon "Jehovah," ſaid that military ſaint, "be the greateſt and moſt conſiderable buſineſs you have every "day: Reckon it ſo, more than to eat, ſleep, and council together. Run aſide ſometimes from your "company, and get a word with the Lord: Why ſhould not you have three or four precious ſouls "always ſtanding at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turn into a corner? I have "found refreſhment and mercy in ſuch a way." Milton's State Papers, p. 12.

The church of England Cromwel retained in conſtraint; tho' he permitted their clergy a little more liberty than the republican Parliament had formerly allowed. He was pleaſed, that the ſuperior lenity of his adminiſtration ſhould in every thing be remarked. The Royaliſts he bridled, both by the mercenary army which he retained, and by thoſe ſecret ſpies, which he found means to intermix in all their counſels. Manning, being diſcovered and puniſhed with death, he corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who was much truſted by chancellor Hyde and all the Royaliſts; and by means of that man he was let into every deſign and conſpiracy of the party. Any project he could diſconcert, by confining the perſons who were the actors in it; and as he reſtored them afterwards to liberty, his ſeverity paſſed only for the reſult of general jealouſy and ſuſpicion. The ſecret ſource of his intelligence remained ſtill unknown and unſuſpected.

Conspiracies for an aſſaſſination he was chiefly afraid of; theſe being deſigns, which no prudence nor vigilance could evade. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had wrote a very ſpirited diſcourſe, exhorting every one to embrace this method of vengeance; and Cromwel knew, that the inflamed minds of the royal party were ſufficiently diſpoſed to put this doctrine in practice againſt him. He openly told them, that aſſaſſinations were baſe and odious, and he never would commence hoſtilities by ſo ſhameful an expedient; but if the firſt attempt or provocation came from them, he would retaliate to the uttermoſt. He had inſtruments, he ſaid, whom he could employ; and he never would deſiſt, till he had totally exterminated the royal family. This menace, more than all his guards, contributed to the ſecurity of his perſon *.

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* About this time an accident had almoſt robbed the Protector of his life, and ſaved his enemies the trouble of all their machinations. Having got ſix fine Frieſland coach-horſes as a preſent from the count of Oldenburg, he undertook for his amuſement to drive them about Hyde park; his ſecretary Thurloe being

Chap. II.
1656.

THERE was no point, about which the Protector was more ſollicitous than to procure intelligence. This article alone, 'tis ſaid[*], coſt him ſixty thouſand pounds a year. Poſtmaſters, both at home and abroad, were, many of them, in his pay: Carriers were ſearched or bribed: Secretaries and clerks were corrupted: The greateſt zealots in all parties were often thoſe who conveyed private information to him: And nothing could eſcape his vigilant enquiry. Such at leaſt is the repreſentation made by hiſtorians of Cromwel's adminiſtration: But it muſt be confeſſed, that, if we may judge by thoſe volumes of Thurloe's papers, which have been lately publiſhed, this affair, like many others, has been greatly magnified. There we ſcarce find that any ſecret councils of foreign ſtates, except thoſe of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed, were known to the Protector.

THE general behavior and deportment of this man, who had been raiſed from a very private ſtation, who had paſſed moſt of his youth in the country, and who was ſtill conſtrained ſo much to frequent bad company, was ſuch as might befit the greateſt monarch. He maintained a dignity without either affectation or oſtentation; and ſupported with all ſtrangers that high idea, with which his great exploits and prodigious fortune had impreſſed them. Among his antient friends, he could relax his mind; and by trifling and amuſement, jeſting and making verſes, he feared not the expoſing himſelf to their moſt familiar approaches[†]. With others, he ſometimes puſhed matters to the length of ruſtic buffoonery; and he would amuſe himſelf by putting burning coals into the boots and hoſe of the officers, who attended him[‡]. Before the King's trial, a meeting was agreed on betwixt the chiefs of the republican party and the general officers, in order to concert the model of that free government, which they were to ſubſtitute, in place of the monarchical conſtitution, now totally ſubverted. After debates on this ſubject, the moſt important, which could fall under the diſcuſſion of human creatures, Ludlow tells us, that Cromwel, by way of frolic, threw a cuſhion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cuſhion, in order to return the compliment, the General ran down ſtairs, and had almoſt broke his bones in the hurry. When the High Court of Juſtice was ſigning the King's ſentence, a matter, if poſſible, ſtill more ſerious, Cromwel taking the pen in his hand, before he ſubſcribed his name, bedaubed with ink the face of Martin, who ſat next him. And the pen being delivered to Martin, he practiſed the

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being in the coach. The horſes were ſtartled and ran away: He was unable to command them, or keep the box. He fell upon the pole, was dragged upon the ground for ſome time; a piſtol, which he carried in his pocket, went off; and by that ſingular good fortune, which ever attended him, he was taken up without any conſiderable hurt or bruiſe.

[*] World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwel. The author however of this pamphlet eſtimates his expences on this head at a much ſmaller ſum.

[†] Whitelocke. p. 647.

[‡] Bates.

ſame frolic upon Cromwel *. He frequently gave feaſts to his inferior officers; and when the meat was ſet upon the table, a ſignal was given; the ſoldiers ruſhed in upon them; and with much noiſe, tumult, and confuſion, ran away with all the diſhes, and diſappointed the officers of their expected meal †.

Amidst all the unguarded play and buffoonery of this extraordinary perſonage, he took the opportunity of remarking the characters, deſigns, and weakneſſes of men; and he would ſometimes puſh them, by an indulgence in wine, to open to him the moſt ſecret receſſes of their boſom. Great regularity, however, and even auſterity of manners were always maintained in his court; and he was careful never by any liberties to give offence to the moſt rigid of the godly. Some ſtate was upheld; but with little expence, and without any ſplendor. The nobility, tho' courted by him, kept at a diſtance, and diſdained to intermix themſelves with thoſe mean perſons, who were the inſtruments of his government. Without departing from œconomy, he was generous to thoſe who ſerved him; and he knew how to find out and engage in his intereſts every man poſſeſſed of thoſe talents, which any particular employment demanded. His generals, his admirals, his judges, his ambaſſadors, were perſons, who contributed, all of them, in their ſeveral ſpheres, to the ſecurity of the Protector and to the honor and intereſt of the nation.

Under pretext of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one Commonwealth with England, he had reduced theſe kingdoms to a total ſubjection; and he treated them entirely as conquered provinces. The civil adminiſtration of Scotland was placed in a council, conſiſting moſtly of Engliſh, of which lord Broghill was preſident. Juſtice was adminiſtered by ſeven judges, four of whom were Engliſh. In order to curb the tyrannical nobility, he both aboliſhed all vaſſalage ‡ and revived the office of juſtices of peace, which King James had introduced, but was not able to ſupport ¶. A long line of forts and garriſons were maintained thro'out the whole kingdom. An army of 10,000 men § kept every thing in peace and obedience, and neither the banditti of the mountains nor the bigots of the low countries could indulge their inclination to turbulence and diſorder. The Preſbyterian clergy he courted; tho' he nouriſhed that inteſtine enmity which prevailed betwixt the Reſolutioners and Proteſters. Very little policy is requiſite to foſter quarrels among Theologians. No church aſſemblies he permitted, being ſenſible that from thence had proceeded many of the paſt miſchiefs. And in the main, the Scotch were obliged to acknowlege, that never before, while they enjoyed their irregular, factious liberty, had they attained ſo much happineſs as at preſent, when reduced to ſubjection under a foreign nation.

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* Tryal of the Regicides.
† Bates.
‡ Whitlocke, p. 570.
¶ Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 57.
§ Id. vol. vi. p. 557.

Chap. II.
1656.

THE Protector's adminiſtration of Ireland was much more ſevere and violent. The government of that iſland was firſt entruſted to Fleetwood, a notorious fanatic, who had married Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwel, ſecond ſon to the Protector, a young man of an amiable mild diſpoſition, and not deſtitute of vigor and capacity. Five millions of acres, forfeited either by the Popiſh rebellion or by the adherents of the King, were divided, partly among the adventurers, who had advanced money to the Parliament, partly among the Engliſh ſoldiers, who had arrears due to them. Examples of a more ſudden and violent change of property are ſcarce to be found in any hiſtory. An order even paſſed to confine all the native Iriſh to the province of Connaught, where they would be ſhut up by rivers, lakes, and mountains, and could not, it was hoped, be any longer dangerous to the Engliſh government: But this barbarous and abſurd policy, which, from an impatience of attaining immediate ſecurity, muſt have depopulated all the other provinces, and rendered the Engliſh eſtates of no value, it was ſoon found impoſſible to reduce to practice.

New Parliament.

CROMWEL began to hope, that by his adminiſtration, attended with ſo much luſtre and ſucceſs abroad, ſo much order and tranquillity at home, he had now acquired ſuch authority as would enable him to meet the repreſentatives of the nation, and would aſſure him of their dutiful compliance with his government. He therefore ſummoned a Parliament; but not truſting altogether to the good will of the people, he uſed every art, which his new model of repreſentation allowed him to employ, in order to influence the elections and fill the houſe with his own creatures. Ireland, being entirely in the hands of the army, choſe none but ſuch officers as were moſt acceptable to him. Scotland ſhowed the ſame compliance; and as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom regarded their attendance on Engliſh Parliaments as an ignominious badge of ſlavery, it was, on that account, more eaſy for the officers to prevail in the elections. Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the Protector ſtill found, that the majority would not be favorable to him. He ſet guards, therefore, on the door, who permitted none to enter but ſuch as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about a hundred, who either refuſed a recognition of the Protector's government, or were on other accounts unacceptable to him. Theſe proteſted againſt ſo egregious a violence, ſubverſive of all liberty; but every application for redreſs was neglected both by the Council and the Parliament.

17th of September.

THE majority of the Parliament, by means of theſe arts and violences, were now at laſt either friendly to the Protector, or reſolved, by their compliance, to adjuſt, if poſſible, this military government to their laws and liberties. They voted a renounciation of all title in Charles Stuart or any of his family; and this was the firſt act, dignified with the appearance of national conſent, which had ever had that tendency. Collonel Jephſon, in order to ſound the inclinations of the houſe, ventured to move, that the Parliament ſhould beſtow the crown on Cromwel; and no ſurprize nor reluctance was diſcovered on that occaſion. When Cromwel afterwards aſked Jephſon what induced him to make ſuch a motion, "As long," ſaid Jephſon, "as I have the honor to ſit in Parliament, I muſt follow the dictates of "my own conſcience, whatever offence I may be ſo unfortunate as to give you." "Get thee gone," ſaid Cromwel, giving him a gentle blow on the ſhoulder, "get "thee gone for a mad fellow as thou art."

In order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he ſo ardently longed, Cromwel reſolved to ſacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. That meaſure was alſo become requiſite for his own ſecurity. All government, purely military, fluctuates perpetually betwixt a deſpotic monarchy and a deſpotic ariſtocracy, according as the authority of the chief commander prevails, or that of the officers next him in rank and dignity. The major-generals, being poſſeſſed of ſo much diſtinct juriſdiction, began to eſtabliſh a ſeparate title to power, and had rendered themſelves formidable to the Protector himſelf; and for this inconvenience, tho' he had not foreſeen it, he well knew, before it was too late, to provide a proper remedy. Claypole, his ſon in law, who poſſeſſed entirely his confidence, abandoned them to the pleaſure of the houſe; and tho' the name was ſtill retained, it was agreed to abrige, or rather entirely annihilate, the power of the major-generals.

At laſt, a more formal motion was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for inveſting the Protector with the dignity of King. This motion, at firſt, excited great diſorder, and divided the whole houſe into parties. The chief oppoſition came from the uſual adherents of the Protector, the major-generals and ſuch officers as depended on them. Lambert, a man of deep intrigue and of great intereſt in the army, had long entertained the ambition of ſucceeding Cromwel in the Protectorſhip; and he foreſaw, if the Monarchy was reſtored, that hereditary right would alſo be eſtabliſhed, and the crown be tranſmitted to the poſterity of the Prince firſt elected. He pleaded, therefore, conſcience; and exciting all thoſe civil and religious jealouſies againſt kingly government, which had been ſo induſtriouſly foſtered among the ſoldiers, and which ſerved them as a pretext for ſo many violences, he formed a numerous and a ſtill more formidable party againſt the motion.

On the other hand, the motion was ſupported by every one, who was more particularly devoted to the Protector, and who hoped, by ſo acceptable a meaſure, to pay court to the prevailing authority. Many perſons alſo, attached to their country, deſpaired of ever being able to ſubvert the preſent illegal eſtabliſhment, and were deſirous, by fixing it on antient foundations, to allure the Protector, from views of his own ſafety, into a regard for the antient laws and liberties of the kingdom. Even the Royaliſts imprudently joined in the ſame meaſure; and hoped, that, when the queſtion regarded only perſons, not forms of government, no one would any longer ballance betwixt the antient royal family, and an ignoble uſurper, who, by blood, treaſon, and perfidy, had made his way to the throne. The bill was voted by a conſiderable majority; and a committee was appointed to reaſon with the Protector, and to overcome thoſe ſcruples, which he pretended againſt accepting ſo liberal an offer.

1657. Crown offered to Cromwel.

9th of April. THE conference laſted for ſeveral days. The committee urged, that the whole ſtatutes and cuſtoms of England were founded on the ſuppoſition of regal authority, and could not, without extreme violence, be adjuſted to any other form of government: That a Protector, except during the minority of a King, was a name utterly unknown to the laws; and no man was acquainted with the extent or limits of his authority: That if it was attempted to define every part of his juriſdiction, many years, if not ages, would be required for the execution of ſo complicated a work; if the whole power of the King was at once transferred to him, the queſtion was plainly about a name, and the preference was undiſputably due to the antient title: That the Engliſh conſtitution was more anxious concerning the form of government than concerning the birthright of the firſt magiſtrate, and had provided, by an expreſs law of Henry VII, for the ſecurity of thoſe who act in defence of the King in being, by whatever means he might have acquired poſſeſſion: That it was extremely the intereſt of all his Highneſs's friends to ſeek the ſhelter of this ſtatute; and even the people in general were deſirous of ſuch a ſettlement, and in all juries were with great difficulty induced to give their verdict in favor of a Protector: That the great ſource of all the late commotions, had been the jealouſy of liberty; and that a Republic, along with a Protector, had been eſtabliſhed, in order to provide farther ſecurities for the freedom of the Conſtitution; but that by experience the remedy had been found inſufficient, even dangerous and pernicious; ſince every undeterminate power, ſuch as that of a Protector, muſt be arbitrary; and the more arbitrary, the more contrary to the genius and inclination of the people.

THE difficulty conſiſted not in perſwading Cromwel. He was ſufficiently convinced of the ſolidity of theſe reaſonings; and his inclination, as well as judgement, was entirely on the ſide of the committee. But how to bring over the army to the ſame way of thinking was the queſtion. The office of King had been painted to them in ſuch horrible colors, that there were no hopes of reconciling them ſuddenly to it, even tho' beſtowed upon their general, to whom they were ſo much devoted. A contradiction, open and direct, to all paſt profeſſions would make them paſs, in the eyes of the whole nation, for the moſt ſhameleſs hypocrites, inliſted by no other than mercenary motives in the cauſe of the moſt perfidious traitor. Principles, ſuch as they were, had been foſtered in their breaſt by every conſideration, human and divine; and tho' it was eaſy, where intereſt concurred, to deceive them by the thinneſt diſguiſes, it might be found dangerous at once to pull off the maſque, and ſhow them in a full light the whole crime and deformity of their conduct. Suſpended betwixt theſe fears and his own moſt ardent deſires, Cromwel protracted the time, and ſeemed ſtill to oppoſe the reaſonings of the committee; in hopes, that by artifice he might be able to reconcile the refractory minds of the ſoldiers to his new dignity.

While the Protector argued ſo much in contradiction both to his judgement and inclination, it is no wonder, that his elocution, always confuſed, embarraſſed, and unintelligible, ſhould be involved in tenfold darkneſs, and diſcover no glimmering of common ſenſe or reaſon. An exact account of this conference remains, and may be regarded as a great curioſity. The members of the committee, in their reaſonings, diſcover judgement, knowlege, elocution: Lord Broghill in particular exerts himſelf on this memorable occaſion. But what a contraſte when we paſs to the Protector's replies! After ſo ſingular a manner does nature diſtribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with ſenſe and learning, a man, who, by ſuperior perſonal merit alone, had made his way to ſupreme dignity, and had even obliged the Parliament to make him an offer of the crown, was yet incapable of expreſſing himſelf on this occaſion, but in a manner which a peaſant of the moſt ordinary capacity would juſtly be aſhamed of *.

The

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* We ſhall produce any paſſage at random: For his diſcourſe is all of a piece. "I confeſs, for it " behoves me to deal plainly with you, I muſt confeſs, I would ſay, I hope, I may be underſtood in " this, for indeed I muſt be tender what I ſay to ſuch an audience as this; I ſay, I would be under" ſtood, that in this argument I do not make parallel betwixt men of a different mind and a Parlia" ment, which ſhall have their deſires. I know there is no compariſon, nor can it be urged upon " me, that my words have the leaſt color that way, becauſe the Parliament ſeems to give liberty to " me to ſay any thing to you; as that, that is a tender of my humble reaſons and judgement and " opinion to them; and if I think they are ſuch and will be ſuch to them, and are faithful ſervants " and will be ſo to the ſupreme authority, and the legiſlative whereſoever it is: If I ſay, I ſhould not " tell you, knowing their minds to be ſo, I ſhould not be faithful, if I ſhould not tell you ſo, to the " end you may report it to the Parliament: I ſhall ſay ſomething for myſelf, for my own mind, I " do profeſs it, I am not a man ſcrupulous about words or names or ſuch things I have not: But as I " have the word of God, and I hope I ſhall ever have it, for the rule of my conſcience, for my in" formations; ſo truly men that have been led in dark paths, thro' the providence and diſpenſation of " God; why ſurely it is not to be objected to a man; for who can love to walk in the dark? But " providence

THE oppoſition, which Cromwel dreaded, was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as his capital enemies, and whom he was reſolved, on the firſt occaſion, to deprive of all power and authority: It was that which he met with in his own family, and from men, who, by intereſt as well as inclination, were the moſt devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter: Deſborow his ſiſter: Yet theſe perſons, actuated by principle alone, could, by no perſwaſion, artifice, or entreaty, be induced to conſent that their friend and patron ſhould be inveſted with regal dignity. They told him, that, if he accepted of the crown, they would inſtantly throw up their commiſſions, and never afterwards would have it in their power to ſerve him *. Colonel Pride procured a petition againſt the office of King, ſigned by a majority of the officers, who were in London and the neighborhood. Several perſons, it was ſaid, had entered into an engagement to murder the Protector within a few hours after he ſhould have accepted the offer of the Parliament. Some ſudden mutiny in the army was juſtly dreaded. And upon the whole, Cromwel, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at laſt obliged to refuſe that crown, which the repreſentatives of the nation, in the moſt ſolemn manner, had tendered to him. Moſt hiſtorians are inclined to blame his choice; but he muſt be allowed to be the beſt judge of his own ſituation. And in ſuch complicated ſubjects, the alteration of a very minute circumſtance, unknown to the ſpectator, will often be ſufficient to caſt the ballance, and render a determination, which, in itſelf, may be uneligible, very prudent, or even abſolutely neceſſary to the actor.

He rejects it.

A DREAM or prophecy, lord Clarendon mentions, which, he affirms, (and he muſt have known the truth) was univerſally talked of almoſt from the beginning of the civil wars, and long before Cromwel was ſo conſiderable a perſon as to beſtow upon it any degree of probability. In this prophecy it was foretold, that Cromwel ſhould be the greateſt man in England, and would nearly, but never would fully mount the throne. Such a prepoſſeſſion probably aroſe from the heated imagination either of himſelf or of his followers; and as it might be one cauſe of the great

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"providence does ſo diſpoſe. And tho' a man may impute his own folly and blindneſs to providence ſinfully, yet it muſt be at my peril; the caſe may be that it is the providence of God, that doth lead men in darkneſs: I muſt needs ſay, that I have had a great deal of experience of providence, and tho' it is no rule without or againſt the word, yet it is a very good expoſitor of the word in many caſes." *Conference at Whitehall.* The great defect in Oliver's ſpeeches conſiſts not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas. The ſagacity of his actions and the abſurdity of his diſcourſe forms the moſt prodigious contraſte that ever was known. The collection of all his ſpeeches, letters, ſermons, (for he alſo wrote ſermons) would make a great curioſity, and with a few exceptions might juſtly paſs for one of the moſt nonſenſical books in the world.

* Thurloe, Vol. vi. p. 261.

great progreſs, which he had already made, it is not an unlikely motive, which may be aſſigned for his refuſing at this time any farther elevation.

The Parliament, when the regal dignity was rejected by Cromwel, found themſelves obliged to retain the name of a Commonwealth and Protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifeſt uſurpation, it was thought proper to ſanctify it by a ſeeming choice of the people and of their repreſentatives. Any conſent, more full or regular, has ſeldom had place in laying the foundations of a new conſtitution. Inſtead of the inſtrument of government, which was the work of the general officers alone, an humble petition and advice was framed, and by the Parliament offered to the Protector. This was repreſented as the great baſis of the Republican eſtabliſhment, regulating and limiting the powers of each member of the conſtitution, and ſecuring the liberty of the people to the moſt remote poſterity. By this deed, the authority of Protector was in ſome particulars enlarged: In others, it was conſiderably diminiſhed. He had the power of nominating his ſucceſſor; he had a perpetual revenue aſſigned him, a million a year for the fleet and army, three hundred thouſand pounds for the civil government; and he had authority to name another houſe, who ſhould enjoy their ſeats during life, and exerciſe ſome functions of the former houſe of Peers. But he abandoned the power aſſumed in the intervals of Parliament, of framing laws with the conſent of his council; and he agreed, that no members of either houſe ſhould be excluded but by the conſent of that houſe, of which they were members. The other articles were in the main the ſame as in the inſtrument of government.

Humble petition and advice.

The inſtrument of government Cromwel had formerly extolled as the moſt perfect work of human invention: He now repreſented it as a rotten plank, upon which no man could truſt himſelf without ſinking. Even the Humble Petition and Advice, which he extolled in its turn, appeared ſo lame and imperfect, that it was found requiſite, this very ſeſſion, to mend it by a ſupplement; and after all, it may be regarded as a very crude and undigeſted model of government. It was, however, accepted for the deed of the whole people in the three united nations; and Cromwel, as if his power had juſt commenced from this popular conſent, was anew inaugurated in Weſtminſter Hall, after the moſt ſolemn and moſt pompous manner.

26th of June.

The Parliament having adjourned itſelf, the Protector deprived Lambert of all his commiſſions; but ſtill allowed him a conſiderable penſion, of 2000 pounds a year, as a bribe for his future, peaceable deportment. Lambert's authority in the army, to the great ſurprize of every body, was found immediately to expire with the loſs of his commiſſions. Packer and ſome other officers, whom Cromwel ſuſpected, were alſo diſplaced.

Richard,

Chap. II.
1657.

Richard, eldeſt ſon to the Protector, was brought to court, introduced into public buſineſs, and henceforth regarded by many as his heir in the Protectorſhip; tho' Cromwel ſometimes employed the groſs artifice of flattering others with the hopes of the ſucceſſion. Richard was a perſon poſſeſſed of the moſt peacable, inoffenſive, unambitious character; and had hitherto lived contentedly in the country on a ſmall eſtate, which his wife had brought him. The little activity, which he diſcovered, was always exerted to beneficent purpoſes: At the time of the King's trial, he had fallen on his knees before his father, and had conjured him, by all the ties of duty and humanity, to ſpare the life of that Monarch.

Cromwel had two daughters unmarried: One of them he now gave to the grandſon and heir of his great friend, the earl of Warwic, with whom he had, in every fortune, preſerved an uninterrupted intimacy and correſpondence: The other, he married to the viſcount Falconbrige, of a very noble family, formerly devoted to the royal party. He was very ambitious of forming connexions with the nobility; and it was one chief motive of his deſiring the title of King, that he might replace every thing in its natural order, and reſtore to the antient families, that truſt and honor, of which he now found himſelf obliged, for his own preſervation, to deprive them.

1658.
20th of January.

The Parliament was again aſſembled; conſiſting, as in the times of monarchy, of two houſes, the commons and the other houſe. Cromwel, during the interval, had ſent writs to his houſe of peers, which conſiſted of ſixty members. They were compoſed of five or ſix antient peers, of ſeveral gentlemen of fortune and diſtinction, and of ſome officers who had riſen from the meaneſt profeſſions. None of the antient peers, however, would deign to accept a ſeat, which they muſt ſhare with ſuch companions as were aſſigned them. The Protector endeavored at firſt to maintain the appearance of a legal magiſtrate. He removed the guards from the door of both houſes: But ſoon found how incompatible liberty is with military uſurpations. By bringing ſo great a number of his friends and adherents into the other houſe, he had loſt the majority among the national repreſentatives. In conſequence of a clauſe in the humble petition and advice, the commons aſſumed a power of re-admitting thoſe members, whom the council had formerly excluded. Sir Arthur Hazelrig and ſome others, whom Cromwel had created lords, rather choſe to take their ſeats with the commons. An unconteſtable majority now declared themſelves againſt the Protector; and they refuſed to acknowlege the juriſdiction of that other houſe, which he had eſtabliſhed. Even the validity of the Humble Petition and Advice was queſtioned; as being voted by a Parliament, which lay under force, and which by military violence was deprived of a conſiderable number of its members. The Protector, dreading combinations betwixt the Parliament and the malecontents in the army, was reſolved to allow no leizure for the forming any conſpiracy againſt him; and with great expreſſions of anger and diſpleaſure, he diſſolved the Parliament. 4th of February. When urged by Fleetwood and others of his friends not to precipitate himſelf into this raſh meaſure, he ſwore by the living God, that they ſhould not ſit a moment longer.

These diſtractions at home were not able to take off the Protector's attention from foreign affairs; and in all his meaſures he proceeded with equal vigor and enterprize, as if ſecure of the duty and attachment of all the three kingdoms. His alliance with Sweden he ſtill ſupported; and he endeavored to aſſiſt that crown in its ſucceſsful enterprizes, for reducing all its neighbors to ſubjection, and rendering itſelf totally maſter of the Baltic. As ſoon as Spain declared war againſt him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himſelf in all his councils with that potent and ambitious kingdom. Spain, having long courted in vain the friendſhip of the ſucceſsful uſurper, was reduced at laſt to apply to the unfortunate Prince. Charles formed a league with Philip, removed his ſmall court to Bruges in the Low Countries, and raiſed four regiments of his own ſubjects, whom he employed in the Spaniſh ſervice. The Duke of York, who had, with great applauſe, ſerved ſome campaigns in the French army, and who had merited the particular eſteem of Mareſchal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to ſeek military experience under Don John of Auſtria and the Prince of Condé.

The ſcheme of foreign politics, adopted by the Protector, was highly imprudent, but was ſuitable to that magnanimity and enterprize, with which he was ſo ſignally endowed. He was particularly deſirous of conqueſt and dominion on the Continent *; and he ſent over into Flanders ſix thouſand men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign, Mardyke was taken, and put into their hands. Early this campaign, ſiege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spaniſh army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the famous battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated †.

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* He aſpired to get poſſeſſion of Elſinore and the paſſage of the Sound. See *World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwel.* He alſo endeavored to get poſſeſſion of Bremen. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 478.

† It was remarked by the pretended ſaints of that time, that the battle was fought on a day which was held for a faſt in London, ſo that as Fleetwood ſaid (Thurloe, Vol. vii. p. 159,) while we were praying, they were fighting; and the Lord hath given a ſignal anſwer. The Lord has not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in a way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all ſtreights and difficulties. Cromwel's letter to Blake and Montague, his

Chap. II. 1658.

Dunkirk taken.

The valor of the Engliſh was much remarked on this occaſion. Dunkirk, being ſoon aſter ſurrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwel. He committed the government of that important place to Lockart, a Scotchman of ability, who had married his niece, and was his ambaſſador in the court of France.

THIS acquiſition was regarded by the Protector as the means only of obtaining farther advantages. He was reſolved to concert meaſures with the French court for the final conqueſt and partition of the Low Countries *. Had he lived much longer, and maintained his authority in England, ſo chimerical or rather ſo pernicious a project, would certainly have been reduced to execution. And this firſt and principal ſtep towards Univerſal Monarchy, which France, during a whole century, has never yet been able, by an infinite expence of blood and treaſure, fully to effectuate, had at once been accompliſhed by the enterprizing, tho' unſkilful, politics of Cromwel.

GREAT demonſtrations of mutual friendſhip and regard, during theſe tranſactions, paſſed betwixt the French King and the Protector. Lord Falconbrige, Cromwel's ſon in law, was ſent over to Louis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the ſame regard, which is uſually, by the French court, payed to foreign princes †. Mazarine ſent to London his nephew, Mancini, along with the Duke of Crequi; and expreſſed his regret, that his urgent affairs ſhould deprive him of the honor, which he had long wiſhed for, of paying, in perſon, his reſpects to the greateſt man in the world ‡.

The Protector reaped little ſatisfaction from the ſucceſs of his arms abroad: His ſituation at home kept him in perpetual uneaſineſs and inquietude. His adminiſtration, ſo expenſive both by military enterprizes and ſecret intelligence, had exhauſted his revenue, and involved him in a conſiderable debt. The Royaliſts, he heard, had renewed their conſpiracies, for a general inſurrection; and Ormond was ſecretly come over with a view of concerting meaſures for the execution of this project.

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brave admirals, is remarkable for the ſame ſpirit. Thurloe, Vol. iv. p. 744. You have, ſays he, as I verily believe and am perſwaded, a plentiful ſtock of prayers going for you daily, ſent up by the ſobereſt and moſt approved miniſters and chriſtians in this nation, and, notwithſtanding ſome diſcouragements, very much wreſtling of faith for you, which are to us, and I truſt will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithſtanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourſelves and all our affairs to the diſpoſition of our all-wiſe Father, who not only out of prerogative, but becauſe of his goodneſs, wiſdom, and truth, ought to be reſigned unto by his creatures, eſpecially thoſe who are children of his begetting thro' the ſpirit, &c.

* Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 762.

† Thurloe, Vol. vii. p. 151, 158.

‡ In reality the cardinal had not entertained ſo high an idea of Cromwel. He uſed to ſay, that he was a fortunate madman. Vie de Cromwel par Raguenet. See alſo Carte's Collection, Vol. ii. p. 81. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 93. World's Miſtake in O. Cromwel.

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project. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many heads of the Preſbyterians, had ſecretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the general ſpirit of diſcontent, and ſome ſudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be dreaded from them. No hopes remained, after his violent breach with the laſt Parliament, that he would ever be able to eſtabliſh, with general conſent, a legal ſettlement, or temper the military with the mixture of any civil authority. All his arts and policy were exhauſted; and having ſo often, by fraud and falſe pretences, deceived every party, and almoſt every individual, he could no longer hope, by repeating the ſame profeſſions, to meet with equal confidence and regard.

HOWEVER zealous the Royaliſts, their conſpiracy took not effect: Willis diſcovered the whole to the Protector. Ormond was obliged to fly, and he eſteemed himſelf fortunate to have eſcaped ſo vigilant an adminiſtration. Great numbers were thrown into priſon. An high court of juſtice was anew erected for the tryal of thoſe criminals, whoſe guilt was moſt apparent. Notwithſtanding the recognition of his authority by the laſt Parliament, the Protector could not, as yet, truſt to an unbyaſſed jury. Sir Henry Slingſby, Dr. Heuet, were condemned and beheaded. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborow, very narrowly eſcaped. The numbers for his condemnation and his acquital were equal; and juſt as the ſentence was pronounced in his favor, colonel Pride, who was reſolved to condemn him, came into the court. Aſhton, Storey, and Beſtley were hanged in different ſtreets of the city.

THE conſpiracy of the Millenarians in the army ſtruck Cromwel with ſtill greater apprehenſions. Harriſon and the other diſcarded officers of that party could not remain at reſt. Stimulated equally by revenge, by ambition, and by conſcience, they were ſtill rolling in their fancy ſome deſperate project; and there wanted not officers in the army, who, from like motives, were diſpoſed to ſecond all their undertakings. The Levellers and Agitators had been encouraged by Cromwel to interpoſe with their advice in all political deliberations; and many of them he had even pretended to honor with his moſt intimate friendſhip, while he conducted his daring enterprizes againſt the King and the Parliament. It was an uſual practice with him, in order to familiarize himſelf the more with the agitators, who were commonly corporals or ſerjeants, to take them to bed with him, and there, after prayers and exhortations, to diſcuſs together their projects and principles, political as well as religious. Having aſſumed the dignity of Protector, he excluded them from all his councils, and had neither leiſure nor inclination to indulge them any farther in their wonted familiarities. Among thoſe who were enraged at this alteration was Sexby; an active Agitator, who now employed againſt him all that reſtleſs induſtry which had formerly been exerted in his favor. He even went ſo far as to enter into a

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negotiation with Spain; and Cromwel, who knew the diſtempers of the army, was juſtly afraid of ſome mutiny, to which a day, an hour, an inſtant might provide leaders.

Of aſſaſſinations likewiſe he was apprehenſive, from the fanatical ſpirit, which actuated the ſoldiers. Sindercome had undertaken to murder him; and by the moſt unaccountable accidents had hitherto been prevented from executing that bloody purpoſe. His deſign was diſcovered; but the Protector could never find the bottom of his enterprize, nor detect any of his accomplices. He was tried by a jury; and notwithſtanding the general odium attending that crime, notwithſtanding the clear and full proof of his guilt, ſo little conviction prevailed of the Protector's right to the ſupreme government, it was with the utmoſt difficulty* that this conſpirator was condemned. When every thing was prepared for his execution, he was found dead; from poyſon, as is ſuppoſed, which he had voluntarily taken. This man, both from the boldneſs of his attempt and the courage of his end, would have been conſecrated as a hero, almoſt as a deity, by the Greeks and Romans: But our ſentiments, with regard to tyrannicide at leaſt, certainly contribute more to the intereſts of civil ſociety.

The Protector might better have ſupported thoſe fears and apprehenſions, which the public diſtempers occaſioned, had he enjoyed any domeſtic ſatisfaction, or poſſeſſed any cordial friend of his own family, in whoſe boſom he could ſafely have unloaded his anxious and corroding cares. But Fleetwood, his ſon in law, actuated with the wildeſt zeal, began to eſtrange himſelf from him; and was enraged to diſcover, that Cromwel, in all his enterprizes, had entertained views of promoting his own grandeur, more than of encouraging piety and religion, of which he made ſuch fervent profeſſions. His eldeſt daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles ſo vehement, that ſhe could not with patience behold power lodged in a ſingle perſon, even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were no leſs prejudiced in favor of the royal cauſe, and regreted the violences and iniquities, into which, they thought, their family had ſo unhappily been tranſported. But above all, the ſickneſs of Mrs. Claypole, his peculiar favorite, a lady endued with every humane virtue and amiable accompliſhment, depreſſed his anxious mind, and poyſoned all his enjoyments. She had entertained an high regard for Dr. Heuet, lately executed; and being refuſed his pardon, the melancholy of her temper, encreaſed by her diſtempered body, had prompted her to lament to her father all his ſanguinary meaſures, and urge him to compunction for thoſe heinous crimes, into which his fatal ambition had betrayed him.

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* Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 53.

Her death, which followed ſoon after, gave new edge to every word, which ſhe had uttered.

All compoſure of mind was now for ever fled from the Protector: He found, that the grandeur, which, with ſo much guilt and courage, he had attained, could not enſure him that tranquillity, which it belongs to virtue alone and moderation fully to aſcertain. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs, dreading perpetually ſome fatal accident in his diſtempered government, ſeeing nothing around him but treacherous friends or enraged enemies, poſſeſſing the confidence of no party, reſting his title on no principle, civil or religious, his power he found to depend on ſo delicate a poize of factions and intereſts, as the ſmalleſt event was able, without any preparation, in a moment to overturn. Death too, which, with ſuch ſignal intrepidity, he had braved in the field, being inceſſantly threatened by the poniards of fanatical or intereſted aſſaſſins, was ever preſent to his terrified apprehenſions, and haunted him in every ſcene of buſineſs or repoſe. Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he labored. The aſpect of ſtrangers was uneaſy to him: With a piercing and anxious eye he ſurveyed every face, to which he was not daily accuſtomed. He never moved a ſtep without ſtrong guards attending him: He wore armor below his cloaths, and farther ſecured himſelf by offenſive weapons, a ſword, falchion, and piſtols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the ſame way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he ſlept above three nights together in the ſame chamber: And he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to chooſe, nor entruſted himſelf in any, which was not provided with backdoors, at which ſentinels were carefully placed. Society terrifyed him, while he reflected on his numerous, unknown, and implacable enemies: Solitude aſtoniſhed him, by withdrawing that protection, which he found ſo neceſſary for his ſecurity.

Sickneſs of the Protector.

His body alſo, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected; and his health ſeemed very ſenſibly to decline. He was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the ſpace of a week, no dangerous ſymptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length, the fever encreaſed, and he himſelf began to entertain ſome thoughts of death, and to caſt his eye towards that future exiſtence, whoſe idea had once been intimately preſent to him; tho' ſince, in the hurry of affairs and the ſhock of wars and factions, it had, no doubt, been conſiderably obliterated. He aſked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine was true, that the elect could never fall or ſuffer a final reprobation. "Nothing more certain," replied the preacher.

" Then am I ſafe," ſaid the Protector: " For I am ſure that once I was in a ſtate " of grace."

His phyſicians were ſenſible of the perilous condition, to which his diſtemper had reduced him: But his chaplains, by their prayers, viſions, and revelations, ſo buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of all danger. A favorable anſwer, it was pretended, had been returned by heaven to the petitions of all the godly; and he relied on their aſſeverations much more than on the opinion of the moſt experienced phyſicians. " I tell you," he cried with confidence to the latter, " I ſhall not dye of this diſtemper: I am well aſſured of my recovery. It " is promiſed by the Lord, not only to my ſupplications, but alſo to that of men " who hold a ſtricter commerce and more intimate correſpondence with him. Ye " may have ſkill in your profeſſion; but nature can do more than all the phyſicians " in the world, and God is far above nature *." Nay, to ſuch a degree of madneſs did their enthuſiaſtic aſſurances mount, that upon a faſt day, which, on his account, was obſerved, as well at Hampton Court as at Whitehall, they did not ſo much pray for his health, as give thanks for the undoubted pledges, which they had received of his recovery. He himſelf was overheard offering up his addreſſes to heaven; and ſo far had the illuſions of fanaticiſm prevailed over the plaineſt dictates of natural morality, that he aſſumed more the character of a mediator, in interceding for his people, than that of a criminal, whoſe atrocious violation of ſocial duty had, from every tribunal, human and divine, merited the ſevereſt vengeance.

Meanwhile all the ſymptoms began to wear a more fatal aſpect; and the phyſicians were obliged to break ſilence, and to declare that the Protector could not ſurvive the next fit, with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A deputation was ſent to know his will with regard to his ſucceſſor. His ſenſes were gone, and he could not now expreſs his intentions. They aſked him, whether he did not mean, that his eldeſt ſon, Richard, ſhould ſucceed him in the Protectorſhip. A ſimple affirmative was, or ſeemed to be extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3d of September, that very day, which he had always conſidered as the moſt fortunate to him, he expired. A violent tempeſt, which immediately ſucceeded his death, ſerved as a ſubject of diſcourſe to the vulgar. His partizans, as well as his opponents, were fond of remarking this event; and each of them endeavored, by forced inferences, to interpret it as a confirmation of their particular prejudices.

His death,

and character.

The writers, attached to the memory of this wonderful perſon, make his character, with regard to abilities, bear the air of the moſt extravagant panegyric: His enemies form ſuch a repreſentation of his moral qualities as reſembles the moſt virulent

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* Bates: See alſo Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 355, 416.

lent invective. Both of them, it muſt be confeſſed, are ſupported by ſuch ſtriking circumſtances in his conduct and fortune as beſtow on their repreſentation a great air of probability. "What can be more extraordinary," it is ſaid*, "than that a perſon, "of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which "have ſometimes, nor ſhining talents of mind, which have often, raiſed men to the "higheſt dignities, ſhould have the courage to attempt and the abilities to execute "ſo extraordinary a deſign as the ſubverting one of the moſt antient and beſt eſtabliſhed Monarchies in the world? That he ſhould have the power and boldneſs to "put his Prince and maſter to an open and infamous death? Should baniſh that numerous and ſtrongly allied family? Cover all theſe temerities under a ſeeming obedience to a Parliament, in whoſe ſervice he pretended to be retained? Trample "too upon that Parliament in their turn, and ſcornfully expel them ſo ſoon as they "gave him ground of diſſatisfaction? Erect in their place the dominion of the "ſaints, and give reality to the moſt viſionary idea, which the heated imagination "of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppreſs again that monſter in its infancy, and openly ſet up himſelf above all things that ever were called ſovereign "in England? Overcome firſt all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice? Serve all parties patiently for a while, and command them "victoriouſly at laſt? Over-run each corner of the three nations, and ſubdue with "equal felicity, both the riches of the ſouth, and the poverty of the north? Be "feared and courted by all foreign Princes, and be adopted a brother to the gods "of the earth? Call together Parliaments with a word of his pen, and ſcatter "them again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce to ſubjection a warlike and "diſcontented nation, by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army "by means of ſeditious and factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, "that he would be pleaſed, at the rate of millions a year, to be hired as maſter of "thoſe who had hired him before to be their ſervant? Have the eſtates and lives of "three nations as much at his diſpoſal as was once the little inheritance of his father, "and be as noble and liberal in the ſpending of them? And laſtly (for there is no "end of enumerating every particular of his glory) with one word bequeath all this "power and ſplendor to his poſterity? Dye poſſeſſed of peace at home and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more than regal ſolemnity? "And leave a name behind him not to be extinguiſhed, but with the whole world; "which, as it was too little for his praiſe, ſo might it have been for his conqueſts, "if the ſhort line of his mortal life could have ſtretched out to the extent of his immortal deſigns?"

My intention is not to disfigure this picture, drawn by ſo maſterly a hand: I ſhall only endeavor to remove from it ſomewhat of the marvellous; a circumſtance, which,

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* Cowley's Diſcourſes: This paſſage is altered in ſome particulars from the original.

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which, on all occaſions, gives ſo much ground for doubt and ſuſpicion. It ſeems to me, that the occurrence of Cromwel's life, where his abilities are principally diſcovered, is his riſing from a private ſtation, in oppoſition to ſo many rivals, ſo much advanced before him, to a high command and authority in the army. His great courage, his ſignal military talents, his eminent dexterity and addreſs were all requiſite for this important acquiſition. Yet will not this promotion appear the effect of ſupernatural abilities, when we conſider, that Fairfax, himſelf a private gentleman, who had not the advantage of a ſeat in Parliament, had, thro' the ſame ſteps, attained even a ſuperior rank, and, if endued with common capacity and penetration, had been able to retain it. To incite ſuch an army to rebellion againſt the Parliament, required no uncommon art or induſtry: To have kept them in obedience had been the more difficult enterprize. When the breach was once formed betwixt the military and civil powers, a ſupreme and abſolute authority, from that moment, is devolved on the general; and if he is afterwards pleaſed to employ artifice or policy, it may be regarded, on moſt occaſions, as great condeſcenſion, if not as a ſuperfluous caution. That Cromwel was ever able really to blind or over-reach, either the King or the Republicans, does not appear: As they poſſeſſed no means of reſiſting the force under his command, they were glad to temporize with him, and, by ſeeming to be deceived, wait for opportunities of freeing themſelves from his dominion. If he ſeduced the military fanatics, it is to be conſidered, that their intereſt and his evidently concurred, that their ignorance and low education expoſed them to the groſſeſt impoſition, and that he himſelf was at bottom as frantic an enthuſiaſt as the worſt of them, and, in order to obtain their confidence, needed but diſplay thoſe vulgar and ridiculous habits, which he had early acquired, and on which he ſet ſo high a value. An army is ſo forcible, and at the ſame time ſo coarſe a weapon, that any hand, which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any aſcendant, in human ſociety.

The domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel, tho' it diſcovers great ability, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power: Perhaps, his difficult ſituation admitted of neither. His foreign enterprizes, tho' full of intrepidity, were pernicious to national intereſt, and ſeem more the reſult of impetuous fury or narrow prejudices, than of cool foreſight and deliberation. An eminent perſonage however, he was in many reſpects, and even a ſuperior genius; but unequal and irregular in his operations. And tho' not defective in any talent, except that of elocution, the abilities, which in him were moſt admirable, and which moſt contributed to his marvellous ſucceſs, were the magnanimous reſolution of his enterprizes, and his peculiar dexterity in diſcovering the characters, and practiſing on the weakneſſes of mankind.

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If we ſurvey the moral character of Cromwel with that indulgence, which is due to the blindneſs and infirmities of the human ſpecies, we ſhall not be inclined to load his memory with ſuch violent reproaches as thoſe which his enemies uſually throw upon it. Amidſt the paſſion and prejudices of that time, that he ſhould prefer the parliamentary to the royal cauſe will not appear very extraordinary; ſince, even at preſent, many men of ſenſe and knowlege are diſpoſed to think, that the queſtion with regard to the juſtice of the quarrel may be regarded as very doubtful and ambiguous. The murder of the King, the moſt atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illuſions; and it is not impoſſible, that he might believe it, as many others did, the moſt meritorious action, which he could perform. His ſubſequent uſurpation was the effect of neceſſity, as well as of ambition; nor is it eaſy to ſee, how the various factions could at that time have been reſtrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwel, as a ſon, a huſband, a father, a friend, is expoſed to no conſiderable cenſure, if it does not rather merit praiſe. And upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unuſual by the mixture of ſo much abſurdity with ſo much penetration, than by his tempering ſuch violent ambition and ſuch enraged fanaticiſm with ſo much regard to juſtice and humanity.

Cromwel was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he died. He was of a robuſt frame of body, and of a manly, tho' not an agreeable aſpect. He left only two ſons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters; one married to general Fleetwood, another to lord Falconbrige, a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was young. His mother lived till after he was Protector; and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Weſtminſter Abbey. She could not be perſwaded, that his power or perſon was ever in ſecurity. At every noiſe, which ſhe heard, ſhe exclaimed, that her ſon was murdered; and was never ſatisfied that he was alive, if ſhe did not receive frequent viſits from him. She was a decent woman; and by her frugality and induſtry had raiſed and educated a numerous family upon a ſmall fortune. She had even been obliged to ſet up a brewery at Huntington, which ſhe managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwel, in the invectives of that age, is often ſtigmatized with the name of the Brewer. Ludlow, by way of inſult, mentions the great acceſſion, which he would receive to his royal revenues upon his mother's death, who poſſeſſed a jointure of ſixty pounds a year upon his eſtate. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart; remotely allied, as is by ſome ſuppoſed, to the royal family.

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Richard acknowleged Protector.——A Parliament.——Cabal of Wallingford Houſe.——Richard depoſed.——Long Parliament or Rump reſtored.——Conſpiracy of the Royaliſts.——Inſurrection.——Suppreſſed.——Parliament expelled.——Committee of Safety.——Foreign Affairs.——General Monk.——Monk declares for the Parliament.——Parliament reſtored.——Monk enters London.——Declares for a free Parliament.——Secluded Members reſtored.——Long Parliament diſſolved.——New Parliament.——The Reſtoration.——Manners and Arts.

1658. ALL the arts of Cromwel's policy had been ſo often practiſed, that they began to loſe their effect; and his authority, inſtead of being confirmed by time and ſucceſs, ſeemed every day to become more uncertain and precarious. His friends the moſt cloſely connected with him, and his counſellors the moſt truſted, were entering into cabals againſt his authority; and with all his penetration into the characters of men, he could not find any miniſters, on whom he might with confidence rely. Men of ſtrict probity and honor, he knew, would not ſubmit to be inſtruments of an uſurpation, violent and illegal: Thoſe, who were free from the reſtraint of principle, might betray, for intereſt, that cauſe, in which, from no better motives, they had inliſted themſelves. Even thoſe, on whom he conferred any favor, never eſteemed the recompence ſufficient for the ſacrifices, which they made to obtain it: Whoever was refuſed any demand, juſtified his anger by the ſpecious colors of conſcience and of duty. Such difficulties ſurrounded the Protector, that his dying at ſo critical a time, is deemed by many the moſt fortunate circumſtance that ever attended him; and it was thought, that all his courage and dexterity could not much longer have extended his uſurped adminiſtration.

But when that potent hand was removed, which conducted the government, every one expected a ſudden diſſolution of the unweildy and ill-jointed fabric. Richard, a young man of no experience, educated in the country, accuſtomed to a retired life, unacquainted with the officers and unknown to them, recommended by no military exploits, endeared by no familiarities, could not long, it was thought, maintain that authority, which his father had acquired by ſo many valorous atchievements, and ſuch ſignal ſucceſſes. And when it was obſerved, that he poſſeſſed only the virtues of private life, which in his ſituation were ſo many vices; that indolence, incapacity, irreſolution attended his facility and good nature; the various hopes of men were excited by the expectation of ſome great event or revolution. For ſome time however, the public was diſappointed in this opinion. The council recognized the ſucceſſion of Richard: Fleetwood, in whoſe favor, it was ſuppoſed, Cromwel had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretenſion to the Protectorſhip: Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with great popularity, enſured him the obedience of that kingdom: Monk, whoſe authority was well eſtabliſhed in Scotland, being much attached to his family, immediately proclaimed the new Protector: The army, every where, the fleet, acknowleged his title: Above ninety addreſſes, from the counties and moſt conſiderable corporations, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance congratulated him on his acceſſion: Foreign miniſters were forward in paying him the uſual compliments: And Richard, whoſe moderate, unambitious character, never would have led him to contend for empire, was tempted to ſeize ſo rich a ſucceſſion, which, by the conſent of all mankind, ſeemed to be tendered to him.

Richard acknowleged Protector.

It was found neceſſary to call a Parliament, in order to furniſh ſupplies, both for the ordinary adminiſtration, and for fulfilling thoſe engagements with foreign Princes, particularly Sweden, into which the laſt Protector had entered. In hopes of obtaining greater influence on elections, the antient right was reſtored to all the ſmall burroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their accuſtomed members. The Houſe of Peers or the other Houſe conſiſted of the ſame perſons, who had been nominated by Oliver.

A Parliament.

1659.

All the Commons, at firſt, ſigned without heſitation an engagement not to alter the preſent government. They next proceeded to examine the Humble Petition and Advice; and after great oppoſition and many vehement diſputes, it was, at laſt, with much difficulty, carried by the court-party to confirm it. An acknowlegement too of the authority of the other Houſe was extorted from them; tho' it was reſolved not to treat this Houſe of Peers with any greater reſpect than they ſhould return to the Commons. A declaration was alſo made, that the eſtabliſhment of the other Houſe ſhould no way prejudice the right of ſuch of the antient peers as had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the Parliament. In all tranſactions of the Commons, the oppoſition was ſo conſiderable, and the debates were ſo prolonged, as much retarded all buſineſs, and gave great alarms to the partizans of the young Protector.

7th of January.

But there was another quarter from which greater dangers were juſtly apprehended. The moſt conſiderable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother

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ther in law to the Protector, were entering into cabals againſt him. No character in human ſociety is more dangerous than that of the Fanatic; becauſe, if attended with weak judgement, he is expoſed to the ſuggeſtions of others; if ſupported by more diſcernment, he is entirely governed by his own illuſions, which ſanctify his moſt ſelfiſh views and paſſions: Fleetwood was of the former ſpecies; and being extremely addicted to a Republic and even to the Fifth Monarchy or dominion of the ſaints, it was eaſy for thoſe, who had inſinuated themſelves into his confidence, to inſtill diſguſts againſt the dignity of Protector. The whole Republican party in the army, which were ſtill conſiderable, Fitz, Maſon, Moſs, Farley, united themſelves to that general. The officers too of the ſame party, whom Cromwel had diſcarded, Overton, Ludlow, Rich, Okey, Alured, began to appear, and to recover that authority, which had been only for a time ſuſpended. A party likewiſe, who found themſelves eclipſed in Richard's favor, Sydenham, Kelſey, Berry, Haines, joined the cabal of the others. Even Deſborow, the Protector's uncle, lent his authority to that faction. But above all, the intrigues of Lambert, who was now rouzed from his retreat, inflamed all theſe dangerous humors, and threatened the nation with ſome great convulſion. All the diſcontented officers eſtabliſhed their meetings at Fleetwood's lodgings; and becauſe he dwelt in Wallingford houſe, the party received a denomination from that place.

Cabal of Wallingford Houſe.

RICHARD, who poſſeſſed neither reſolution nor penetration, was prevailed with to give an unguarded conſent for calling a council of general officers, who might make him propoſals, as they pretended, for the good of the army. No ſooner were they aſſembled than they voted a Remonſtrance. They there lamented, that *the good old cauſe*, as they termed it, that is, the cauſe, for which they had engaged againſt the King, was entirely neglected; and they propoſed as a remedy, that the whole military power, the command of the armies, ſhould be entruſted to ſome perſon, in whom they might all confide. The city militia, influenced by two aldermen, Tichburn and Ireton, expreſſed the ſame reſolution of adhering to *the good old cauſe*.

THE Protector was very juſtly alarmed at thoſe movements among the officers. The perſons, in whom he chiefly confided, were all of them, excepting Broghill, men of civil characters and profeſſions; Fiennes, Thurloe, Whitlocke, Wolſeley; who could only aſſiſt him with their advice and opinion. He poſſeſſed none of thoſe arts, which were proper to gain an enthuſiaſtic army. Murmurs being thrown out againſt ſome promotions, which he had made, *Would you have me*, ſaid he, *prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldſby*, continued he, *who can neither pray nor preach; yet will I truſt him before ye all**. This imprudence gave great offence to the pretended ſaints. The other qualities of the Protector were laudable: He was of a gentle, humane, and generous diſpoſition. Some of his party offering to put an end to theſe intrigues by the death of Lambert, if he would give them authority, he declared, that he would not purchaſe power or dominion by ſuch ſanguinary meaſures.

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* Ludlow.

The Parliament was no leſs alarmed at the military cabals. They voted, that there ſhould be no meeting or general council of officers without the Protector's conſent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The officers haſtened to Richard, and demanded of him the diſſolution of the Parliament. Deſborow, a man of a clowniſh and brutal nature, threatened him if he ſhould refuſe. The Protector wanted the reſolution to deny, and poſſeſſed little ability to reſiſt. The Parliament was diſſolved; and by the ſame act the Protector was by every one looked on as effectually dethroned. Soon after, he ſigned his dimiſſion in form.

22d of April.

Richard depoſed.

Henry, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the ſame beneficent and moderate diſpoſition as Richard; but as he enjoyed more vigor and capacity, it was apprehended, that he might make reſiſtance. His popularity in Ireland was great; and even his perſonal authority, notwithſtanding his youth, was conſiderable. Had his ambition been very eager, he had, no doubt, been able to create diſturbance: But being threatened by Sir Hardreſs Waller, Collonel John Jones, and other officers, he very quietly reſigned his command, and retired to England. He had once entertained thoughts, which he had not reſolution to execute, of proclaiming the King in Dublin*.

Thus fell, ſuddenly and from an enormous height, but, by a rare fortune, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwels. Richard continued to poſſeſs an eſtate, which was very moderate, and burthened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the reſtoration, tho' he remained unmoleſted, he thought proper to travel for ſome years; and at Pezenas in Languedoc he was introduced under a borrowed name to the Prince of Conti. That Prince, talking of Engliſh affairs, broke out into admiration of Cromwel's courage and capacity. "But as for that poor pitiful fellow, Richard," ſaid he, "what has become of him? How could he be ſuch a blockhead as to reap no greater "benefit from all his father's crimes and ſucceſſes?" Unhappily for ſociety, men entertain ſo high a regard for parts and talents, even when miſapplied, that the love of popular applauſe is rendered an additional incitement to ambition, uſurpation, and civil diſorder. Richard extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of Queen Anne's reign. His ſocial virtues, more valuable than the greateſt capacity, met with a recompence, more precious than noiſy fame and more ſuitable, contentment and tranquillity.

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* Carte's Collections, vol. ii. p. 243.

The council of officers, now poſſeſſed of ſupreme authority, deliberated what form of government they ſhould eſtabliſh. Many of them ſeemed inclined to exerciſe the power of the ſword in the moſt open manner; but as it was apprehended, that the people would with great difficulty be induced to pay taxes, levied by arbitrary will and pleaſure; it was agreed to preſerve the ſhadow of civil adminiſtration, and to revive the long Parliament, which had been expelled by Cromwel. They could not be diſſolved, it was aſſerted, but by their own conſent; and violence had interrupted, but was not able to deſtroy, their right to government. The officers alſo expected, that as theſe members had ſufficiently felt their own weakneſs and impotence, they would be contented to act in ſubordination to the military commanders, and would thenceforth allow all the authority to remain where the power was ſo viſibly veſted.

The officers applied to Lenthal, the ſpeaker, and propoſed to him, that the Parliament ſhould reſume their ſeats. Lenthal was a man of a low and timid ſpirit; and being uncertain what iſſue might attend theſe councils, was deſirous of evading the propoſal. He replied, that he could by no means comply with the deſire of the officers; having appointed a buſineſs of far greater importance to himſelf, which he could not omit on any account, becauſe it concerned the ſalvation of his own ſoul. The officers preſſed him to know what it might be. He was preparing, he ſaid, to participate of the Lord's Supper, which he reſolved to take the next ſabbath day. They inſiſted, that mercy was preferable to ſacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himſelf for that great duty, than by contributing to the public good. All their remonſtrances had no effect. However, on the appointed day, the ſpeaker, being informed, that a quorum of the Houſe was likely to meet, thought proper, notwithſtanding the ſalvation of his ſoul, as Ludlow obſerves, to join them; and the Houſe immediately proceeded upon buſineſs. The ſecluded members attempted, but in vain, to reſume their ſeats among them.

Long Parliament or Rump reſtored.

The numbers of this Parliament were very ſmall, little exceeding forty members: Their authority in the nation, ever ſince they had been purged by the army, was extremely diminiſhed; and after their expulſion, had been totally annihilated: But being all of them men of violent ambition; ſome of them men of experience and capacity; they were reſolved, ſince they enjoyed the title of the ſupreme authority, and obſerved that ſome appearance of a Parliament was requiſite for the purpoſes of the army, not to act a ſubordinate part to thoſe who acknowleged themſelves their ſervants. They choſe a council, where they took care that the officers of Wallingford Houſe ſhould not be the majority: They appointed Fleetwood to be lieutenant-general, but inſerted in his commiſſion, that it ſhould only continue during the pleaſure of the Houſe: They choſe ſeven perſons, who ſhould nominate to ſuch commands as became vacant: And they voted, that all commiſſions ſhould be received from the ſpeaker, and be ſigned by him in the name of the Parliament. Theſe precautions, the tendency of which was viſible, gave great diſguſt to the general officers; and their diſcontent would have broke out into ſome reſolution, fatal to the Parliament, had it not been checked by apprehenſions of danger from the common enemy.

THE bulk of the nation conſiſted of Royaliſts and Preſbyterians; and to both theſe parties the dominion of the pretended Parliament had ever been to the laſt degree odious. When this Parliament was expelled by Cromwel, contempt had ſucceeded to hatred; and no reſerve had been uſed in expreſſing the utmoſt deriſion againſt the impotent ambition of theſe uſurpers. Seeing them reinſtated in authority, all orders of men felt the higheſt indignation; together with apprehenſions leſt ſuch tyrannical rulers ſhould exert their power in vengeance upon their enemies, by whom they had been ſo openly inſulted. A ſecret reconcilement therefore, was made betwixt the rival parties; and it was agreed, that, laying aſide former enmities, all efforts ſhould be uſed for the overthrow of the Rump: For ſo they called the Parliament, in alluſion to that part of the animal body, the leaſt and moſt ignoble. The Preſbyterians, ſenſible from experience, that their paſſion for liberty, however laudable, had carried them into unwarrantable extremes, were willing to lay aſide former jealouſies, and, at all hazards, to reſtore the royal family. The nobility, the gentry bent their moſt paſſionate endeavors to the ſame enterprize, by which alone they could be redeemed from ſlavery. And no man was ſo remote from party, ſo indifferent to public good, as not to feel the moſt ardent wiſhes, for the diſſolution of that tyranny, which, whether the civil or the military part of it be conſidered, was equally oppreſſive and ruinous to the nation.

Conſpiracy of the Royaliſts.

THE generous Mordaunt, who had ſo narrowly eſcaped on his trial, before the High court of Juſtice, ſeemed rather animated than daunted with paſt danger; and having, by his reſolute behavior, obtained the higheſt confidence of the royal party, he was now become the center of all their conſpiracies. In many counties, a reſolution was taken to riſe in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Horatio Townſhend undertook to ſecure Lynne: General Maſſey engaged to ſeize Glouceſter: Lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen conſpired to take poſſeſſion of Shrewſbury; Sir George Booth of Cheſter; Sir Thomas Middleton of North-Wales; Arundel, Pollard, Granville, Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter. A day was appointed for the execution of all theſe enterprizes. And the King with the Duke of Yorke had arrived ſecretly at Calais, with a reſolution of putting himſelf at the head of his loyal ſubjects. The French had promiſed to ſupply him with a ſmall body of forces, in order to countenance the inſurrections of the Engliſh.

THIS combination was diſconcerted by the infidelity of Sir Richard Willis. That traitor continued with the Parliament the ſame correſpondence, which he had begun with Cromwel. He had engaged to reveal all conſpiracies, ſo far as to deſtroy their effect; but reſerved to himſelf, if he pleaſed, the power of concealing the conſpirators. He took care never to name any of the old, genuine cavaliers, who had zealouſly adhered, and were reſolved ſtill to adhere, to the royal cauſe in every fortune. Theſe men he eſteemed; theſe he even loved. He betrayed only the new converts among the Preſbyterians, or ſuch lukewarm Royaliſts, as, diſcouraged with their diſappointments, were reſolved to expoſe themſelves to no more hazards. A lively proof, how impoſſible it is, even for the moſt corrupted minds, to diveſt themſelves of all regard to morality and ſocial duty!

July.

Inſurrection

MANY of the conſpirators in the different counties were thrown into priſon: Others, aſtoniſhed at ſuch ſymptoms of ſecret treachery, left their houſes or remained quiet: The moſt tempeſtuous weather prevailed during the whole time appointed for the rendevouzes; inſomuch that ſome found it impoſſible to join their friends, and others were diſmayed with fear and ſuperſtition, at an incident ſo unuſual during the ſummer ſeaſon. Of all the projects, the only one which took effect was that of Sir George Booth for the ſeizing of Cheſter. The earl of Derby, lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee, Collonel Morgan took part in his enterprize. Sir William Middleton joined him with ſome troops from North Wales; and the inſurgents were powerful enough to ſubdue all in that neighborhood, who ventured to oppoſe them. In their declaration they made no mention of the King: They only demanded a free and full Parliament.

THE Rump were juſtly alarmed. How combuſtible the materials were they well knew; and the fire was now fallen among them. Booth was of a family eminently preſbyterian; and his conjunction with the Royaliſts they regarded as a moſt dangerous ſymptom. They had many officers, whoſe fidelity they could more depend upon than that of Lambert: But there was no-one in whoſe vigilance and capacity they repoſed ſuch confidence. They commiſſioned him to ſuppreſs the inſurgents. He made incredible haſte. Booth imprudently ventured himſelf out of the walls of Cheſter, and expoſed, in the open field, his raw troops againſt

Suppreſſed.

theſe hardy veterans. He was ſoon routed and taken priſoner. His whole party were diſperſed. And the Parliament had no farther occupation than to fill all the priſons with their open or ſecret enemies. Deſigns were even entertained of tranſporting the loyal families to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the other colonies; leſt they ſhould propagate in England children of the ſame malignant affections with themſelves.

THIS ſucceſs haſtened the ruin of the Parliament. Lambert, at the head of a body of troops, was no leſs dangerous to them than Booth. A thouſand pounds, which they ſent him to buy a jewel, he employed in liberalities to his officers. At his inſtigation they drew up a petition, and tranſmitted it to Fleetwood, a weak man, and an honeſt, if ſincerity in folly deſerves that honorable name. The import of this petition was, that Fleetwood ſhould be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general, Deſborow lieutenant-general of the horſe, Monk major-general of the foot. To which, a demand was added, that no officer ſhould be diſmiſſed from his command but by a court-martial.

THE Parliament, alarmed at the danger, immediately caſhiered Lambert, Deſborow, Berry, Clerke, Barrow, Kelſey, Cobbet. Sir Arthur Hazelrig propoſed the impeachment of Lambert for high treaſon. Fleetwood's commiſſion was voided, and the command of the army was veſted in ſeven perſons, of whom that General was one. The Parliament voted, that they would have no more general officers. And they declared it high treaſon to levy any money without conſent of Parliament.

BUT theſe votes were feeble weapons in oppoſition to the ſwords of the ſoldiery. Lambert drew ſome troops together, in order to decide the controverſy. Okey, who was leading his regiment to the aſſiſtance of the Parliament, was deſerted by them. Morley and Moſs brought their regiments into Palace-Yard, reſolute to oppoſe the violence of Lambert. But that artful general knew an eaſy way of diſappointing them. He placed his ſoldiers in the ſtreets which led to Weſtminſter-Hall. When the ſpeaker came in his coach, he ordered the horſes to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were in like manner intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace-Yard, finding themſelves expoſed to deriſion, peaceably retired to their quarters. A very little before this bold enterprize, a ſolemn faſt had been kept by the army; and it is remarked, that this ceremony was the uſual prelude to every ſignal violence which they committed.

13th of October. Parliament expelled.

THE officers found themſelves again inveſted with ſupreme authority, of which they intended for ever to retain the ſubſtance, however on others they might beſtow the empty ſhadow or appearance. They elected a committee of twenty-three perſons, of whom ſeven were officers. Theſe they pretended to inveſt with ſovereign authority; and called them a Committee of Safety. They ſpoke every where of ſummoning a Parliament, choſen by the people; but they really took ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a military Parliament, compoſed of officers, elected from every regiment in the ſervice *. Thro'out the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears; to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody maſſacre and

26th of October. Committee of Safety.

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* Ludlow.

and extermination; to the reſt of the people, of perpetual ſervitude, beneath thoſe ſanctified robbers, whoſe union and whoſe diviſions would be equally deſtructive, and who, under pretext of ſuperior illuminations, would ſoon extirpate, if poſſible, all private morality, as they had already all public law and juſtice, from the Britiſh dominions.

Foreign affairs.

DURING the time that England continued in this diſtracted condition, the other kingdoms of Europe were haſtening towards a compoſure of thoſe differences, by which they had ſo long been agitated. The Parliament, while it preſerved authority, inſtead of following the deſtructive politics of Cromwel, and lending aſſiſtance to the conquering Swede, embraced the prudent maxims of the Dutch Commonwealth, and reſolved, in conjunction with that State, to mediate by force of arms an accommodation between the northern crowns. Montague was ſent with a ſquadron to the Baltic, and carried with him as ambaſſador Algernon Sidney, the famous Republican. Sidney found the Swediſh Monarch employed in the ſiege of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy; and was highly pleaſed, that, with a Roman arrogance, he could check the progreſs of royal victories, and diſplay in ſo ſignal a manner the ſuperiority of freedom above tyranny. With the higheſt indignation, the ambitious Prince was obliged to ſubmit to the imperious mediation of the two Commonwealths. "'Tis cruel," ſaid he, "that laws ſhould be preſcribed me by parricides and pedlars." But his whole army was encloſed in an iſland, and might be ſtarved by the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland. He was obliged therefore to quit his prey, when he had ſo nearly got poſſeſſion of it; and having agreed to a pacification with Denmark, retired into his own country, where he ſoon after died.

THE wars betwixt France and Spain were alſo concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees. Theſe bloody animoſities had long been carried on between the rival ſtates, even while governed by a ſiſter and brother, who cordially loved and eſteemed each other. But politics, which had ſo long prevailed over theſe friendly affections, now at laſt yielded to their benign influence; and never was the triumph more full and compleat. The Spaniſh Low Countries, if not every part of that Monarchy, lay almoſt entirely at the mercy of its enemy. Broken armies, diſordered finances, ſlow and irreſolute councils; by theſe reſources alone were the diſperſed provinces of Spain defended againſt the vigorous power of France. But the Queen regent, anxious for the fate of her brother, by her importunities and her authority with the cardinal, ſtopped the progreſs of the French conqueſts, and put an end to a quarrel, which, being commenced by ambition, and attended with victory, was at laſt concluded with moderation. The young Monarch of France, tho' aſpiring and warlike in his character, was at this time

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entirely occupied in the pleaſures of love and gallantry, and had paſſively reſigned the reins of empire into the hands of his politic miniſter. And he remained an unconcerned ſpectator; while an opportunity for conqueſt was parted with, which, during the whole courſe of his active reign, he never was able fully to retrieve.

THE miniſters of the two crowns, Mazarine and Don Louis de Haro, met at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the Iſle of Pheaſants, a place which was ſuppoſed to belong to neither kingdom. The negotiation being brought to an iſſue by frequent conferences between the miniſters, the Monarchs themſelves agreed to a congreſs; and theſe two ſplendid courts appeared in their full luſtre amidſt thoſe ſavage mountains. Philip brought his daughter, Mary Thereſe, along with him; and giving her in marriage to his nephew, Louis, endeavored to cement by this new tye the incompatible intereſts of the two monarchies. The French King made a ſolemn renounciation of every ſucceſſion, which might accrue to him in right of his ſpouſe; a vain formality, too weak to reſtrain the ungoverned ambition of Princes.

THE affairs of England were in ſo great diſorder, that it was not poſſible to comprehend that kingdom in the treaty, or adjuſt meaſures with a power, which was in ſuch inceſſant fluctuation. The King, reduced to deſpair by the failure of all enterprizes for his reſtoration, was reſolved to try the weak reſource of foreign ſuccors; and he went to the Pyrenees at the time when the two miniſters were in the midſt of their negotiations. Don Louis received him with that generous civility, peculiar to his nation; and expreſſed great inclination, had the low condition of Spain allowed him, to give aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed Monarch. The cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the Engliſh Commonwealth, refuſed even to ſee him; and tho' it is pretended, that the King offered to marry the Cardinal's niece, he could, for the preſent, obtain nothing but empty profeſſions of reſpect and proteſtations of ſervice. The condition of that Monarch, to all the world, ſeemed totally deſperate. His friends had been baffled in every attempt for his ſervice: The ſcaffold had often ſtreamed with the blood of the moſt active Royaliſts: The ſpirits of many were broke with tedious impriſonments: The eſtates of all were harraſſed with fines and confiſcations: None durſt openly avow themſelves of that party: And ſo ſmall did their number ſeem to a ſuperficial view, that even ſhould the nation recover its liberty, which was eſteemed no way probable; it was judged uncertain what form of government it would embrace. But amidſt all theſe gloomy proſpects, fortune, by a ſurprizing revolution, was now paving the way for the King to mount in peace and triumph the throne of his an-

ceſtors.

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ceſtors. It was by the prudence and loyalty of general Monk, that this happy change was at laſt accompliſhed.

General Monk.

George Monk, to whom the fate was reſerved of re-eſtabliſhing monarchy, and finiſhing the bloody diſſenſions of three kingdoms, was the ſecond ſon of a family in Devonſhire, antient and honorable, but lately, from too great hoſpitality and expence, ſomewhat fallen to decay. He betook himſelf, very early in his youth, to the profeſſion of arms; and was engaged in the unfortunate expeditions to Cadiz and the Iſle of Rhé. After England had concluded peace with all its neighbors, he ſought military experience in the Low Countries, the great ſchool of war to all the Europæan nations; and he roſe to the command of a company under lord Goring. This company conſiſted of 200 men, of whom a hundred were volunteers, often gentlemen of family and eſtate, ſometimes noblemen, who lived upon their own fortunes in a ſplendid manner. Such a military turn at that time prevailed among the Engliſh.

When the ſound of war was firſt heard in this iſland, Monk returned to England, partly deſirous of promotion in his native country, partly diſguſted with ſome ill uſage from the States, of which he found reaſon to complain. Upon the Scotch pacification, he was employed by the earl of Leiceſter againſt the Iriſh rebels; and having obtained a regiment, was ſoon taken notice of, for his military ſkill and for his calm and deliberate valor. Without oſtentation, expence, or careſſes, merely by his humane and equal temper, he gained the good-will of all the ſoldiery; and with a mixture of familiarity and affection, they uſually called him *honeſt George Monk*; an honorable appellation, which they ſtill continued to him, even during his greateſt elevation. He was remarkable for his moderation in party; and while all around him were enflamed into rage againſt the oppoſite faction, he fell under ſuſpicion from the candor and tranquillity of his behavior. When the Iriſh army was called over into England, ſurmiſes of this kind had been ſo far credited, that he had even been ſuſpended from his command, and ordered to Oxford, that he might anſwer the charge laid againſt him. His eſtabliſhed character for truth and ſincerity here ſtood him in great ſtead; and upon his earneſt proteſtations and declarations, he was ſoon reſtored to his regiment, which he joined at the ſiege of Nantwich. The very next day after his arrival, Fairfax attacked and defeated the Royaliſts, commanded by Biron; and took collonel Monk priſoner. He was ſent to the Tower, where he endured, above two years, all the rigors of poverty and confinement. The King, however, was ſo mindful as to ſend him, notwithſtanding his own difficulties, a preſent of a 100 guineas; but it was not till after the Royaliſts were totally ſubdued, that he recovered his liberty. Monk, however diſtreſſed, had always refuſed the moſt inviting offers from the Parliament:

But Cromwel, ſenſible of his merit, having ſollicited him to engage in the wars againſt the Iriſh, who were conſidered as rebels both by King and Parliament; he was not unwilling to repair his broken fortunes by accepting a command, which, he flattered himſelf, was reconcilable to the ſtricteſt principles of honor. Having once engaged with the Parliament, he was obliged to obey orders; and found himſelf neceſſitated to fight both againſt the Marqueſs of Ormond in Ireland, and againſt the King himſelf in Scotland. Upon the reduction of this laſt kingdom, Monk was left with the ſupreme command; and by the equality and juſtice of his adminiſtration he was able to give contentment to that reſtleſs people, now reduced to ſubjection by a nation, whom they hated. No leſs acceptable was his authority to the officers and ſoldiers; and foreſeeing, that the good will of the army under his command might ſome time be of great ſervice to him, he had, with much care and ſucceſs, cultivated their friendſhip.

THE connexions, which he had formed with Cromwel, his benefactor, preſerved him faithful to Richard, who, by his father, had been enjoined to follow in every thing the directions of general Monk. When the long Parliament was reſtored, Monk, who was unprepared for oppoſition, acknowleged their authority, and was continued in his command, from which it would not have been ſafe to attempt the diſlodging him. After the army had expelled the Parliament, he proteſted againſt the violence, and prepared, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper deſigns, either in the King's favor or his own, were from the beginning ſuſpected to be the motive of his actions.

Monk declares for the Parliament.

A RIVALSHIP had long ſubſiſted betwixt him and Lambert; and every body ſaw the reaſon why he oppoſed himſelf to the advancement of that ambitious general, by whoſe ſucceſs his own authority, he knew, would ſoon be ſubverted. But little friendſhip had ever been maintained between him and the parliamentary leaders; and it ſeemed no way probable, that he intended to employ his induſtry and ſpend his blood for the advancement of one enemy above another. How early he entertained deſigns for the King's reſtoration, we know not with certainty: It is likely, that, as ſoon as Richard was depoſed, he foreſaw, that, without ſuch an expedient, it would be impoſſible ever to bring the nation to a regular ſettlement. His elder and younger brothers were entirely devoted to the royal cauſe: The Granvilles, his near relations, and all the reſt of his kindred, were in the ſame intereſt: He himſelf was intoxicated with no fumes of enthuſiaſm, and had maintained no connexions with any of the fanatical tribe. His early engagements had been with the King, and he had left that ſervice without receiving any diſguſt from the royal family. Since he had inliſted himſelf with the oppoſite party, he had been guilty of no violence or rigor, which might render him obnoxious. His return, therefore, to loyalty was eaſy and open; and nothing could be ſuppoſed to counterballance his natural propenſity to that meaſure, except the views of his own elevation, and the proſpect of uſurping the ſame grandeur and authority, which had been aſſumed by Cromwel. But from ſuch exorbitant, if not impoſſible projects, the natural tranquillity and moderation of his temper, the calmneſs and ſolidity of his genius, and his limited capacity, not to mention his age, now upon the decline, ſeem to have ſet him at a great diſtance. Cromwel himſelf, he always aſſerted [*], could not long have maintained his uſurpation; and any other perſon, even equal to him in genius, it was obvious, would now find it more difficult to practiſe arts, of which every one, from experience, was ſufficiently aware. It is more agreeable, therefore, to reaſon as well as candor to ſuppoſe, that Monk, ſo ſoon as he put himſelf in movement, had entertained views of effectuating the King's reſtoration; nor ought any objections, derived from his profound ſilence even to Charles himſelf, be regarded as conſiderable. His temper was naturally reſerved, his circumſtances required diſſimulation, the King he knew was ſurrounded with ſpies and traitors; and upon the whole it ſeems hard to interpret that conduct, which ought to exalt our idea of his prudence, as a diſparagement of his probity.

Sir John Granville, hopeful that the general would engage in the King's ſervice, ſent into Scotland his younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the King. When the doctor arrived, he found, that his brother was then holding a council of officers, and was not to be ſeen for ſome hours. In the mean time, he was received and entertained by Price, the general's chaplain, a man of probity, as well as a partizan of the King's. The doctor having an entire confidence in the chaplain, talked very freely with him about the object of his journey, and engaged him, if there ſhould be occaſion, to ſecond his applications. At laſt, the general arrives; the brothers embrace; and after ſome preliminary converſation, the doctor opens his buſineſs. Monk interrupts him to know, whether he had ever before to any body mentioned the ſubject of his journey. "To no body," replied his brother, "but to Price, whom I know to be entirely in your confidence." The general, altering his countenance, changed the diſcourſe; and would enter into no farther confidence with him, but ſent him away with the firſt opportunity. He would not truſt his own brother the moment he knew that he had diſcloſed the ſecret; tho' to a man whom he himſelf could have truſted [†].

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[*] Gumble's life of Monk, p. 93.

[†] Lord Lanſdown's defence of general Monk.

His conduct in all other particulars was full of the ſame reſerve and prudence; and no leſs was requiſite for effecting the difficult work which he had undertaken. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any ſuſpicion, he immediately caſhiered: Cobbet, who had been ſent by the Committee of Safety, under pretext of communicating their reſolutions to Monk, but really with a view of debauching his army, he committed to cuſtody: The ſeveral ſcattered regiments he drew together: He ſummoned an aſſembly, ſomewhat reſembling a convention of eſtates in Scotland; and having communicated his reſolution of marching into England, he received from them a ſeaſonable, tho' no great ſupply of money.

Hearing that Lambert was advancing northwards with his army, Monk ſent Cloberry and two other commiſſioners to London with large profeſſions of his inclination to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. His chief aim was to procure delay, and relax the preparations of his enemies. The Committee of Safety fell into the ſnare. A treaty was ſigned by the commiſſioners; but Monk refuſed to ratify it, and complained that his commiſſioners had exceeded their powers. He deſired however to enter into a new negotiation at Newcaſtle. The Committee willingly accepted this fallacious offer.

November.

Meanwhile theſe military ſovereigns found themſelves ſurrounded on all hands with inextricable difficulties. The nation had fallen into a total anarchy; and by refuſing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greateſt neceſſities. While Lambert's forces were aſſembling at Newcaſtle, Hazelrig and Morley took poſſeſſion of Portſmouth, and declared for the Parliament. A party, ſent to ſuppreſs them, were perſwaded by their commander to join in the ſame declaration. The city apprentices roſe in a tumult, and demanded a free Parliament. Tho' they were ſuppreſſed by collonel Hewſon, a man who from the profeſſion of a cobler had riſen to a high rank in the army, the city ſtill diſcovered ſymptoms of the moſt dangerous diſcontent. It even eſtabliſhed a kind of ſeparate government, and aſſumed the ſupreme authority within itſelf. Admiral Lauſon with his ſquadron came into the river, and declared for the Parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing of this important event, left Portſmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near that city, being ſollicited by their old officers, who had been caſhiered by the Committee of Safety, revolted again to the Parliament. Deſborow's regiment, being ſent by Lambert to ſupport his friends, no ſooner arrived at St. Albans, than it declared for the ſame aſſembly.

Fleetwood's hand was found too weak and unſtable to ſupport this ill-founded fabric, which, every where around him, was falling into ruins. When he received intelligence of any murmurs among the ſoldiers, he would fall upon his knees

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26th of December. Parliament reſtored. LENTHAL, the ſpeaker, being invited by the officers, again aſſumed authority, and ſummoned together the Parliament, which twice before had been expelled with ſo much reproach and ignominy. As ſoon as aſſembled, they repealed their act againſt the payment of exciſe and cuſtoms; they appointed commiſſioners for aſſigning quarters to the army; and without taking any notice of Lambert, they ſent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to thoſe garriſons, which were appointed them.

1660. 1ſt of January. LAMBERT was now in a very diſconſolate condition. Monk, he ſaw, had paſſed the Tweed at Coldſtream, and was advancing upon him. His own ſoldiers deſerted him in great multitudes, and joined the enemy. Lord Fairfax too, he heard, had raiſed forces behind him, and poſſeſſed himſelf of York, without declaring his purpoſe. The laſt orders of the Parliament ſo entirely ſtripped him of his army, that there remained not with him above 100 horſe: All the reſt went to their quarters with quietneſs and reſignation; and himſelf was, ſome time after, committed to the Tower. The other officers of the army, who had formerly been caſhiered by the Parliament, and had reſumed their commands that they might ſubdue that aſſembly, were again caſhiered and confined to their own houſes. Sir Harry Vane and other members, who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, were ordered into a like confinement. And the Parliament now ſeemed to be again poſſeſſed of a more abſolute authority than ever, and to be without any danger of oppoſition or contradiction.

THE Republican party was at this time headed by two men, Hazelrig and Vane, who were of very oppoſite characters, and mortally hated each other. Hazelrig, who poſſeſſed greater authority in the Parliament, was haughty, imperious, precipitate, vain-glorious; without civility, without prudence; qualified only by his noiſy, pertinacious obſtinacy to acquire an aſcendant in public councils. Vane was noted, in all civil tranſactions, for temper, inſinuation, addreſs, and a profound judgement; in all religious ſpeculations, for folly and extravagance. He was a perfect enthuſiaſt; and fancying that he was certainly favored with inſpiration, he eſteemed himſelf, to ſpeak in the language of the times, to be a *man above ordinances*, and by reaſon of his perfection, to be unlimited and unreſtrained by any rules, which govern inferior mortals. Theſe whimſies, mingling with pride, had ſo corrupted his excellent underſtanding, that ſometimes he thought himſelf the perſon deputed to reign on earth for a thouſand years over the whole congregation of the faithful *.

Monk, tho' informed of the reſtoration of the Parliament, from whom he received no orders, ſtill advanced with his army, which was near 6000 men: The ſcattered forces in England were three times more numerous. Fairfax, who had reſolved to declare for the King, not being able to make the General open his intentions, retired to his own houſe in Yorkſhire. In all countries thro' which Monk paſſed, the prime gentry flocked to him with addreſſes, expreſſing their earneſt deſire, that he would be inſtrumental in reſtoring the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of thoſe liberties, which by law were their birthright, but of which, during ſo many years, they had been fatally bereaved: And that, in order to this ſalutary purpoſe, he would prevail, either for the reſtoring thoſe members, who had been ſecluded before the King's death, or for the election of a new Parliament, who might, legally and by general conſent, again govern the nation. Tho' Monk pretended not to favor theſe addreſſes, that ray of hope, which the knowlege of his character and ſituation afforded, mightily animated all men. The tyranny and the anarchy, which now equally oppreſſed the kingdom; the experience of paſt diſtractions, the fear of future convulſions, the indignation againſt military uſurpation, againſt ſanctified hypocriſy: All theſe motives had united every party, except the moſt deſperate, into ardent wiſhes for the King's reſtoration, the only remedy for all theſe fatal evils.

Scot and Robinſon were ſent as deputies by the Parliament, under pretext of congratulating the General, but in reality to ſerve as ſpies upon him. The city diſpatched four of their principal citizens to perform like compliments; and at the ſame time to confirm the General in his inclination to a free Parliament, the object of all men's prayers and endeavors. The authority of Monk could ſcarce ſecure the parliamentary deputies from thoſe inſults, which the general hatred and contempt towards their maſters drew from men of every rank and denomination.

Monk continued his march with few intervals till he came to St. Albans. He there ſent a meſſage to the Parliament, deſiring them to remove from London thoſe regiments, who, tho' they now profeſſed to return to their duty, had ſo lately offered violence to that aſſembly. This meſſage was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed the houſe. Their fate, they found, muſt ſtill depend on a mercenary army; and they were as diſtant as ever from their imaginary ſovereignty.

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* Clarendon.

reignty. However, they found it neceſſary to comply. The ſoldiers made more difficulty. A mutiny aroſe amongſt them. One regiment in particular, which was quartered in Somerſet Houſe, expreſly refuſed to yield their place to the northern army. But thoſe officers, who would gladly, on ſuch an occaſion, have inflamed the quarrel, were abſent or in confinement; and for want of leaders, the ſoldiers were at laſt, with great reluctance, obliged to comply. Monk with his army took quarters in Weſtminſter.

3d of February. Monk enters London.

6th of February.

The general was introduced to the houſe; and thanks were given him by Lenthal for the eminent ſervices, which he had done his country. Monk was a prudent, but not an eloquent ſpeaker. He told the houſe, that the ſervices, which he had been enabled to perform, were no more than his duty, and merited not ſuch praiſes as thoſe with which they were pleaſed to honor him: That among many perſons of greater worth, who bore their commiſſion, he had been employed as the inſtrument of Providence for effecting their reſtoration; but he conſidered this ſervice only as a ſtep to more important ſervices, which it was their part to render to the nation: That as he marched along, he obſerved all ranks of men, in all places, to be in earneſt expectation of a ſettlement, after the violent convulſions, to which they had been expoſed; and to have no proſpect of ſuch a bleſſing but from the diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, and from the ſummoning of a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: That applications had been made him for that purpoſe; but that he, ſenſible of his duty, had ſtill told the petitioners, that the Parliament itſelf, which was now free and would ſoon be full, was the beſt judge of all theſe meaſures, and that the whole community ought to acquieſce in their determination: That tho' he expreſſed himelf in this manner to the people, he muſt now freely inform the houſe, that the fewer engagements were exacted, the more comprehenſive would their plan prove, and the more ſatisfaction would it give to the nation: And that it was ſufficient for public ſecurity, if the Fanatic party and the Royaliſts were excluded; ſince the principles of theſe factions were deſtructive either of government or of liberty.

This ſpeech, containing matter, which was both agreeable and diſagreeable to the houſe as well as to the nation, ſtill kept every one in ſuſpence, and upheld that uncertainty, in which it ſeemed the General's intereſt to retain the public. But it was impoſſible for the kingdom to remain long in this doubtful ſituation: The people as well as the Parliament puſhed matters to a deciſion. During the late convulſions, the payment of taxes had been interrupted; and tho' the Parliament, upon their aſſembling, renewed the ordinances for all collections and impoſitions, yet ſo little reverence did the people pay thoſe legiſlators, that

they

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they gave very ſlow and unwilling obedience to their commands. The common-council of London flatly refuſed to ſubmit to an aſſeſſment, required of them; and declared, that, till a free and lawful Parliament impoſed taxes, they never would deemed it their duty to make any payment. This reſolution would immediately have put an end to the dominion of the Parliament: They were determined, therefore, upon this occaſion to make at once a full experiment of their own power and of their General's obedience.

9th of February.

MONK received orders to march into the City, to ſeize twelve perſons the moſt obnoxious to the Parliament, to remove the poſts and chains from all the ſtreets, and to take down and break the portculliſes and gates of the city: And very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of theſe violent orders. To the great ſurprize and conſternation of all men, Monk prepared himſelf for obedience. Neglecting the entreaties of his friends, the remonſtrances of his officers, the cries of the people, he entered the City in a military manner; he apprehended as many as he could of the proſcribed perſons, whom he ſent to the Tower; with all the circumſtances of contempt he broke the gates and portculliſes; and having expoſed the City to the ſcorn and deriſion of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Weſtminſter.

11th of February.

Declares for a free Parliament.

No ſooner had the General leizure to reflect, than he found, that this laſt meaſure, inſtead of being a continuation of that cautious ambiguity, which he had hitherto maintained, was taking party without reſerve, and laying himſelf, as well as the nation, at the mercy of that tyrannical Parliament, whoſe power had long been odious, as well as their perſons contemptible, to all men. He reſolved therefore, before it was too late, to repair the dangerous miſtake, into which he had been betrayed, and to ſhow the whole world, ſtill more without reſerve, that he meant no longer to be the miniſter of violence and uſurpation. After complaining of the odious ſervice, in which he had been employed; he wrote a letter to the Houſe, reproaching them, as well with the new cabals which they had formed with Vane and Lambert, as with the encouragement given to a fanatical petition preſented by Barebone; and he required them, in the name of the citizens, ſoldiers, and whole Commonwealth, to iſſue writs within a week for the filling their Houſe, and to fix the time for their own diſſolution and the aſſembling of a new Parliament. Having diſpatched this letter, which might be regarded, he thought, as an undoubted pledge of his ſincerity, he marched with his army into the City, and deſired Allen, the mayor, to ſummon a common-council at Guildhall. He there made many apologies for the indignity, which, two days before, he had been obliged to put upon them; aſſured them of his perſeverance in the meaſures which he had adopted; and deſired that they might mutually plight their faith for a ſtrict union betwixt city and army, in every enterprize for the happineſs and ſettlement of the Commonwealth.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy and exultation, which diſplayed itſelf thro'out the City, as ſoon as intelligence was conveyed of this happy meaſure, embraced by the General. The proſpect of peace, concord, liberty, juſtice broke forth at once, from amidſt the deepeſt darkneſs, in which the nation had ever been involved. The view of paſt calamities no longer preſented diſmal prognoſtics of the future: It tended only to inhance the general exultation for thoſe ſcenes of happineſs and tranquillity, which all men now confidently promiſed themſelves. The Royaliſts, the Preſbyterians, forgeting all animoſities, mingled in common joy and tranſport, and vowed never more to gratify the ambition of falſe and factious tyrants, by their calamitous diviſions. The populace, more outrageous in their feſtivity, made the whole air reſound with acclamations, and illuminated every ſtreet with ſignals of jollity and triumph. Applauſes of the General were every where intermingled with deteſtation againſt the Parliament. The moſt ridiculous inventions were adopted, in order to expreſs this latter paſſion. At every bonfire rumps were roaſted; and where theſe could no longer be found, pieces of fleſh were cut into that ſhape: And the funeral of the Parliament, the populace exclaimed, was celebrated by theſe ſymbols of hatred and deriſion.

The Parliament, tho' in the agonies of deſpair, made ſtill one effort for the recovery of their dominion. They ſent a committee with offers to gain the General. He refuſed to hear them except in the preſence of ſome of the ſecluded members. Tho' ſeveral perſons, deſperate from guilt or fanaticiſm, promiſed to inveſt him with the dignity of ſupreme magiſtrate and to ſupport his government, he would not hearken to ſuch wild propoſals. Having fixed a cloſe correſpondence with the City, and eſtabliſhed its militia in hands, whoſe fidelity could be relied on, he marched again with his army to Weſtminſter, and purſued every proper meaſure for the ſettlement of the nation. While he ſtill pretended to maintain republican principles, he was taking large ſteps towards the re-eſtabliſhment of the antient Monarchy.

21ſt of February. Secluded members reſtored.

The ſecluded members, upon the General's invitation, went to the Houſe, and finding no longer any obſtruction, they entered, and immediately appeared to be the majority: Moſt of the Independants left the place. The reſtored members firſt repealed all the orders, by which they had been excluded: They gave Sir George Boothe and all his party their liberty and eſtates: They renewed and enlarged the General's commiſſion: They fixed an aſſeſſment for the ſupport of the fleet and army: And having paſſed theſe votes for the preſent compoſure of the kingdom, they diſſolved themſelves, and gave orders for the immediate aſſembling

16th of March.

of a new Parliament. This laſt meaſure had been previouſly concerted with the General, who knew, that all men, however different in affections, expectations, and deſigns, united in their deteſtation of the Long Parliament.

Long Parliament diſſolved.

A council of state was eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of men of dignity and moderation; moſt of whom, during the civil wars, had made a great figure among the Preſbyterians. The militia of the kingdom was put into ſuch hands as would promote order and ſettlement. Theſe, conjoined with Monk's army, which lay united at London, were eſteemed a ſufficient check on the more numerous, tho' diſperſed army, of whoſe inclinations there was ſtill much reaſon to be diffident. Monk, however, was every day removing the more obnoxious officers, and bringing the troops to a ſtate of diſcipline and obedience.

Overton, governor of Hull, had declared his reſolution to keep poſſeſſion of that fortreſs till the coming of King Jeſus: But when Alured produced the authority of the Parliament for his delivering the place to collonel Fairfax, he thought proper to comply.

Montague, who commanded the fleet in the Baltic, had entered into the ſame conſpiracy with Sir George Boothe; and pretending want of proviſions, had ſailed from the Sound towards the coaſt of England, with an intention of ſeconding that enterprize of the Royaliſts. On his arrival he received the news of Boothe's defeat, and the total failure of the inſurrection. The great difficulties, to which the Parliament was reduced, allowed them no leizure to examine ſtrictly the reaſons, which he gave for abandoning his ſtation; and they allowed him to retire peaceably to his country houſe. The Council of State now conferred on him, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet; and ſecured the naval, as well as military force in hands favorable to the public ſettlement.

Notwithstanding all theſe ſteps, which were taking towards the re-eſtabliſhment of Monarchy, Monk ſtill maintained the appearance of zeal for a Commonwealth, and hitherto allowed no canal of correſpondence betwixt himſelf and the King to be opened. To call a free Parliament, and to reſtore the royal Family, were viſibly, in the preſent diſpoſition of the kingdom, one and the ſame meaſure: Yet would not the General declare, otherways than by his actions, that he had adopted the King's intereſt; and nothing but neceſſity, at laſt extorted the confeſſion from him. His ſilence, in the commencement of his enterprize, ought to be no objection to his ſincerity; ſince he maintained the ſame reſerve, at a time, when, conſiſtent with common ſenſe, he could have entertained no other purpoſe*.

There

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* After Monk's declaration for a free Parliament on the 11th of February, he could mean nothing but the King's reſtoration: Yet it was long before he would open himſelf even to the King. This declaration was within eight days after his arrival in London. Had he ever intended to have ſet up him-

ſelf,

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THERE was one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonſhire, of a ſedentary, ſtudious diſpoſition, nearly related to Monk, and one who had always maintained the ſtricteſt intimacy with him. With this friend alone did Monk deliberate concerning that great enterprize, which he had formed. Sir John Granville, who had a commiſſion from the King, applied to Morrice for acceſs to the General; but received for anſwer, that the General deſired him to communicate his buſineſs to Morrice. Granville, tho' importunately urged, twice refuſed to deliver his meſſage to any but Monk himſelf; and that cautious politician, finding him now a perſon, whoſe ſecreſy could be ſafely truſted, admitted him to his preſence, and opened to him his whole intentions. Still he ſcrupled to commit any thing to paper *: He delivered only a verbal meſſage by Granville, aſſuring the King of his ſervices, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him inſtantly to leave the Spaniſh territories and retire into Holland. He was juſtly apprehenſive leſt Spain might retain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles followed theſe directions and very narrowly eſcaped to Breda. Had he protracted his journey a few hours, he had certainly, under pretext of honor and reſpect, been arreſted by the Spaniards.

LOCKHART, who was governor of Dunkirk, and no way averſe from the King's ſervice, was applied to on this occaſion. The ſtate of England was ſet before him, the certainty of the reſtoration repreſented, and the proſpect of great favor diſplayed, if he would anticipate the vows of the kingdom, and receive the King into his garriſon. Lockhart ſtill replied that his commiſſion was derived from an Engliſh Parliament, and he would not open his gates but in obedience to the ſame authority †. This ſcruple, tho', in the preſent emergence, it approaches towards ſuperſtition, it is difficult for us entirely to condemn.

New Parliament.

THE elections for the new Parliament went every where in favor of the King's party. This was one of thoſe popular torrents, where the moſt indifferent, or even the moſt averſe, are tranſported with the general paſſion, and zealouſly adopt the ſentiments of the ſociety, to which they belong. The enthuſiaſts themſelves ſeemed to be diſarmed of their fury; and between deſpair and aſtoniſhment gave way to thoſe meaſures, which, they found, it would be impoſſible for them, by their utmoſt efforts, to withſtand. The Preſbyterians, the Royaliſts, being united,

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ſelf, he would not ſurely have ſo ſoon abandoned a project ſo inviting: He would have taken ſome ſteps, which would have betrayed it: It could only have been ſome diſappointment, ſome fruſtrated attempt, which could have made him renounce the road of private ambition. But there is not the leaſt ſymptom of ſuch intentions. The ſtory told of Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, by Mr. Locke, has not any appearance of truth. See lord Lanſdowne's Vindication, and Philips's Continuation of Baker. I ſhall add to what thoſe authors have advanced, that cardinal Mazarine wiſhed for the King's reſtoration; tho' he would not have ventured much to have procured it.

* Landſdowne, Clarendon.

† Burnet.

united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noiſe, but with infinite ardor, called for the King's reſtoration. The kingdom was almoſt entirely in the hands of the former party; and ſome zealous leaders among them began to renew the demand of conditions, which had been required of the late King in the treaty of Newport: But the general opinion ſeemed to condemn all thoſe rigorous and jealous capitulations with their ſovereign. Harraſſed with convulſions and diſorders, men ardently longed for repoſe, and were terrified with the mention of negotiations or delay, which might afford opportunity to the ſeditious army ſtill to breed new confuſion. The paſſion too for liberty, having been carried to ſuch violent extremes, and having produced ſuch bloody commotions, began, by a natural movement, to give place to a ſpirit of loyalty and obedience; and the public were leſs zealous in a cauſe, which was become odious, on account of the ills, which had ſo long attended it. After the conceſſions made by the late King, the conſtitution ſeemed to be ſufficiently ſecured; and the additional conditions inſiſted on, as they had been framed during the greateſt ardor of the conteſt, amounted rather to an annihilation than a limitation of Monarchy. Above all, the General was averſe from the mention of conditions; and reſolved, that the crown, which he intended to reſtore, ſhould be conferred on the King entirely free and unincumbered. Without farther ſcruple, therefore, or jealouſy, the people gave their voice in elections for ſuch as they knew to entertain ſentiments favorable to Monarchy; and all payed court to a party, which, they foreſaw, was ſoon to govern the nation. Tho' the Parliament had voted, that no one ſhould be elected, who had himſelf, or whoſe father had borne arms for the late King; very little regard was any where payed to this ordinance. The leaders of the Preſbyterians, the earl of Mancheſter, lord Fairfax, lord Robarts, Hollis, Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Anneſley, Lewis, were determined to atone for paſt tranſgreſſions by their preſent zeal for the royal intereſts; and from former merits, ſucceſſes, and ſufferings, they had acquired with their party the higheſt credit and authority,

The affairs of Ireland were in a condition no leſs proſperous. As ſoon as Monk declared againſt the Engliſh army, he diſpatched emiſſaries into Ireland, and engaged the officers in that kingdom to concur with him in the ſame meaſures. Lord Broghill, preſident of Munſter, and Sir Charles Coote, preſident of Connaught, went ſo far as to enter into a correſpondence with the King, and to promiſe their aſſiſtance for his reſtoration. In conjunction with Sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took poſſeſſion of the government, and excluded Ludlow, who was zealous for the Parliament, but whom they pretended to be in a confederacy with the Committee of Safety. They kept themſelves in a readineſs to ſerve the King; but made no declarations, till they ſhould ſee the turn, which affairs took in England.

But all theſe promiſing views had almoſt been blaſted by an untoward accident. Upon the admiſſion of the ſecluded members, the republican party, particularly the King's judges, were ſeized with the juſteſt deſpair, and endeavored to infuſe the ſame ſentiments into the whole army. By themſelves or their emiſſaries, they repreſented to the ſoldiers, that all thoſe brave actions, which had been performed during the war, and which were ſo meritorious in the eyes of the Parliament, would no doubt be regarded as the deepeſt crimes by the Royaliſts, and would expoſe the army to the ſevereſt vengeance. That in vain did that party make profeſſions of moderation and lenity: The King's death, the execution of ſo many of the nobility and gentry, the ſequeſtrations and impriſonment of the reſt, were in their eyes crimes ſo deep, and offences ſo perſonal, as muſt be proſecuted with the moſt implacable reſentment. That the loſs of all arrears, the caſheering every officer and ſoldier, were the lighteſt puniſhment, which muſt be expected: After the diſperſion of the army, no farther protection remained to them, either for life or property, but the clemency of enraged enemies. And that, even if the moſt perfect ſecurity could be obtained, it was inglorious, by treachery and deceit, to be reduced to ſubjection under a foe, who, in the open field, had ſo often yielded to their ſuperior valor.

After theſe ſuggeſtions had been infuſed into the army, Lambert ſuddenly made his eſcape from the Tower, and threw Monk and the Council of State into the greateſt conſternation. They knew Lambert's vigor and activity; they were acquainted with his great popularity in the army; they were ſenſible, that, tho' the ſoldiers had lately deſerted him, they ſufficiently expreſſed their remorſe and their deteſtation of thoſe, who, by falſe profeſſions, they found, had ſo egregiouſly ſeduced them. It ſeemed neceſſary, therefore, to employ the greateſt celerity in ſuppreſſing ſo dangerous an enemy: Collonel Ingoldſby, who had been named one of the late King's judges, but who was now entirely engaged in the royal cauſe, was diſpatched after him. He overtook him at Daventry, while he had yet aſſembled but four troops of horſe. One of them deſerted him. Another quickly followed the example. He himſelf, endeavoring to make his eſcape, was ſeized by Ingoldſby, to whom he made ſubmiſſions not ſuitable to his former character of ſpirit and valor. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Crede, and other officers of that party were taken priſoners along with him. All the roads were full of ſoldiers haſtening to join them. In a few days, they would have been very formidable. And it was eſteemed dangerous for Monk to have aſſembled any conſiderable body of his republican army for their ſuppreſſion: So that nothing could be more happy than the ſudden extinction of this riſing flame.

22d of April.

25th of April.

When the Parliament met, they choſe Sir Harbottle Grimſtone ſpeaker, a man, who, tho' he had ſome time concurred with the late Parliament, had long been

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eſteemed affectionate to the King's ſervice. The great dangers, incurred during the former uſurpations, joined to the extreme caution of the General, kept every one in awe; and no-one dared, for ſome days, to make any mention of the King. The members chiefly exerted their ſpirit in bitter invectives againſt the memory of Cromwel, and in execrations upon the inhuman murther of their late Sovereign. At laſt, the General, having ſufficiently ſounded their inclinations, gave directions to Anneſley, preſident of the council, to inform them, that one Sir John Granville, a ſervant of the King's, had been ſent over by his Majeſty, and was now at the door with a letter to the Commons. The loudeſt acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Granville was called in: The letters, accompanied with a declaration, greedily red: Without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a Committee was appointed to prepare an anſwer: And in order to ſpread the ſame ſatisfaction thro'out the kingdom, it was voted, that the letter and declaration ſhould immediately be publiſhed.

1ſt of May.

The Reſtoration.

The people, freed from that ſtate of ſuſpence in which they had ſo long been held, now changed their anxious hope for the unmixt effuſions of joy; and diſplayed a ſocial triumph and exultation, which no private proſperity, even the greateſt, is ever able fully to inſpire. Traditions remain of men who died for pleaſure, when informed of this happy and ſurprizing event. The King's declaration was well calculated to uphold the ſatisfaction, inſpired by the proſpect of public ſettlement. It offered a general amneſty to all perſons whatſoever; and that without any exceptions but ſuch as ſhould afterwards be made by Parliament: It promiſed a liberty of conſcience; and a concurrence in any act of Parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, ſhould be offered, for the inſuring that indulgence: The enquiry into all grants, purchaſes, and alienations, it ſubmitted to the arbitration of the ſame aſſembly: And it aſſured the ſoldiers of all their arrears, and promiſed them, for the future, the ſame pay which they then enjoyed.

The Lords, perceiving the ſpirit, by which the kingdom as well as the Commons were animated, haſtened to re-inſtate themſelves in their antient authority, and to take their ſhare in the ſettlement of the nation. They found the doors of their houſe open; and all were admitted, even ſuch as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

8th of May.

The two Houſes attended; while the King was proclaimed with great ſolemnity, in Palace-Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-Bar. The Commons voted 500 pounds to buy a jewel for Granville, who had brought them the King's gracious meſſages: A preſent of 50,000 pounds was conferred on the King, 10,000 pounds on the duke of Yorke, 5000 pounds on the duke of Gloceſter. A committee of Lords and Commons was diſpatched to invite his Majeſty to return and take

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poſſeſſion of his dominions. The rapidity, with which all theſe events were conducted, was marvellous, and diſcovered the paſſionate zeal and entire unanimity of the nation. Such an impatience appeared, and ſuch an emulation, in Lords, and Commons, and City, who ſhould make the moſt lively expreſſions of their joy and duty; that, as the noble hiſtorian expreſſes it, a man could not but wonder where thoſe people dwelt, who had done all the miſchief, and kept the King ſo many years from enjoying the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent ſubjects. The King himſelf ſaid, that it muſt ſurely have been his own fault, that he had not ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne; ſince he found every body ſo zealous for promoting his happy reſtoration.

The reſpect of foreign powers ſoon followed the ſubmiſſion of the King's ſubjects. Spain invited him to return to the Low Countries, and embark in ſome of their maritime towns. France made proteſtations of affection and regard, and offered Calais for the ſame purpoſe. The States-General ſent deputies with a like friendly invitation. The King reſolved to accept of this laſt offer. The people of that Republic bore him a very cordial affection; and politics no longer reſtrained their magiſtrates from promoting and expreſſing that ſentiment. As he paſſed from Breda to the Hague, he was attended with numerous crowds, and was received with the loudeſt acclamations; as if themſelves, not their rivals in power and commerce, were now reſtored to peace and ſecurity. The States-General in a body, and afterwards the States of Holland apart, performed their compliments with the greateſt ſolemnity: Every perſon of diſtinction was ambitious of being introduced to his Majeſty: All ambaſſadors and public miniſters of Kings, Princes, or States, repaired to him, and profeſſed the joy of their maſters on his behalf: So that one would have thought, that, from the united efforts of Chriſtendom, had been derived this revolution, which diffuſed every where ſuch univerſal ſatiſfaction.

The Engliſh fleet came in ſight of Scheveling. Montague had not waited for orders from the Parliament; but had perſwaded the officers, of themſelves, to tender their duty to his Majeſty. The duke of Yorke immediately went on board, and took the command of the fleet as lord high admiral.

When the King diſembarked at Dover, he was met by the General, whom he cordially embraced. Never ſubject in fact, probably in his intentions, had deſerved better of his King and Country. In the ſpace of a few months, without effuſion of blood, by his cautious and diſintereſted conduct alone, he had beſtowed ſettlement on three kingdoms, which had long been torne with the moſt violent convulſions: And having obſtinately refuſed the moſt inviting conditions, offered him by the King as well as by every party in the kingdom, he freely reſtored his injured maſter

to

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to the vacant throne. The King entered London on the 29th of May, which was alſo his birth-day. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two ſuch joyful periods.

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AT this æra, it may be proper to ſtop for a moment, and take a general ſurvey of the age, ſo far as regards manners, finances, arms, commerce, arts and ſciences. The chief uſe of hiſtory is, that it affords materials for diſquiſitions of this nature; and it ſeems the duty of an hiſtorian to point out the proper inferences and concluſions.

Manners and arts.

NO people could undergo a change more ſudden and entire in their manners than did the Engliſh nation during this period. From tranquillity, concord, ſubmiſſion, ſobriety, they paſſed in an inſtant to a ſtate of faction, fanaticiſm, rebellion, and almoſt frenzy. The violence of the Engliſh parties exceeded any thing, which we can now imagine: Had they continued but a little longer, there was juſt reaſon to dread all the horrors of the antient maſſacres and proſcriptions. The military uſurpers, whoſe authority was founded on palpable injuſtice, and was ſupported by no national party, would have been impelled by rage and deſpair into ſuch ſanguinary meaſures; and if theſe furious expedients had been embraced on one ſide, revenge would naturally have puſhed the other party, after a return of power, to retaliate upon their enemies. No ſocial entercourſe was maintained betwixt the parties; no marriages or alliances contracted. The Royaliſts, tho' oppreſſed, harraſſed, perſecuted, diſdained all affinity with their maſters. The more they were reduced to ſubjection, the greater ſuperiority did they affect above thoſe uſurpers, who by violence and injuſtice had acquired an aſcendant over them.

THE manners of the two factions were as oppoſite as thoſe of the moſt diſtant nations. "Your friends, the Cavaliers," ſaid a Parliamentarian to a Royaliſt, "are very diſſolute and debauched." "Yes," replied the Royaliſt, "they have the infirmities of men: But your friends, the Roundheads, have the vices of devils, tyranny, rebellion, and ſpiritual pride*." Riot and diſorder, it is certain, notwithſtanding the good example ſet them by Charles the firſt,

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* Sir Philip Warwic.

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firſt, prevailed very much among his partizans. Being commonly men of birth and fortune, to whom exceſſes are leſs pernicious than to the vulgar, they were too apt to indulge themſelves in all pleaſures, particularly thoſe of the table. Oppoſition to the rigid preciſeneſs of their antagoniſts encreaſed their inclination to good-fellowſhip; and the character of a man of pleaſure was affected among them, as a ſure pledge of attachment to the Church and Monarchy. Even when ruined by confiſcations and ſequeſtrations, they endeavored to maintain the appearance of a careleſs and ſocial jollity. "As much as hope is ſuperior to fear," ſaid a poor and merry cavalier, "as much is our ſituation preferable to that of our "enemies. We laugh while they tremble."

The gloomy enthuſiaſm, which prevailed among great numbers of the parliamentary party, is ſurely the moſt curious ſpectacle preſented by any hiſtory; and the moſt inſtructive, as well as entertaining, to a philoſophical mind. All recreations were in a manner ſuſpended by the rigid ſeverity of the Preſbyterians and Independants. Horſe-races and cock-matches were prohibited as the greateſt enormities *. Even bear-beating was eſteemed heatheniſh and unchriſtian: The ſport of it, not the inhumanity, gave offence. Collonel Hewſon, from his pious zeal, marched into London, and deſtroyed all the bears, which were there kept for the diverſion of the citizens. This adventure ſeems to have given birth to the famous fiction of Hudibras. Tho' the Engliſh nation be naturally candid and ſincere, hypocriſy prevailed beyond any example in antient or modern times. The religious hypocriſy, it may be remarked, is of a ſingular nature; and being generally unknown to the perſon himſelf, tho' more dangerous, it implies leſs falſhood than any other ſpecies of inſincerity. The Old Teſtament, preferably to the New, was the favorite of all the ſectaries. The eaſtern poetical ſtyle of that compoſition made it more eaſily ſuſceptible of a turn, which was agreeable to them.

We have had occaſion, in the courſe of this work, to ſpeak of many of the ſects, which prevailed in England: To enumerate them all would be impoſſible. The Quakers, however, are ſo conſiderable as to merit ſome attention; and as they entirely renounced by principle the uſe of arms, they never made ſuch a figure in public tranſactions as to enter into any part of our narration.

The religion of the Quakers began with the loweſt vulgar, and, in its progreſs, came at laſt to comprehend people of better quality and faſhion. George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancaſhire in 1624, was the founder of this ſect. He was the ſon of a weaver, and was himſelf bound apprentice to a ſhoemaker. Feeling a ſtronger turn towards ſpiritual contemplations than towards that mechanical profeſſion, he left his maſter, and went about the country, cloathed in a leathern

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* Killing no murder.

† Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 99.

leathern doublet, a dreſs, which he long affected, as well for its ſingularity as its cheapneſs. That he might wean himſelf entirely from ſublunary objects, he broke off all connexions with his friends and family, and never ſtayed a moment in one place; leſt habitude ſhould beget new connexions, and depreſs the ſublimity of his aerial meditations. He frequently wandered into the woods, and paſſed whole days in hollow trees, without other company or amuſement than his bible. Having reached that pitch of perfection as to need no other book, he ſoon advanced to another ſtage of ſpiritual progreſs, and began to pay leſs regard even to that divine compoſition itſelf. His own breaſt, he imagined, was full of the ſame inſpiration, which had guided the prophets and apoſtles themſelves; and by this inward light muſt every ſpiritual obſcurity be cleared, by this living ſpirit muſt the dead letter be animated.

When he had been ſufficiently conſecrated in his own imagination, he began to ſeek proſelytes: The fumes of ſelf-applauſe ſoon diſſipate, if not continually ſupplied by the admiration of others. Proſelytes were eaſily gained, at a time when all mens affections were turned towards religion, and when the moſt extravagant modes of it were ſure to be moſt popular. All the forms of ceremony, invented by pride and oſtentation, Fox and his diſciples, from a ſuperior pride and oſtentation, carefully rejected: Even the ordinary rites of civility were ſhunned, as the nouriſhment of carnal vanity and ſelf-conceit. They would beſtow no titles of diſtinction: The name of *friend* was the only ſalutation, with which they indiſcriminately accoſted every one. To no perſon would they make a bow, or move their hat, or give any ſigns of reverence. Inſtead of that affected adulation, introduced into modern tongues, of ſpeaking to individuals as if they were a multitude, they returned to the ſimplicity of antient languages; and *thou* and *thee* were the only expreſſions, which, on any conſideration, they could be brought to employ.

Dress too, a moſt material circumſtance, diſtinguiſhed the members of this ſect. Every ſuperfluity and ornament was carefully rejected: No plaits to their coat, no buttons to their ſleeves: No lace, no ruffles, no embroidery. Even a button to the hat, tho' ſometimes uſeful, yet not being always ſo, was univerſally rejected by them with horror and indignation.

The violent enthuſiaſm of this ſect, like all high paſſions, being too ſtrong for the weak nerves to ſuſtain, threw the preachers into convulſions, and ſhakings and diſtortions in their limbs; and they thence received the denomination of *Quakers*. Amidſt the great toleration, which was then granted to all ſects, and even encouragement given to all innovations, this religion alone ſuffered perſecution. From the fury of their zeal, the Quakers broke into churches, diſturbed public

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worſhip, and harraſſed the miniſter and audience with railing and reproaches. When carried before a magiſtrate, they refuſed him all reverence, and treated him with the ſame familiarity as if he had been their equal. Sometimes they were thrown into mad-houſes, ſometimes into priſon: Sometimes whipped, ſometimes pilloryed. The patience and magnanimity, with which they ſuffered, begot compaſſion, admiration, eſteem [*]. A ſupernatural ſpirit was believed to ſupport them under thoſe ſufferings, which the ordinary ſtate of humanity, freed from the illuſions of paſſion, is unable to ſuſtain.

THE Quakers crept into the army: But as they preached univerſal peace, they ſeduced the military zealots from their profeſſion, and would ſoon, had they been ſuffered, have put an end, without any defeat or calamity, to the dominion of the ſaints. Theſe attempts became a freſh ground of perſecution, and a new cauſe for their progreſs among the people.

MORALS with this ſect were carried, or affected to be carried, to the ſame degree of extravagance as religion. Give a Quaker a blow on one cheek, he held up the other: Aſk his cloke, he gave you his coat alſo: The greateſt intereſt could not engage him, in any court of judicature, to ſwear even to the truth: He never aſked more for his wares than the preciſe ſum, which he was determined to accept. This laſt maxim is laudable, and continues ſtill to be religiouſly obſerved by that ſect.

No fanatics ever carried farther the hatred of ceremonies, forms, orders, rites, inſtitutions. Even Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, by all other ſects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of Chriſtianity, were diſdainfully rejected by them. The very ſabbath they profaned. The holyneſs of churches they derided; and would give to theſe ſacred edifices no other appellation than that of *ſhops* or *ſteeple-houſes*. No prieſts were admitted in their ſect: Every one had received from immediate illumination a character much ſuperior to the ſacerdotal. When they met for divine worſhip, each roſe up in his place, and delivered the extemporary inſpirations of the ſpirit: Women alſo were admitted to teach the brethren, and were conſidered as proper vehicles to convey the dictates of the Holy Ghoſt. Sometimes a great many preachers were moved to ſpeak at once: Sometimes a total ſilence prevailed in their congregations.

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[*] The following ſtory is told by Whitlocke, p. 599. Some Quakers at Haſington in Northumberland coming to the miniſter on the ſabbath day, and ſpeaking to him, the people fell upon the Quakers, and almoſt killed one or two of them, who going out fell on their knees, and prayed God to pardon the people, who knew not what they did; and afterwards ſpeaking to the people, ſo convinced them of the evil they had done in beating them, that the country people fell a quarrelling, and beat one another more than they had before beaten the Quakers.

SOME Quakers attempted to faſt forty days in imitation of Chriſt; and one of them bravely periſhed in the experiment [*]. A female Quaker came naked into the church where the Protector ſate; being moved by the ſpirit, as ſhe ſaid, to appear *as a ſign* to the people. A number of them fancyed, that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that cloaths were to be rejected together with other ſuperfluities. The ſufferings, which followed the practice of this doctrine, were a ſpecies of perſecution not well calculated for promoting it.

JAMES NAYLOR was a Quaker, noted for blaſphemy or rather madneſs, in the time of the Protectorſhip. He fancied that he himſelf was transformed into Chriſt, and was become the real Savior of the world; and in conſequence of this frenzy, he endeavored to imitate many actions related in the Evangeliſts. As he bore a reſemblance to the common pictures of Chriſt; he allowed his beard to grow in a like form: He pretended to raiſe a perſon from the dead [†]: He entered Briſtol, mounted on a horſe; I ſuppoſe, from the difficulty in that place of finding an aſs: His diſciples ſpred their garments before him, and cryed "Hoſanna "to the higheſt; holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabbaoth." When carried before the magiſtrates, he would give no other anſwer to all queſtions than "thou haſt "ſaid it." What is remarkable, the Parliament thought that the matter deſerved their attention. Above ten days they ſpent in enquiries and debates about him [‡]. They condemned him to be pilloried, whipt, burned in the face, and to have his tongue bored thro' with a red hot iron. All theſe ſeverities he bore with great patience. So far his deluſion ſupported him. But the ſequel ſpoiled all. He was ſent to Bridewell, confined to hard labor, fed on bread and water, debarred from all his diſciples, male and female. His illuſions diſſipated; and after ſome time, he was contented to come out an ordinary man, and return to his uſual occupations.

THE chief taxes in England, during the time of the Commonwealth, were the monthly aſſeſſments, the exciſe, and the cuſtoms. The aſſeſſments were levied on perſonal eſtates as well as on land [§]; and commiſſioners were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The higheſt aſſeſſment amounted to 120,000 pounds a month in England; the loweſt was 35,000. The aſſeſſments in Scotland were ſometimes 10,000 pounds a month [‖]; commonly 6000. Thoſe on Ireland 9000. At a medium, this tax might have afforded about a million a year. The exciſe, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, fleſh, as well as beer, ale, ſtrong-waters, and many other commodities. After the King was ſubdued, bread and fleſh were exempted from exciſe. The cuſtoms on exportation were lowered in 1656 [¶]. In 1650, commiſſioners were appointed to levy both cuſtoms and ex-

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[*] Whitlocke, p. 624.

[†] Harleyan Miſcellany, Vol. vi. p. 399.

[‡] Thurloe, Vol. v. p. 708.

[§] Scobel, p. 419.

[‖] Thurloe, Vol. ii. p. 476.

[¶] Scobel, p. 376.

ciſes. Cromwel in 1657 returned to the old practice of farming. Eleven hundred thouſand pounds were then offered, both for cuſtoms and exciſe, a greater ſum than had ever been levyed by the commiſſioners [*]. The whole taxes during that period might at a medium amount to above two millions a year; a ſum, which, tho' moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former King. Sequeſtrations, compoſitions, ſale of crown and church lands, and of the lands of delinquents yielded alſo conſiderable ſums, but very difficult to be eſtimated. Church lands are ſaid to have been ſold at a million [†]. None of theſe were ever valued at above ten or eleven years purchaſe [‡]. Delinquent's eſtates amounted to above 200,000 pounds a year [§]. Cromwel died above two millions in debt [‖]; tho' the Parliament had left him in the treaſury above 500,000 pounds; and in ſtores, the value of 700,000 pounds [¶].

The Committee of Danger in April 1648 voted to raiſe the army to 40,000 men [**]. The ſame year, the pay of the army was eſtimated at 80,000 pounds a month [††]. The eſtabliſhment of the army in 1652 was in Scotland 15,000 foot, 2580 horſe, 560 dragoons; in England, 4700 foot, 2520 horſe, garriſons 6154. In whole, 31,519, beſides officers [§§]. The army in Scotland was afterwards conſiderably reduced. The army in Ireland was not much ſhort of 20,000 men; ſo that upon the whole, the Commonwealth maintained in 1652 a ſtanding army of more than 50,000 men. Its pay amounted to a yearly ſum of 1,047,715 pounds [‖‖]. Afterwards, the Protector reduced the eſtabliſhment to 30,000 men; as appears by the Inſtrument of Government and Humble Petition and Advice. His frequent enterprizes obliged him from time to time to augment them. Richard had on foot in England an army of 13258 men, in Scotland 9506, in Ireland about 10,000 men [¶¶]. The foot ſoldiers had commonly a ſhilling a day [***]. The horſe had two ſhillings and ſixpence; ſo that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family inliſted in the Protector's cavalry [†††]. No wonder, that ſuch men were averſe from the re-eſtabliſhment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they muſt be deprived of ſo gainful a profeſſion.

About the time of the battle of Worceſter the Parliament had on foot about 80,000 men, partly militia, partly regular forces. The vigor of the Commonwealth, and the great capacity of thoſe members, who had aſſumed the adminiſtration, never at any time appeared ſo conſpicuous [‡‡‡].

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[*] Thurloe, Vol. vi. p. 425. [†] Dr. Walker, p. 14. [‡] Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 753. [§] Id. Vol. ii. p. 414. [‖] Id. Vol. vii. p. 667. [¶] World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwel. [**] Whitlocke, p. 298. [††] Id. p. 378. [§§] Journal 2d of December, 1652. [‖‖] Id. Ibid. [¶¶] Id. 6th of April, 1659. [***] Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 395. Vol. ii. p. 414. [†††] Gumble's Life of Monk. [‡‡‡] Whitlocke, p. 477.

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The whole revenue of the public during the Protectorſhip of Richard was eſtimated at 1,868,717 pounds: His annual expences at 2,201,540 pounds. An additional revenue was deſired of the Parliament[*].

The commerce and induſtry of England encreaſed extremely during the peaceable period of Charles's reign: The trade to the Eaſt Indies and to Guinea became conſiderable. The Engliſh poſſeſſed almoſt the ſole trade with Spain. Seven hundred thouſand pounds a year in bullion were coined in the Engliſh Mint. Twenty thouſand cloths were annually ſent to Turkey[†]. Commerce met with interruption, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulſions, which afterwards prevailed; tho' it ſoon recovered after the eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by diſtreſſing the commerce of ſo formidable a rival, ſerved to encourage trade in England: The Spaniſh war was in an equal degree pernicious. The whole effects of the Engliſh merchants to an immenſe value were confiſcated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their ſons apprentices to merchants[‡]; and commerce has ever ſince been more honorable in England than in any other Europæan kingdom. Intereſt in 1650 was reduced to ſix per cent.

The colony of New England encreaſed by means of the Puritans, who fled thither, in order to eſcape the ſeverities exerciſed againſt them by Laud and the church party; and before the commencement of the civil wars, it is ſuppoſed to have contained 25,000 ſouls[¶]. For a like reaſon, the Catholics, afterwards, who found themſelves expoſed to many hardſhips, and dreaded ſtill worſe treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and ſettled the colony of Maryland.

Before the civil wars, learning and the fine arts were favored at court, and a good taſte began to prevail in the nation. The King loved pictures, ſometimes handled the pencil himſelf, and was a good judge of the art. The pieces of foreign maſters were bought up at a vaſt price; and the value of pictures doubled in Europe by the emulation betwixt Charles and Philip IV of Spain, who was touched with the ſame elegant paſſion. Vandyke was careſſed and enriched at court. Inigo Jones, an architect who never was ſurpaſſed in any age or nation, was maſter of the King's buildings; tho' afterwards perſecuted by the Parliament on account of the part, which he had in rebuilding St. Paul's, and for obeying ſome orders of council, by which he was directed to pull down houſes, in order to make room for that fabric. Laws, who had not been ſurpaſſed by any muſician before him, was much beloved by the King, who called him the Father of Muſic. He was killed in the royal cauſe at the ſiege of Cheſter. Charles was a good judge of writing, and was

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[*] Journal, 7th of April, 1659.

[†] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 421, 423, 430, 467.

[‡] Clarendon.

[¶] Britiſh Empire in America, vol. i. p. 372.

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eſteemed by ſome more anxious with regard to purity of ſtyle than became a Monarch. Notwithſtanding his narrow revenue, and his freedom from all vanity, he lived in ſuch magnificence, that he poſſeſſed four and twenty palaces, all of them elegantly and compleatly furniſhed; inſomuch, that, when he removed from one to another, he was not obliged to tranſport any thing along with him. He is however reproached with want of generoſity to Ben Johnſon, to whom he ſent too ſmall a ſum, when that poet, old, poor, and ſickly, begged ſome relief of him. “I am lodged in an alley,” ſaid the ſplenetic wit, when he received the preſent; “but I ſee from the extent of this bounty, that his Majeſty's ſoul is lodged in an “alley.”

Cromwel, tho' himſelf a barbarian, was not inſenſible to literary merit. Uſher, notwithſtanding his being a biſhop, received a penſion from him. Marvel and Milton were in his ſervice. Waller, who was his relation, was careſſed by him. That poet always ſaid, that the Protector himſelf was not ſo wholly illiterate as was commonly imagined. He gave a hundred pounds a year to the divinity profeſſor at Oxford; and an hiſtorian mentions this bounty as an inſtance of his love of literature *. He intended to have erected a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties.

Civil wars, eſpecially when founded on principles of liberty, are not commonly unfavorable to the arts of eloquence and compoſition; or rather, by preſenting nobler and more intereſting objects, they amply compenſate for that tranquillity, of which they bereave the muſes. The ſpeeches of the parliamentary orators during this period are of a ſtrain much ſuperior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compaſs of our tongue were then firſt put to trial. It muſt however be confeſſed, that the wretched fanaticiſm, which ſo much infected the parliamentary party, was no leſs deſtructive of taſte and ſcience, than of all law and order. Gaiety and wit were proſcribed: Human learning deſpiſed: Freedom of enquiry deteſted: Cant and hypocriſy alone encouraged. It was an article poſitively inſiſted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Uxbrige, that all play-houſes ſhould for ever be aboliſhed. Sir John Davenant, ſays Whitlocke †, ſpeaking of the year 1658, publiſhed an opera, notwithſtanding the nicety of the times. All the King's furniture was put to ſale: His pictures, diſpoſed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections of Europe: Even his palaces were pulled to pieces, and the materials of them ſold. The very library of medals at St. James's, the generals intended to bring to auction, in order to pay the arrears of ſome regiments of cavalry, quartered near London: But Selden, apprehenſive of this loſs, engaged his friend Whitlocke, then lord-keeper for the Commonwealth, to apply for the office of librarian. This contrivance ſaved that valuable collection.

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* Neale's Hiſtory of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 123.

† p. 639.

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'Tis however remarkable, that the greateſt genius by far, which ſhone forth in England during this period, was deeply engaged with theſe fanatics, and even proſtituted his pen in theological controverſy, in factious diſputes, and in juſtifying the moſt violent meaſures of the party. This was John Milton, whoſe poems are admirable, tho' liable to ſome objections; his proſe writings diſagreeable, tho' not altogether devoid of genius. Nor are all his poems equal: His Paradiſe Loſt, his Comus, and a few others, ſhine out amidſt ſome flat and inſipid compoſitions: Even in the Paradiſe Loſt, his capital performance, there are very long paſſages, amounting to near a third of the work, almoſt wholly devoid of harmony and elegance, nay of all vigor of imagination. The natural inequality in Milton's genius was much increaſed by the inequalities in his ſubject; of which ſome parts are of themſelves the moſt lofty that can enter into human conception, others would have required the moſt labored elegance of compoſition to ſupport them. It is certain, that this author, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble ſubject, is the moſt wonderfully ſublime of any poet in any language; Homer and Lucretius and Taſſo not excepted. More conciſe than Homer, more ſimple than Taſſo, more nervous than Lucretius; had he lived in a latter age and learned to poliſh ſome rudeneſs in his verſes; had he enjoyed better fortune, and poſſeſſed leizure to watch the returns of genius in himſelf; he had attained the pinnacle of human perfection, and borne away the palm of epic poetry.

It is well known, that Milton never enjoyed in his liſe-time the reputation, which he deſerved. His Paradiſe Loſt was long neglected: Prejudices againſt an apologiſt for the regicides, and againſt a work not wholly purged of the cant of former times, kept the ignorant world from perceiving the prodigious merit of that performance. Lord Somers, by encouraging a good edition of it, about twenty years after the author's death, firſt brought it into reputation; and Tonſon, in his dedication of a ſmaller edition, ſpeaks of it as a work juſt beginning to be known. Even during the prevalence of Milton's party, he ſeems never to have been much regarded; and Whitlocke * talks of one Milton, as he calls him, a blind man, who was employed in tranſlating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. Theſe forms of expreſſion are amuſing to poſterity, who conſider how obſcure Whitlocke himſelf, tho' lord-keeper, and ambaſſador, and indeed a man of great ability and merit, has become in compariſon of Milton.

It was not ſtrange, that Milton received no encouragement after the reſtoration: It was more to be admired, that he eſcaped with his life. Many of the cavaliers blamed extremely that lenity towards him, which was ſo honorable in the King, and ſo advantageous to poſterity. It is ſaid, that he had ſaved Davenant's life during the Protectorſhip; and Davenant in return afforded him like protection after the reſtoration.

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* p. 633.

reſtoration. Men of letters ought always to regard their ſympathy of taſte as a more powerful band of union, than any difference of party or opinion as a ſource of animoſity. It was during a ſtate of poverty, blindneſs, diſgrace, danger, and old age, that Milton compoſed his wonderful poem, which not only ſurpaſſed all the performances of his cotemporaries, but all the compoſitions, which had flowed from his pen, during the vigor of his age, and the height of his proſperity. This circumſtance is not the leaſt remarkable of all thoſe which attended that great genius.

WALLER was the firſt refiner of Engliſh poetry, at leaſt of Engliſh rhyme; but his performances ſtill abound with many faults, and what is more material, they contain but feeble and ſuperficial beauties. Gaiety, wit, and ingenuity are their ruling character: They aſpire not to the ſublime; ſtill leſs to the pathetic. They treat of love, without making us feel any tenderneſs; and abound in panegyric, without exciting admiration. The panegyric however on Cromwel contains more force than we ſhould expect from the other compoſitions of this poet.

WALLER was born to an ample fortune, was early introduced to the court, and lived in the beſt company. He poſſeſſed talents for eloquence as well as poetry; and till his death, which happened in a good old age, he was the delight of the Houſe of Commons. The errors of his life proceeded more from want of courage than of honor or integrity.

COWLEY is an author extremely corrupted by the bad taſte of his age; but had he lived even in the pureſt times of Greece and Rome, he muſt always have been a very indifferent poet. He had no ear for harmony; and his verſes are only known to be ſuch by the rhyme, which terminates them. In his rugged untuneable numbers are conveyed ſentiments the moſt ſtrained and violent; long ſpun allegories, diſtant alluſions, and forced conceits. Great ingenuity, however, and force of thought ſometimes break out amidſt thoſe unnatural conceptions: A few Anacreontics ſurprize us by their eaſe and gaiety: His proſe writings pleaſe, by the honeſty and goodneſs, which they expreſs; and even by their ſpleen and melancholy. This author was much more praiſed and admired during his life time, and celebrated after his death, than the great Milton.

SIR JOHN DENHAM in his Cooper's Hill (for none of his other poems merit attention) has a loftineſs and vigor, which had not before him been attained by any Engliſh poet, who wrote in rhyme. The mechanical difficulties of that meaſure retarded its improvement. Shakeſpeare, whoſe tragic ſcenes are ſo wonderfully forcible and expreſſive, is a very indifferent poet, when he attempts rhyme. Preciſion and neatneſs are chiefly wanting in Denham.

No author in that age was more celebrated both abroad and at home than Hobbes: In our times, he is much neglected: A lively inſtance, how precarious all reputations, founded on reaſoning and philoſophy! A pleaſant comedy,

medy, which paints the manners of the age, and expoſes a faithful picture of nature, is a durable work, and is tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity. But a ſyſtem, whether phyſical or metaphyſical, owes commonly its ſucceſs to its novelty; and is no ſooner canvaſſed with impartiality than its weakneſs is diſcovered. Hobbes's politics are fitted only to promote tyranny, and his morals to encourage licentiouſneſs. Tho' an enemy to religion, he partakes nothing of the ſpirit of ſcepticiſm; but is as poſitive and dogmatical as if human reaſon, and his reaſon in particular, could attain a thorow conviction on theſe ſubjects. Clearneſs and propriety of ſtyle are the chief excellencies of Hobbes's writings. In his own perſon he is repreſented to have been a man of virtue; a character no way ſurprizing, notwithſtanding his libertine ſyſtem of ethics. Timidity is the principal fault with which he is reproached: He lived to an extreme old age, yet could never reconcile himſelf to the thoughts of death. The boldneſs of his opinions and ſentiments form a remarkable contraſte to this part of his character.

HARRINGTON's Oceana was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary Republics were the daily ſubjects of debate and converſation; and even in our time it is juſtly admired as a work of great genius and invention. The idea however of a perfect and immortal Commonwealth will always be found as chimerical as that of a perfect and immortal man. The ſtyle of this author wants eaſe and fluency; but the good matter, which his work contains, makes ample compenſation.

HARVEY is intitled to the glory of having made, by reaſoning alone, without any mixture of accident, a capital diſcovery in one of the moſt important branches of ſcience. He had alſo the happineſs of eſtabliſhing at once his theory on the moſt ſolid and convincing proofs; and poſterity has added little to the arguments ſuggeſted by his induſtry and ingenuity. His treatiſe of the circulation of the blood is farther embelliſhed by that warmth and ſpirit, which ſo naturally accompany the genius of invention. This great man was much favored by Charles the firſt, who gave him the liberty of uſing all the deer in the royal foreſts for perfecting his diſcoveries on the generation of animals.

THIS age affords great materials for hiſtory; but did not produce any accompliſhed hiſtorian. Clarendon, however, will always be eſteemed an entertaining author, even independant of our curioſity to know the facts, which he relates. His ſtyle is prolix and redundant, and ſuffocates us by the length of its periods: But it diſcovers imagination and ſentiment; and pleaſes us at the ſame time that we diſapprove of it. He is more partial in appearance than in reality: For he ſeems perpetually anxious to apologize for the King; but his apologies are often well grounded. He is leſs partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: He was too honeſt a man to falſify the former; his affections were eaſily capable, unknown to himſelf, of diſguiſing the latter. An air of probity and good-

Chap. III. 1660. neſs runs thro' the whole work; as theſe qualities did in reality embelliſh the whole life of the author.

THESE are the chief performances, which engage the attention of poſterity. Thoſe numberleſs productions, with which the preſs then abounded; the cant of the pulpit, the declamations of party, the ſubtilties of theology; all theſe have long ago ſunk into ſilence and oblivion. Even a writer, ſuch as Selden, whoſe learning was his chief excellency; or Chillingworth, an acute diſputant againſt the Papiſts, will ſcarce ever be ranked among the claſſics of our language or country.

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHARLES II.

CHAP. I.

New miniſtry.——Act of Indemnity.——Settlement of the revenue.——Trial and execution of the regicides.——Diſſolution of the convention Parliament.——Prelacy reſtored.——Inſurrection of the Millenarians.——Affairs of Scotland.——Conference at the Savoy.——Arguments for and againſt a comprehenſion.——A new Parliament.——Biſhops' ſeats reſtored.——Corporation act.——Act of uniformity.——King's marriage.——Trial of Vane.——And execution.——Preſbyterian clergy ejected.——Dunkirk ſold to the French.——Declaration of indulgence.——Decline of Clarendon's credit.

CHARLES the ſecond, when he aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, was thirty years of age. He poſſeſſed a vigorous conſtitution, a fine ſhape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and tho' his features were harſh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. He was in that period of life, when there remains enough of youth to render the perſon amiable, without diminiſhing that authority and regard, which attend the years of experience and maturity. Tenderneſs was excited by the memory of his recent adverſities. His preſent proſperity was the object rather of admiration than of envy. 1660.

And as the ſudden and ſurprizing revolution, which reſtored him to his regal rights, had alſo reſtored the nation to peace, law, order, and liberty; no Prince ever obtained a crown in more favorable circumſtances, or was more bleſt with the cordial affection and attachment of his ſubjects.

THIS popularity, the King, by his whole demeanor and behavior, was well qualified to ſupport and to encreaſe. To a lively wit and quick comprehenſion, he united a juſt underſtanding and a general obſervation both of men and things. The eaſieſt manners, the moſt unaffected politeneſs, the moſt engaging gaiety accompanied his converſation and addreſs. Accuſtomed during his exile to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that open affability, which was capable of reconciling the moſt determined Republicans to his royal dignity. Totally devoid of reſentment, as well from the natural lenity as careleſsneſs of his temper, he inſured pardon to the moſt guilty of his enemies, and left hopes of favor to his moſt violent opponents. From the whole tenor of his actions and diſcourſe, he ſeemed deſirous of loſing the memory of paſt animoſities, and of uniting every party in an affection for their Prince and their Country.

New miniſtry.

INTO his council were admitted the moſt eminent men of the nation, without regard to former diſtinctions: The Preſbyterians, equally with the Royaliſts, ſhared this honor. Anneſley was alſo created earl of Angleſey; Aſhley Cooper lord Aſhley; Denzil Hollis lord Hollis. The earl of Mancheſter was lord chamberlain, and lord Say privy ſeal. Calamy and Baxter, Preſbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the King.

ADMIRAL MONTAGUE, created earl of Sandwich, was entitled from his recent ſervices to great favor; and he obtained it. Monk, created duke of Albemarle, had performed ſuch ſignal ſervices, that, according to a vulgar and malignant obſervation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude: Yet was he ever treated by the King with great marks of diſtinction. Charles's diſpoſition, free from jealouſy; and the prudent behavior of the General, who never overrated his merits; prevented all thoſe diſguſts, which naturally ariſe in ſo delicate a ſituation. The capacity too of Albemarle, was not extenſive nor were his parts ſhining. Tho' he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in inferior ſtations, he was found, upon familiar acquaintance, to be unequal to thoſe great atchievements, which fortune had enabled him to perform; and he appeared unfit for the court, a ſcene of life to which he had never been accuſtomed. Morrice, his friend, was created ſecretary of ſtate, and was ſupported more by his patron's credit than by his own ability or experience.

But the choice, which the King at firſt made of his principal miniſters and favorites, was the circumſtance, which chiefly gave contentment to the nation, and prognoſticated future happineſs and tranquillity. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime miniſter: The marqueſs, created duke, of Ormond, was lord ſteward of the houſehold: The earl of Southampton high treaſurer: Sir Edward Nicholas ſecretary of ſtate. Theſe men, united together in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, and combining in the ſame laudable inclinations, ſupported each others credit, and purſued the intereſt of the public.

Suitable to the preſent proſperity of public affairs was the univerſal joy and feſtivity diffuſed thro'out the nation. The melancholy auſterity of the fanatics fell into diſcredit together with their principles. The Royaliſts, who had ever affected a contrary diſpoſition, found in their recent ſucceſs new motives for mirth and gaiety; and it now belonged to them to give repute and faſhion to their manners. From paſt experience it had ſufficiently appeared, that gravity was very diſtinct from wiſdom, formality from virtue, and hypocriſy from religion. The King himſelf, who bore a ſtrong propenſity to pleaſure and ſociety, ſerved, by his powerful and engaging example, to baniſh thoſe ſowre and malignant humors, which had hitherto engendered ſuch confuſion. And tho' the juſt bounds were undoubtedly paſſed, when men returned from their former extreme; yet was the public happy in exchanging vices pernicious to ſociety for diſorders hurtful chiefly to the individuals themſelves, who were guilty of them.

It required ſome time before the ſeveral parts of the ſtate, diſfigured by war and faction, could recover their former arrangement: But the Parliament immediately entered into a good correſpondence with the King, and they treated him with the ſame dutiful regard, which had uſually been payed his predeceſſors. Being ſummoned without the King's conſent, they received, at firſt, only the title of a Convention; and it was not till the King paſſed an act for that purpoſe, that they were called by the appellation of Parliament. All judicial proceedings, tranſacted in the name of the Commonwealth or Protector, they thought it requiſite to ratify by a new law. And both houſes, acknowleging the guilt of the former rebellion, in their own name and in that of all the ſubjects, laid hold of his majeſty's gracious pardon and indemnity.

Act of indemnity.

The King, before his reſtoration, being afraid of reducing any of his enemies to deſpair, and at the ſame time unwilling that ſuch enormous crimes, as had been committed, ſhould receive a total impunity, had expreſſed himſelf very cautiouſly in his declaration of Breda, and had promiſed an indemnity to all criminals, but ſuch as ſhould be excepted by the Parliament. He now iſſued a proclamation, declaring that ſuch of the late King's judges as did not yield themſelves priſoners

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within fourteen days ſhould receive no pardon. Nineteen ſurrendered themſelves: Some were taken in their flight: Others eſcaped beyond ſea.

THE commons ſeem to have been more inclined to lenity than the lords. The upper houſe, inflamed with the ill uſage, which they had received, were reſolved, beſides the late King's judges, to except every one, who had ſat in any high court of juſtice. Nay, the earl of Briſtol moved, that no pardon might be granted to thoſe who had any way contributed to the King's death. So wide an exception, in which every one, who had ſerved the Parliament, might be comprehended, gave a general alarm; and men began to apprehend, that this motion was the effect of ſome court artifice or intrigue. But the King ſoon diſſipated theſe fears. He came to the houſe of peers; and in the moſt earneſt terms, preſſed the act of general indemnity. He urged both the neceſſity of the thing, and the obligation of his former promiſe: A promiſe, he ſaid, which he would ever regard as ſacred; ſince to it he probably owed the ſatisfaction, which at preſent he enjoyed, of meeting his people in Parliament. This meaſure of the King's, tho' irregular, by his taking notice of a bill which depended before the houſes, was received with great applauſe and ſatisfaction.

AFTER repeated ſollicitations from the King, the act of indemnity paſſed both houſes, and ſoon received the royal aſſent. Thoſe who had an immediate hand in the King's death, were there excepted: Even Cromwel, Ireton, Bradſhaw and others now dead were attainted, and their eſtates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, tho' none of the King's judges, were alſo excepted. St. John and ſeventeen perſons more were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had ſat in any illegal high court of juſtice were diſabled from bearing offices. Theſe were all the ſeverities, which followed ſuch furious civil wars and convulſions.

Settlement of the revenue.

THE next buſineſs was the ſettlement of the King's revenue. In this work, the Parliament had regard to public freedom as well as to the ſupport of the crown. The tenures of wards and liveries had long been regarded as a grievance by all lovers of liberty: Several attempts had been made during the reign of James to purchaſe this prerogative along with that of purveyance; and 200,000 pounds a year had been offered that Prince in lieu of them. During the time of the Republic, wardſhips and purveyance had been utterly aboliſhed. And even in the preſent Parliament, before the King arrived in England, a bill had been introduced, offering him a compenſation for theſe revenues. A hundred thouſand pounds a year was the ſum, which the Parliament agreed to; and half of the exciſe was ſettled in perpetuity upon the crown as the fund whence that revenue ſhould be levyed. Tho' that impoſt yielded more profit, the bargain might be eſteemed hard; and it

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was chiefly the neceſſity of the King's ſituation, which engaged him to conſent to it. No requeſt of the Parliament, during the preſent joy, could be refuſed them.

Not only the power of the crown, by means of wardſhips and purveyance, was very conſiderable: It was alſo unequal and perſonal; and conſequently, of a nature unſuitable to a monarchy, ſubjected to ſtrict and regular limitations. The uniformity, therefore, of the political ſyſtem ſeemed to require the abolition of theſe Gothic inſtitutions; tho' it might perhaps appear unjuſt, that an advantage, which chiefly reſulted to the proprietors of land, ſhould be purchaſed by an impoſt, that affected every inhabitant of the kingdom.

Tonnage and poundage and the other half of the exciſe were granted to the King during life. The Parliament even proceeded ſo far as to vote that the ſettled revenue of the crown for all charges ſhould be 1200,000 pounds a year; a ſum larger than any Engliſh Monarch had ever before enjoyed. The late King's revenue from 1637 to the meeting of the long Parliament appeared to be at a medium near 900,000 pounds a year; of which 200,000 pounds aroſe from branches, partly illegal, partly expired. The misfortunes of that Prince were now believed to have proceeded originally from the narrowneſs of his revenue, and from the obſtinacy of his Parliaments, who had refuſed him the requiſite ſupply. And as all the Monarchs of Europe were perpetually augmenting their forces, and conſequently their expences, it became requiſite that England, from motives both of honor and ſecurity, ſhould bear ſome proportion to them, and adapt its revenue to the new ſyſtem of politics, which prevailed. According to the chancellor's computation, a charge of 800,000 pounds a year, was at preſent required for the fleet and other articles, which formerly coſt the crown but eighty thouſand.

Had the Parliament, before reſtoring the King, inſiſted on any farther limitations than thoſe which the conſtitution already impoſed; beſides the danger of inflaming the antient quarrels among parties; it would ſeem, that their caution had been entirely ſuperfluous. By reaſon of its ſlender and precarious revenue, the crown in effect was ſtill totally dependant. Not a fourth part of this ſum, which ſeemed requiſite for public expences, could be levyed without conſent of Parliament; and any conceſſions, had they been thought neceſſary, might, even after the reſtoration, be extorted by the commons from their neceſſitous Prince. This Parliament ſhowed no intention of employing at preſent that engine to any ſuch purpoſes; but they ſeemed ſtill determined not entirely to part with it, or to render the revenues of the crown fixed and independant. Tho' they voted in general, that 1200,000 pounds a year ſhould be ſettled on the King, they aſſigned not any funds, which would yield two thirds of that ſum. And they left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future conſideration of Parliament.

In all the temporary ſupplies, which they voted, they diſcovered the ſame cautious frugality. To diſband the army, ſo formidable in itſelf, and ſo much accuſtomed to rebellion and changes of government, was neceſſary for the ſecurity both of King and Parliament; yet the Commons ſhowed great jealouſy in granting the ſums, requiſite for that purpoſe. An aſſeſſment of 70,000 pounds a month was impoſed; but it was at firſt voted to continue only for three months: And all the other ſums, which, by a poll-bill and new aſſeſſments, they levied for that uſe, they ſtill granted by parcels; as if they were not, as yet, well aſſured of the fidelity of that hand, to which the money was committed. Having proceeded ſo far in the ſettlement of the nation, the Parliament adjourned themſelves for ſome time.

13th of September.

Trial and execution of the Regicides.

During the receſs of Parliament, the object, which chiefly intereſted the public, was the tryal and condemnation of the Regicides. The general indignation, which attended the enormous crime, of which theſe men had been guilty, made their ſufferings the ſubject of joy to the people: But in the peculiar circumſtances of that action, in the prejudices of the times, as well as in the behavior of the criminals, a mind, ſeaſoned with humanity, will find a plentiful ſource of compaſſion and indulgence. Can any one, without the utmoſt concern for human blindneſs and ignorance, conſider the demeanor of general Harriſon, who was firſt brought to his trial? With great courage and elevation of ſentiment, he told the court, that the pretended crime, of which he ſtood accuſed, was not a deed, performed in a corner: The ſound of it had gone forth to moſt nations; and in the ſingular and marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appeared the ſovereign power of Heaven. That he himſelf, agitated by doubts, had often, with paſſionate tears, offered his addreſſes to the Divine Majeſty; and earneſtly ſought for light and conviction: He had ſtill received aſſurance of a heavenly ſanction, and returned from theſe devout ſupplications with more ſerene tranquillity and ſatisfaction. That all the nations of the earth, in the eyes of their Creator, were leſs than a drop of water in the bucket; nor were their erroneous judgements aught but darkneſs compared with divine illuminations. That theſe frequent illapſes of the divine Spirit he could not ſuſpect to be intereſted illuſions; ſince he was conſcious, that, for no temporal advantage, would he offer injury to the pooreſt man or woman who trod upon the earth. That all the allurements of ambition, all the terrors of impriſonment, had not been able, during the uſurpation of Cromwel, to ſhake his ſteddy reſolution or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant. And that when invited by him to ſit on the right hand of the throne, when offered riches and ſplendor and dominion, he had diſdainfully rejected all temptations; and neglecting the tears of his friends and family, had ſtill, thro' every danger, held faſt his principles and his integrity. Chap. I. 1660.

SCOT, who was more a Republican than a Fanatic, had ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, a little before the reſtoration, that he deſired no other epitaph to be inſcribed on his tombſtone than this; *Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged the King to death.* He ſupported the ſame ſpirit upon his trial.

CAREW, a Millenarian, ſubmitted to his trial, *ſaving to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt his right to the government of theſe kingdoms.* Some ſcrupled to ſay, according to form, that they would be tried by God and their countrey; becauſe God was not viſibly preſent to judge them. Others ſaid, that they would be tried by the word of God.

No more than ſix of the late King's judges, Harriſon, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope, were executed: Scrope alone, of all thoſe who came in upon the King's proclamation. He was a gentleman of a good family and of a decent character: But it was proved, that he had lately, in converſation, expreſſed himſelf as no way convinced of his guilt in condemning the King. Axtel, who had guarded the high court of juſtice, Hacker, who commanded on the day of the King's execution, Coke, the ſollicitor for the people of England, and Hugh Peters, the furious preacher, who inflamed the army to regicide: All theſe were tried, and condemned, and ſuffered along with the King's judges. No ſaint nor confeſſor ever went to martyrdom with more aſſured confidence of Heaven than was expreſſed by thoſe criminals, even when the terrors of immediate death, joined to many indignities, were ſet before them. The reſt of the King's judges, by an unexampled lenity, were reprieved; and they were diſperſed into ſeveral priſons.

THIS puniſhment of declared enemies no way interrupted the rejoicings of the court: But the death of the duke of Glouceſter, a young Prince of very promiſing hopes, threw a great cloud upon them. The King, by no incident in his life, was ever ſo deeply affected. Glouceſter was obſerved to poſſeſs united the good qualities of both his brothers: The clear judgement and penetration of the King; the induſtry and application of the duke of Yorke. He was alſo believed affectionate to the religion and conſtitution of his countrey. He was but twenty years of age, when the ſmall-pox put an end to his life. 13th of September.

THE Princeſs of Orange, having come to England, in order to partake of the joy, attending the reſtoration of her family, with whom ſhe lived in great friendſhip, ſoon after ſickened and died. The Queen-mother payed a viſit to her ſon; and obtained his conſent to the marriage of the Princeſs Henrietta, with the duke of Orleans, brother to the French King.

AFTER a receſs of near two months, the Parliament met, and proceeded in the great work of the national ſettlement. They eſtabliſhed the Poſt-Office, wine-licences, 6th of November.

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and ſome articles of the revenue. They granted more aſſeſſments, and ſome arrears for paying and diſbanding the army. Buſineſs, being carried on with great unanimity, was ſoon diſpatched: And after they had ſat near two months, the King, in a ſpeech full of the moſt gracious expreſſions, thought proper to diſſolve them.

Diſſolution of the Convention Parliament. 29th of December.

THIS Houſe of Commons had been choſen during the reign of the old parliamentary party; and tho' many Royaliſts had crept in amongſt them, yet did it chiefly conſiſt of Preſbyterians, who had not yet entirely laid aſide their old jealouſies and principles. Lenthal, a member, having ſaid, that thoſe, who firſt took arms againſt the King, were as guilty as thoſe, who afterwards brought him to the ſcaffold, was ſeverely reprimanded by order of the Houſe; and the moſt violent efforts of the Long Parliament to ſecure the conſtitution and bring delinquents to juſtice, were in effect vindicated and applauded. The claim of the two Houſes to the militia, the firſt ground of the quarrel, however exorbitant an uſurpation, this Parliament was never brought expreſsly to reſign. All grants of money they made with a very ſparing hand. Great arrears being due by the late Protectors to the fleet, the army, the navy-office, and every branch of ſervice; this whole debt they threw upon the crown, without eſtabliſhing funds ſufficient for its payment. Yet notwithſtanding this jealous care expreſſed by the Parliament, there prevails a ſtory, that Popham, having ſounded the diſpoſition of the members, undertook to the earl of Southampton to procure, during the King's life, a grant of two millions a year, land tax; a ſum, which, joined to the cuſtoms and exciſe, would for ever have rendered this Prince independent of his people. Southampton, it is ſaid, merely from his affection to the King, had unwarily embraced the offer; and it was not till he communicated the matter to the chancellor, that he was made ſenſible of its pernicious tendency. It is not improbable, that ſuch an offer might have been made, and been hearkened to; but it is no way probable, that all the intereſt of the court would ever, with this Houſe of Commons, have been able to make it effectual. Clarendon ſhowed his prudence, no leſs than his integrity, in entirely rejecting it.

THE chancellor, from the ſame principles of conduct, haſtened to diſband the army. When the King reviewed theſe veterane troops, he was ſtruck with their beauty, order, diſcipline, and martial appearance; and being ſenſible, that regular forces are moſt neceſſary implements of royalty, he expreſſed a deſire of finding expedients ſtill to retain them. But his wiſe miniſter ſet before him the dangerous ſpirit by which theſe troops were animated, their enthuſiaſtic genius, their habits of rebellion and mutiny; and he convinced the King, that till they were diſbanded, he never could eſteem himſelf ſecurely eſtabliſhed on his throne. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garriſons, about 1000 horſe, and 4000 foot. This was the firſt appearance, under the Monarchy, of a regular ſtanding army in England. The fortifications of Gloceſter, Taunton, and other towns, which had made reſiſtance to the King during the civil wars, were alſo demoliſhed.

Clarendon not only behaved with great wiſdom and juſtice in the office of chancellor: All the councils, which he gave the King, tended equally to promote the intereſt of Prince and people. Charles, accuſtomed in his exile to pay entire deference to the judgement of that faithful ſervant, continued ſtill to ſubmit to his direction; and for ſome time no miniſter was ever poſſeſſed of more abſolute authority. He moderated the forward zeal of the Royaliſts, and tempered their appetite for revenge. With the oppoſite party, he endeavored to preſerve inviolate all the King's engagements: He kept an exact regiſter of every promiſe which had been made for any ſervices, and he employed all his induſtry to fulfill them. This good miniſter was now very nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Anne Hyde, a woman of ſpirit and fine accompliſhments, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addreſſes of the duke of York, and under promiſe of marriage, had ſecretly admitted him to her bed. Her pregnancy ſoon appeared after the reſtoration; and tho' many endeavored to diſſwade the Duke from ſo unequal an alliance, the King, in pity to his friend and miniſter, who had been totally ignorant of theſe engagements, obliged his brother to marry her. Clarendon expreſſed great uneaſineſs, at the honor, which he had obtained; and ſaid, that, by being elevated ſo much above his rank, he thence dreaded a more ſudden downfall.

Prelacy reſtored.

Most circumſtances of Clarendon's adminiſtration have met with applauſe: His conduct alone of eccleſiaſtical politics has by many been deemed the effect of prejudices, narrow and bigotted. Had the jealouſy of royal power prevailed ſo far with the Convention Parliament as to make them reſtore the King upon ſtrict limitations, there is no queſtion but the eſtabliſhment of preſbyterian diſcipline had been one of the conditions moſt rigidly inſiſted on. Not only that form of eccleſiaſtical government is more favorable to liberty than to royal power: It was likewiſe, on its own account, agreeable to the majority of the Houſe of Commons, and ſuited their religious principles. But as the impatience of the people, the danger of delay, the general diſguſt towards faction, and the authority of Monk had prevailed over that jealous project of limitations, the full ſettlement of the Hierarchy, along with the Monarchy, was a neceſſary and infallible conſequence. All the Royaliſts were zealous for that mode of religion; the merits of the epiſcopal clergy towards the King, as well as their ſufferings on that account, had been very great; the laws, which eſtabliſhed biſhops and the liturgy, were as yet unrepealed by legal authority; and any attempt of the Parliament, by new acts, to give the ſuperiority to Preſbyterianiſm, had been ſufficient to involve again the nation in

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blood and confuſion. Moved by theſe views, the Commons had very wiſely poſtponed the examination of all religious controverſy, and had left entirely the ſettlement of the church to the King and to the laws.

THE King at firſt uſed great moderation in the execution of the laws. Nine biſhops ſtill remained alive; and theſe were immediately reſtored to their dioceſes: All the ejected clergy recovered their livings: The liturgy, a form of worſhip very decent, and not without beauty, was again admitted into the churches: But at the ſame time, a declaration was iſſued, in order to give contentment to the Preſbyterians, and preſerve an air of moderation and neutrality. In that declaration, the King promiſed, that he ſhould provide ſuffragan biſhops for the larger dioceſes; that the prelates ſhould, all of them, be regular and conſtant preachers; that they ſhould not confer ordination or exerciſe any juriſdiction, without the advice and aſſiſtance of Preſbyters, choſen by the dioceſe; that ſuch alterations ſhould be made in the liturgy, as would render it totally unexceptionable; that in the mean time, the uſe of that mode of worſhip ſhould not be impoſed on ſuch as were unwilling to receive it; and that the ſurplice, the croſs in baptiſm, and bowing at the name of Jeſus ſhould not be rigidly inſiſted on. This declaration the King iſſued as head of the church; and he plainly aſſumed, in many parts of it, a legiſlative authority in eccleſiaſtical matters. But the Engliſh government, tho' more exactly defined by late conteſts, was not, as yet, reduced, in every particular, to the ſtrict limits of law. And if ever prerogative was juſtifiably employed, it ſeemed to be on the preſent occaſion; when all parts of the ſtate were torne with paſt convulſions, and required the moderating hand of the chief magiſtrate, to reduce them to their antient order.

BUT tho' theſe appearances of neutrality were maintained, and a mitigated epiſcopacy only ſeemed to be inſiſted on, it was far from the intention of the miniſtry always to preſerve like regard to the Preſbyterians. The madneſs of the Fifth-Monarchy-men afforded them a pretext for departing from it. Venner, a deſperate enthuſiaſt, who had often conſpired againſt Cromwel, having, by his zealous lectures, inflamed his own imagination and that of his followers, iſſued forth with them into the ſtreets of London. They were to the number of ſixty, compleatly armed, believed themſelves invulnerable and invincible, and firmly expected the ſame fortune, which had attended Gideon and other heroes of the Old Teſtament. Every one at firſt fled before them. One unhappy man, who, being queſtioned, had ſaid, "He was for God and King Charles," they inſtantly murdered. They went triumphantly from ſtreet to ſtreet, every where proclaiming King Jeſus, who, they ſaid, was their inviſible leader. At length, the magiſtrates, having aſſembled ſome train-bands, made an attack upon them. They defended themſelves

Inſurrection of the Millenarians.

themſelves with great order as well as valor; and after killing many of the aſſailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane-Wood near Hampſtead. Next morning, they were chaſed thence by a detachment of the guards; but they ventured again to invade the city, which was not prepared to receive them. After committing great diſorder, and traverſing almoſt every ſtreet of that immenſe capital, they ſhut up themſelves in a houſe, which to the laſt extremity they were reſolute to defend. Being ſurrounded, and the houſe untiled, they were fired upon from every ſide; and they ſtill refuſed quarter. The people ruſhed in upon them, and ſeized the few who were alive. They were tryed, condemned, and executed; and to the laſt they perſiſted in affirming, that, if they were deceived, it was the Lord that had deceived them.

Clarendon and the miniſtry took occaſion from this inſurrection to infer the dangerous ſpirit of the Preſbyterians and of all the ſectaries: But the madneſs of the attempt ſufficiently proved, that it had been undertaken by no concert, and never could have proved dangerous. The well known hatred too, which prevailed betwixt the Preſbyterians and the other ſects, ſhould have removed the former from all ſuſpicion of any concurrence in the enterprize. But as a pretext was wanted, beſides their old demerits, for juſtifying the intended rigors againſt them, this reaſon, however ſlight, was very greedily laid hold of.

Affairs of Scotland.

The affairs in Scotland haſtened with ſtill quicker ſteps than thoſe in England towards a ſettlement and a compliance with the King. It was deliberated in the Engliſh council, whether that nation ſhould be reſtored to its liberty, or whether the forts, erected by Cromwel, ſhould not ſtill be upheld, in order to curb the mutinous ſpirit, by which the Scotch in all ages had been ſo much governed. Lauderdale, who from the battle of Worceſter to the reſtoration, had been detained a priſoner in the Tower, had conſiderable influence with the King; and he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this violent meaſure. He repreſented, that it was the loyalty of the Scotch nation, which had engaged them in oppoſition to the Engliſh rebels; and that to take advantage of the calamities, into which, on that account, they had fallen, would be regarded as the higheſt injuſtice and ingratitude: That the ſpirit of that people was now fully ſubdued by the long ſervitude, under which the uſurpers had detained them, and would of itſelf yield to any reaſonable compliance with their legal ſovereign, if, by his means, they recovered their liberty and independance: That the attachment of the Scotch towards their King, whom they regarded as their native Prince, was naturally much ſtronger than that of the Engliſh; and would afford him a ſure reſſource, in caſe of any rebellion among the latter: That republican principles had long been, and ſtill were, very prevalent with his ſouthern ſubjects, and might again menace the throne with new tumults and reſiſtance. That the time would probably come, when the King, inſtead of deſiring to ſee Engliſh garriſons in Scotland, would be better pleaſed to have Scotch garriſons in England, who, ſupported by Engliſh pay, would be fond to curb the ſeditious genius of that opulent nation: And that a people, ſuch as the Scotch, governed by a few nobility, would more eaſily be reduced to ſubmiſſion under Monarchy, than one, like the Engliſh, who breathed nothing but the ſpirit of democratical equality.

1661. 1ſt of January. THESE views induced the King to diſband all the forces in Scotland, and to raze all the forts, which had been erected. General Middleton, created earl of that name, was ſent commiſſioner to the Parliament, which was ſummoned. A very compliant ſpirit was there diſcovered in all orders of men. The commiſſioner had even ſufficient influence to obtain an act, annulling, at once, all laws, which had paſſed ſince the year 1633; under pretext of the violence, which, during that time, had been employed againſt the King and his father, in order to procure their aſſent to theſe ſtatutes. This was a very large, if not an unexampled conceſſion; and, together with many pernicious limitations, overthrew ſome uſeful barriers, which had been erected to the conſtitution. But the tyde was now running ſtrongly towards monarchy; and the Scotch nation plainly diſcovered, that their paſt reſiſtance had proceeded more from the turbulency of their ariſtocracy and the bigotry of their eccleſiaſtics, than from any fixed paſſion towards civil liberty. The lords of articles were reſtored, along with ſome exorbitant branches of prerogative; and royal authority, fortified with more plauſible claims and pretexts, was, in its full extent, re-eſtabliſhed in that kingdom.

THE prelacy likewiſe, by the reſcinding every ſtatute, enacted in favor of Preſbytery, was thereby tacitely reſtored; and the King deliberated what uſe he ſhould make of this conceſſion. Lauderdale, who at bottom was a paſſionate zealot againſt epiſcopacy, endeavored to perſwade him, that the Scotch, if gratified in this favorite point of eccleſiaſtical government, would, in every other demand, be entirely compliant with the King. Charles, tho' he had no ſuch attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had ſuffered ſuch indignities from the Scotch Preſbyterians, that he ever after bore them a moſt hearty averſion. He ſaid to Lauderdale, that Preſbyterianiſm, he thought, was not a religion fit for a gentleman; and he could not conſent to its farther continuance in Scotland. Middleton too and his other miniſters perſwaded him, that the nation in general were ſo diſguſted with the violence and tyranny of the Eccleſiaſtics, that any alteration of church government would be univerſally grateful. And Clarendon, as well as Ormond, dreading that the Preſbyterian ſect, if legally eſtabliſhed in Scotland, would give countenance to their numerous brethren in England, and Ireland, ſeconded the applications of theſe miniſters. The reſolution was therefore taken to reſtore prelacy; a meaſure afterwards attended with many and great inconveniencies: But whether in this reſolution the King did not chuſe the leſs evil, it is very difficult to determine. Sharpe, who had been commiſſioned by the Preſbyterians in Scotland to manage their intereſt with the King, was perſwaded to abandon that party; and as a reward for his compliance, was created archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. The management of eccleſiaſtical affairs was chiefly intruſted to him; and as he was deemed a traitor and a renegade by his old friends, he became, on that account, as well as from the violence of his conduct, extremely obnoxious to them.

Charles had not promiſed to Scotland any ſuch indemnity as by his declaration of Breda he had enſured to England: And it was eſteemed more political for him to hold over men's heads, for ſome time, the terror of puniſhment; till they ſhould have made the requiſite compliance with the new eſtabliſhed government. Tho' neither the King's temper nor plan of adminiſtration led him to ſeverity; ſome examples, after ſuch a bloody and triumphant rebellion, ſeemed requiſite; and the marqueſs of Argyle and one Guthry, a miniſter, were pitched on as the victims. Two acts of indemnity, one paſſed by the late King in 1641, another by the preſent in 1651, formed, it was thought, invincible obſtacles to the puniſhment of Argyle; and barred all enquiry into that part of his conduct, which might juſtly be regarded as the moſt exceptionable. Nothing remained but to try him for his compliance with the uſurpation; a crime common to him with the whole nation, and ſuch a one as the moſt loyal and affectionate ſubject might frequently by violence be obliged to commit. To make this compliance appear the more voluntary and hearty, there were produced in court letters, which he had wrote to Albemarle, while that General governed Scotland, and which contained expreſſions of the moſt cordial attachment. But beſides the general indignation, excited by Albemarle's diſcovery of this private correſpondence; men thought, that even the higheſt demonſtrations of affection might, during jealous times, be exacted as a requiſite mark of compliance from a perſon of ſuch diſtinction as Argyle, and could not, by any equitable conſtruction, imply the crime of treaſon. The Parliament, however, was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of ſervile complaiſance as to paſs ſentence upon him; and he died with great conſtancy and courage. As he was univerſally known to have been the chief inſtrument of paſt diſorders and civil wars, the irregularity of his ſentence, and ſeveral iniquitous circumſtances in the method of conducting his trial, ſeemed on that account to admit of ſome apology. The lord Lorne, ſon to Argyle, having ever preſerved his loyalty, obtained a gift of the forfeiture. Guthry was a ſeditious preacher, and had perſonally,

nally affronted the King: His puniſhment gave ſurprize to no body. Sir Archibald Johnſtone of Warriſton was attainted and fled; but was ſeized in France about two years after, brought over and executed. He had been very active, during all the late diſorders; and was even ſuſpected of a ſecret combination with the Engliſh Regicides.

Besides theſe inſtances of compliance in the Scotch Parliament, they voted an additional revenue to the King of 40,000 pounds a year, to be levied by way of exciſe. A ſmall force was propoſed to be maintained by this revenue, in order to prevent like confuſions with thoſe to which the kingdom had been hitherto expoſed. An act was alſo paſſed, declaring the covenant to be unlawful, and its obligation void and null. This was a violent ſhock to the bigotted prejudices of the nation.

In England, the civil diſtinctions ſeemed to be aboliſhed by the lenity and equality of Charles's adminiſtration. Cavalier and Round-head were heard of no more: All men ſeemed to concur in ſubmitting to the King's lawful prerogatives, and in cheriſhing the juſt privileges of the people and of Parliament. Theological controverſy alone ſtill ſubſiſted, and kept alive ſome ſparks of that flame, which had thrown the nation into ſuch combuſtion. Beſides the proſpect of toleration, entertained by the Catholics, Independants, and other ſectaries; Prelacy and Preſbytery ſtrugled for the ſuperiority, and the hopes and fears of both parties kept them in agitation. A conference was held in the Savoy betwixt twelve biſhops and twelve leaders among the preſbyterian miniſters, with an intention, or at leaſt under pretext, of bringing about an accommodation betwixt the parties. The ſurplice, the croſs in baptiſm, the kneeling at the ſacrament, the bowing at the name of Jeſus, were anew canvaſſed; and the ignorant multitude entertained hopes, that ſo many men of gravity and learning could not fail, after deliberate argumentation, to agree in all points of controverſy: They were ſurprized to ſee them ſeparate more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their ſeveral prejudices. To enter into particulars would be ſuperfluous. Diſputes concerning religious forms are often, in themſelves, the moſt frivolous of any; and merit attention only ſo far as they have influence on the peace and order of civil ſociety.

Conference at the Savoy, 25th of March.

The King's declaration had promiſed ſome endeavors towards a comprehenſion of both parties; and Charles's own indifference with regard to all ſuch queſtions ſeemed a very favorable circumſtance for the execution of that project. The partizans of a comprehenſion ſaid, that the Preſbyterians as well as the Prelatiſts, having felt by experience the fatal effects of mutual obſtinacy and violence, were now well diſpoſed towards an amicable agreement; that the biſhops, by remitting ſome part of their authority, and diſpenſing with the moſt exceptionable ceremonies,

Arguments for and againſt a comprehenſion.

ries, would ſo gratify their adverſaries as to obtain their cordial and affectionate compliance, and unite the whole nation in one faith and one worſhip; that by obſtinately inſiſting on forms, in themſelves inſignificant, an air of importance was beſtowed on them, and men were taught to continue equally obſtinate in rejecting them; that the preſbyterian clergy would go every reaſonable length, rather than by parting with their livings, expoſe themſelves to a ſtate of beggary, or at beſt, of dependance; and that if their pride was flattered by ſome ſeeming alterations, and a pretext given them for affirming, that they had not abandoned their former principles, nothing farther was requiſite to produce a thorow union betwixt thoſe two parties, which comprehended the bulk of the nation.

It was alleged on the other hand, that the difference betwixt religious ſects was founded, not on principle, but on paſſion; and till the irregular affections of men could be corrected, it was in vain to expect, by compliances, to obtain a perfect unanimity and comprehenſion; that the more inſignificant the objects of diſpute appeared, with the more certainty might it be inferred, that the real ground of diſſenſion was different from that which was univerſally pretended; that the love of novelty, the pride of argumentation, the pleaſure of making proſelytes, and the obſtinacy of contradiction would for ever give riſe to ſects and diſputes, nor was it poſſible, that ſuch a ſource of diſſention could ever, by any compliances, be entirely exhauſted; that the church, by departing from antient practices and principles, would tacitely acknowlege herſelf guilty of error, and loſe that reverence, ſo requiſite for preſerving the attachment of the multitude; and that if the preſent conceſſions (which was more than probable) ſhould prove ineffectual, greater muſt ſtill be made; and in the iſſue, diſcipline would be deſpoiled of all its authority, and worſhip of all its decency, without obtaining that end, which had been ſo fondly ſought for by theſe dangerous indulgences.

A new Parliament, 8th of May.

The miniſtry were enclined to give the preference to the latter arguments; and were the more confirmed in that intention by the diſpoſition, which appeared in the Parliament, lately aſſembled. The Royaliſts and zealous Churchmen were at preſent the popular party in the nation, and, ſeconded by the efforts of the court, had prevailed in almoſt every election. Not more than fifty-ſix members of the preſbyterian party had obtained ſeats in the lower houſe [*]; and theſe were able neither to oppoſe nor retard the meaſures of the majority. Monarchy, therefore, and Epiſcopacy, were now exalted to as great power and ſplendor as they had lately ſuffered miſery and depreſſion. Sir Edward Turner was choſen ſpeaker.

An act was paſſed for the ſecurity of the King's perſon and government. To intend or deviſe the King's impriſonment, or bodily harm, or depoſition, or the levying,

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[*] Carte's Anſwer to the Byſtander, p. 79.

Chap. I. 1661.

levying war againſt him, is declared, during the life-time of his preſent Majeſty, to be high treaſon. To affirm him to be a Papiſt or Heretic, or to endeavor by ſpeech or writing to alienate his ſubjects affections from him; theſe offences were made ſufficient to incapacitate the perſon guilty from holding any employment in church or ſtate. To maintain, that the Long Parliament is not diſſolved, or that either or both Houſes, without the King, are poſſeſſed of legiſlative authority, or that the covenant is binding; whoever defended theſe dangerous poſitions was made liable to the penalty of a premunire.

The covenant itſelf, together with the act for erecting the high court of juſtice, that for ſubſcribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a Commonwealth, were ordered to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The people aſſiſted with great alacrity on this occaſion.

The abuſes of petitioning in the precedent reign had been attended with the worſt conſequences; and to prevent ſuch irregular practices for the future, it was enacted, that no more than twenty hands ſhould be ſubſcribed to any petition, unleſs with the ſanction of three juſtices, or the major part of the grand jury; and that no petition ſhould be preſented to the King or either Houſe by above ten perſons. The penalty for a tranſgreſſion of this law was a fine of a hundred pounds and three months impriſonment.

Biſhops' ſeats reſtored.

The biſhops, tho' reſtored to their ſpiritual authority, were ſtill excluded from Parliament, by the law, which the late King had paſſed, immediately before the commencement of the civil diſorders. Great violence, both againſt the King and the Houſe of Peers, had been employed in paſſing this law; and on that account alone, the partizans of the church were provided of a very plauſible pretext for repealing it. Charles expreſſed much ſatisfaction, when he gave his aſſent to the act for that purpoſe. It is certain, that the authority of the crown, as well as that of the church, was intereſted in reſtoring the prelates to their former dignity. Thoſe who eſteem every acquiſition of the Prince a detriment to the people, are apt to complain of this inſtance of complaiſance in the Parliament.

20th of November.

After an adjournment of ſome months, the Parliament was again aſſembled, and proceeded with the ſame ſpirit as before. They diſcovered no deſign of reſtoring, in its full extent, the antient prerogatives of the crown: They were only anxious to repair all thoſe breaches, which had been made, not by the love of liberty, but by the fury of faction and civil war. The power of the ſword had, in all ages, been allowed to be veſted in the crown; and tho' no law conferred this prerogative, every Parliament, till the laſt of the preceding reign, had willingly ſubmitted to an authority more antient, and therefore more ſacred, than that of any poſitive ſtatute. It was now thought proper ſolemnly to relinquiſh the violent pretenſions of that Parliament, and to acknowlege, that neither one Houſe, nor both Houſes, independant of the King, are poſſeſſed of any military authority. The preamble to this ſtatute went ſo far as to renounce all right even of *defenſive* arms againſt the King; and much obſervation has been made with regard to a conceſſion, eſteemed ſo ſingular. Were thoſe terms taken in their full literal ſenſe, they imply a total renounciation of all limitations to Monarchy, and of all privileges in the ſubject, independant of the will of the Sovereign. For as no rights can ſubſiſt without ſome remedy, much leſs rights expoſed to ſo much invaſion from tyranny or even from ambition; if ſubjects muſt never reſiſt, it is certain, that every Prince, without any effort, policy, or violence, is at once rendered abſolute and uncontroleable: The Sovereign needs only iſſue an edict, aboliſhing every authority but his own; and all liberty, from that moment, is in effect annihilated. But this meaning it were abſurd to impute to the preſent Parliament, who, tho' zealous Royaliſts, ſhowed, in their meaſures, that they had not caſt off all regard to national privileges. They were probably ſenſible, that to ſuppoſe in the Sovereign any ſuch invaſion of public liberty is entirely unconſtitutional; and that therefore expreſly to reſerve, upon that event, any right of reſiſtance in the ſubject muſt be liable to the ſame objection. They had ſeen that the Long Parliament, under pretext of defence, had begun a violent attack on kingly power; and after involving the kingdom in blood, had finally loſt that liberty, for which they had ſo imprudently contended. They thought, tho' perhaps erroneouſly, that it was no longer poſſible, after ſuch exorbitant pretenſions, to perſevere in that prudent ſilence, hitherto maintained by the laws, and that it was neceſſary, by ſome poſitive declaration, to bar the return of like inconveniences. When they excluded, therefore, the right of defence, they ſuppoſed, that, the conſtitution remaining firm upon its baſis, there never really could be an attack made by the Sovereign. If ſuch an attack was at any time made, the neceſſity was then extreme: And the caſe of extreme and violent neceſſity, no laws, they thought, could comprehend; becauſe to ſuch a neceſſity no laws could beforehand point out a proper remedy.

THE other meaſures of this Parliament ſtill diſcovered a more anxious care to guard againſt rebellion in the ſubjects than encroachments in the crown: The recent evils of civil war and uſurpation had naturally encreaſed the ſpirit of ſubmiſſion to the Monarch, and had thrown the nation into that dangerous extreme. During the violent and jealous government of the Parliament and of the Protectors, all magiſtrates, liable to ſuſpicion, had been expelled the corporations; and none had been admitted, who gave not proofs of affection to the ruling powers, or refuſed to ſubſcribe the covenant. To leave all authority in ſuch hands ſeemed dangerous; and the Parliament, therefore, empowered the King to appoint commiſſioners for

Corporation act.

Chap. I. 1661. regulating the corporations, and expelling ſuch magiſtrates as either had intruded themſelves by violence, or profeſſed principles, dangerous to the conſtitution, civil and eccleſiaſtical. It was alſo enacted, that all magiſtrates ſhould diſclaim the obligation of the covenant, and ſhould declare both their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the King, and their abhorrence of the traiterous poſition of taking arms by the King's authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe commiſſioned by him.

WHEN the latter part of this oath, the words, *commiſſioned by him*; which ſeem the moſt dangerous to the conſtitution, came to be debated, it was moved in the Houſe, and earneſtly preſſed by Sir John Vaughan, an eminent lawyer, that the word, *lawfully*, might be added, in order to remove all difficulties. But the attorney-general, Sir Heneage Finch, anſwered, that it was not neceſſary: The very word, commiſſion, imported it; ſince any power, not lawfully iſſued, to lawful perſons, and for a lawful purpoſe, was in reality no commiſſion: And the whole Houſe ſeemed to aſſent to this interpretation. The ſame word, *lawfully*, Southampton himſelf, in the Houſe of Peers, endeavored to add; but a like anſwer was made by Angelſey. Southampton ſtill inſiſted, that ſuch an addition would clear all obſcurities; and that many, not having heard the particular ſenſe of the Parliament, might fancy, that, if any ſort of commiſſion was granted, it would not be lawful to reſiſt it: But that worthy patriot could not prevail. The opinion of both parties, it is to be preſumed, was the ſame: Tho' the fear of affording a pretext to rebellion made the Royaliſts raſhly overlook the danger, to which liberty might be expoſed by ſuch conceſſions. In moſt human deliberations, it is difficult, if not impoſſible, to make a choice which is not expoſed to ſome inconvenience. And it is but too uſual for victorious parties, who had ſuffered under oppreſſion, to ſignalize their triumph over their adverſaries, by carrying matters to the extremity moſt oppoſite to that which had formerly prevailed.

1662. Act of uniformity. THE care of the church was no leſs prevalent with this Parliament than that of Monarchy: The bill of uniformity ſignalized the triumph of Prelacy over Preſbyterianiſm. Different parties concurred in promoting this bill, which contained many ſevere clauſes. The Independants and other ſectaries, enraged to find all their ſchemes ſubverted by the Preſbyterians, who had once been their aſſociates, exerted themſelves to diſappoint that party of the favor and indulgence, to which, from their recent merits in promoting the reſtoration, they thought themſelves juſtly entitled. By the Preſbyterians, ſaid they, the war was raiſed: By them were the populace firſt incited to tumults: By their zeal, intereſt, and riches were the armies ſupported: By their force was the King ſubdued: And if, in the ſequel, they proteſted againſt thoſe extreme violences, committed by the military leaders, their oppoſition came too late, after having ſupplied theſe uſurpers with the power and the pretences, by which they maintained their ſanguinary meaſures. They had indeed concurred with the Royaliſts in recalling the King: But ought they to be eſteemed, on that account, more affectionate to the royal cauſe? Rage and animoſity, raiſed by diſappointed ambition, were plainly their ſole motives; and if the King ſhould now be ſo imprudent as to diſtinguiſh them by any particular indulgences, he would ſoon experience from them the ſame hatred and oppoſition, which had proved ſo fatal to his father.

The Catholics, tho' they had little intereſt in the nation, were a conſiderable party at court; and from their great ſervices and ſufferings, during the civil wars, it ſeemed but juſt to bear them ſome favor and regard. Theſe Religioniſts dreaded an entire union among the Proteſtants. Were they the ſole Nonconformiſts in the nation, the ſevere execution of penal laws upon their ſect ſeemed an infallible conſequence; and they uſed all their intereſt to puſh matters to extremity againſt the Preſbyterians, who had formerly been their moſt ſevere oppreſſors, and whom they now expected for their companions in affliction. The earl of Briſtol, who, from conviction, or intereſt, or levity, or complaiſance for the company with whom he lived, had changed his religion during the King's exile, was eſteemed the head of this party.

The church party had, during ſo many years, endured ſuch injuries and indignities from the ſectaries of every denomination, that no moderation, much leſs deference, was on this occaſion to be expected in their eccleſiaſtics. Even the laity of that communion ſeemed now diſpoſed to retaliate upon their enemies, according to the uſual meaſures of party juſtice. This ſect or faction (for it was a mixture of both) encouraged the rumors of plots and conſpiracies againſt the government; crimes, which, without any apparent cauſe, they imputed to their adverſaries. And inſtead of enlarging their terms of communion, in order to comprehend the Preſbyterians, they gladly laid hold of the prejudices, which prevailed among that ſect, in order to eject them from all their livings. By the bill of uniformity it was required, that every clergyman ſhould be re-ordained, if he had not before received epiſcopal ordination; ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience; ſhould abjure the ſolemn league and covenant; and ſhould renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatſoever, againſt the King.

This bill re-inſtated the church in the ſame condition, in which it ſtood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old perſecuting laws of Elizabeth ſtill ſubſiſted in their full rigor, and new clauſes of a like nature were now enacted, all

Chap. I. 1662.

all the King's promiſes of toleration and of indulgence to tender conſciences were thereby eluded and broken. 'Tis true, Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had expreſſed his intention of regulating that indulgence by the advice and authority of Parliament: But this limitation could never reaſonably be extended to a total infringement and violation of his promiſe. It is agreed, that the King did not voluntarly concur with this violent meaſure, and that the zeal of Clarendon and of the church party among the Commons, ſeconded by the intrigues of the Catholics, was the real cauſe, which extorted his conſent.

The Royaliſts, who now predominated, were very ready to ſignalize their victory, by eſtabliſhing thoſe high principles of Monarchy, which their antagoniſts had controverted: But when any real power or revenue was demanded for the crown, they were neither ſo forward nor ſo liberal in their conceſſions as the King would gladly have wiſhed. Tho' the Parliament paſſed laws for regulating the navy, they took no notice of the army; and declined giving their ſanction to this dangerous innovation. The King's debts were become intolerable; and the Commons were at laſt conſtrained to vote him an extraordinary ſupply of 1,200,000 pounds, to be levied by eighteen months aſſeſſment. But beſides that this ſupply was much inferior to the occaſion, the King was obliged earneſtly to ſollicit the Commons, before he could obtain it; and, in order to convince the Houſe of its abſolute neceſſity, he deſired them to examine ſtrictly into all his receipts and diſburſements. Finding likewiſe upon enquiry, that the ſeveral branches of revenue fell ſhort of the ſums expected, they at laſt, after much delay, voted a new impoſition of two ſhillings on each hearth; and this tax they ſettled on the King during life. The whole eſtabliſhed revenue, however, did not, for many years, exceed a million *; a ſum confeſſedly too narrow for the public expences. A very rigid frugality at leaſt, which the King wanted, would have been requiſite to make it ſuffice for the dignity and ſecurity of the government. After all buſineſs was diſpatched, the Parliament was prorogued.

19th of May.

King's marriage.

Before the Parliament roſe, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new Queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the King was betrothed, and who had juſt landed at Portſmouth. During the time, that the Protector carried on the war with Spain, he was naturally led to ſupport the Portugueſe in their revolt; and he engaged himſelf by treaty to ſupply them with 10,000 men for their defence againſt the Spaniards. On the King's reſtoration, advances were made by Portugal for the renewal of that alliance; and in order to bind the friendſhip cloſer, an offer was made of the Portugueſe Princeſs, and a portion of 300,000 pounds, together with two fortreſſes, Tangiers in Africa and Bombay

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* D' Eſtrades 25th of July, 1661. Mr. Ralph's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 176.

Bombay in the Eaſt Indies. Spain, who, after the peace of the Pyrenees, bent all her force to recover Portugal, now in appearance abandoned by France, took the alarm, and endeavored to fix Charles in an oppoſite intereſt. The Catholic King offered to adopt any other Princeſs as a daughter of Spain, either the Princeſs of Parma, or, what he thought more popular, ſome Proteſtant Princeſs, the daughter of Denmark, Saxony, or Orange: And on any of theſe, he promiſed to confer a dowry equal to that offered by Portugal. But many reaſons inclined Charles rather to accept of the Portugueſe propoſals. The great diſorders in the government and finances of Spain made the execution of her promiſes be much doubted; and the King's urgent wants demanded ſome ſupply of money. The intereſt of the Engliſh commerce likewiſe ſeemed to require, that the independancy of Portugal ſhould be ſupported; leſt the union of that crown with Spain ſhould put the whole treaſures of America into the hands of one potentate. The claims too of Spain upon Dunkirk and Jamaica rendered it impoſſible, without farther conceſſions, to obtain the cordial friendſhip of that power: And on the other hand, the offer, made by Portugal, of two ſuch conſiderable fortreſſes promiſed a great acceſſion to the naval force of England. Above all, the propoſal of a Proteſtant Princeſs was no allurement to Charles, whoſe inclinations led him ſtrongly to give the preference to a Catholic alliance. According to the moſt probable accounts *, the reſolution of marrying the daughter of Portugal was taken by the King, unknown to all his miniſters; and no remonſtrances could prevail with him to alter his intentions. The chancellor, together with Ormond and Southampton, urged many oppoſite reaſons; and particularly inſiſted on a report, which was current, of the incapacity of the Princeſs to have children: But their arguments were rejected. When the matter was laid before the council, all voices concurred in approving the reſolution; and the Parliament expreſſed the ſame complaiſance. And thus was concluded, ſeemingly with univerſal conſent, the inauſpicious marriage with Catherine, a Princeſs of virtue, but who was never able, either by the graces of her perſon or humor, to make herſelf agreeable to the King. The report however of her natural incapacity to have children ſeems to have been groundleſs; ſince ſhe was twice declared to be pregnant †.

21ſt of May.

THE feſtivity of theſe eſpouſals was clouded by the trial and execution of criminals. Berkſtead, Cobbet, and Okey, three Regicides, had eſcaped beyond ſea; and

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* Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 254. This account ſeems better ſupported, than that in Ablancourt's Memoirs, that the chancellor chiefly puſhed the Portugueſe alliance. The ſecret tranſactions of the court of England could not be ſuppoſed to be much known to a French reſident at Liſbon: And whatever oppoſition the chancellor made, he would certainly endeavor to conceal it from the Queen and all her family; and even in the Parliament and council would ſupport the reſolution already taken.

† Lord Lanſdowne's defence of general Monk. Temple, vol. ii. p. 154.

and after wandering ſome time concealed in Germany, came privately to Delft, having appointed their families to meet them in that place. They were diſcovered by Downing, the King's reſident in Holland, who had formerly ſerved the Protector and Commonwealth in the ſame ſtation, and who once had even been chaplain to Okey's regiment. He applied to the States for a warrant to arreſt them. It had been uſual for the States to grant theſe warrants; tho' at the ſame time, they had ever been careful ſecretly to advertiſe the perſons, that they might be enabled to make their eſcape. This precaution was eluded by the vigilance and diſpatch of Downing. He quickly ſeized the criminals, hurryed them on board a frigate which lay off the coaſt, and ſent them to England. Theſe three men behaved with more moderation and ſubmiſſion than any of the other Regicides, who had ſuffered. Okey in particular, at the place of execution, prayed for the King, and expreſſed his intention, had he lived, of ſubmitting peacably to the eſtabliſhed government. He had riſen during the wars from being a chandler in London to a high rank in the army; and in all his conduct appeared a man of humanity and honor. In conſideration of his good character and of his dutiful behavior, his body was given his friends to be buryed.

Trial of Vane.

THE attention of the public was much engaged by the trial of two diſtinguiſhed criminals, Lambert and Vane. Theſe men, tho' none of the immediate murtherers of the King, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to priſon. The Convention-Parliament, however, was ſo favorable to them, as to petition the King, if they ſhould be found guilty, to ſuſpend their execution: But this new Parliament, more zealous for Monarchy, applyed for their trial and condemnation. Not to revive diſputes, which were better buryed in oblivion, the indictment of Vane comprehended not any of his actions during the war betwixt the King and Parliament: It extended only to his behavior after the late King's death, as member of the council of State, and ſecretary of the navy; where fidelity to the truſt repoſed in him, required his oppoſition to Monarchy.

Vane wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himſelf of this advantage, which was afforded him. He urged, that, if a compliance with the government, at that time eſtabliſhed in England, and an acknowlegement of its authority were to be regarded as criminal, the whole nation had incurred equal guilt, and none would remain, whoſe innocence could entitle them to try or condemn him for his pretended treaſons: That, according to theſe maxims, wherever an illegal authority was eſtabliſhed by force, a total and univerſal deſtruction muſt enſue; while the uſurpers proſcribed one part of the nation for diſobedience, the lawful Prince puniſhed the other for compliance: That the legiſlature of England, foreſeeing this violent ſituation, had provided for public ſecurity by the famous ſtatute of Henry the ſeventh; where it was enacted, that no man, in caſe of any revolution, ſhould ever be queſtioned for his obedience to the King in being: That whether the eſtabliſhed government was a Monarchy or a Commonwealth, the reaſon of the thing was ſtill the ſame; nor ought the expelled Prince to think himſelf entitled to allegiance, ſo long as he could afford no protection: That it belonged not to private perſons, poſſeſſed of no power, to diſcuſs the title of their governors; and every uſurpation, even the moſt flagrant, would equally require obedience with the moſt legal eſtabliſhment: That the controverſy between the late King and his Parliament was of the moſt delicate nature; and men of the greateſt probity had been divided in their choice: That the Parliament, being rendered undiſſoluble but by their own conſent, was become a co-ordinate power with the King; and as the caſe was thus entirely new and unknown to the conſtitution, it ought not to be tryed rigidly by the letter of the antient laws: That for his part, all the violences, which had been put upon the Parliament, and upon the perſon of the Sovereign, he had ever condemned; nor had he once appeared in the houſe for ſome time before and after the execution of the King: That, finding the whole government thrown into diſorder, he was ſtill reſolved, in every revolution, to adhere to the Commons, the root, the foundation of all lawful authority: That in proſecution of this principle, he had cheerfully undergone all the violence of Cromwel's tyranny; and would now, with equal alacrity, expoſe himſelf to the rigors of perverted law and juſtice: That tho' it was in his power, on the King's reſtoration, to have eſcaped from his enemies, he was determined, in imitation of the moſt illuſtrious names of antiquity, to periſh in defence of liberty, and to give teſtimony with his blood for that honorable cauſe, in which he had been inliſted: And that, beſides the tyes, with which God and nature had bound him to his native country, he was voluntarily engaged by the moſt ſacred covenant, whoſe obligation no earthly power ſhould ever be able to make him relinquiſh.

11th of June.

ALL the defence, which Vane could make, was fruitleſs. The court, conſidering more the general opinion of his active guilt in the beginning and proſecution of the civil wars, than the articles of treaſon charged againſt him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty. His courage deſerted him not upon his condemnation. Tho' timid by nature, the perſwaſion of a juſt cauſe ſupported him againſt the terrors of death; while his enthuſiaſm, excited by the proſpect of glory, embelliſhed the concluſion of that life, which, thro' the whole courſe of it, it had ſo much disfigured. Leſt pity for a courageous ſufferer ſhould make impreſſion on the populace, drummers were placed under the ſcaffold, whoſe noiſe, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice, and admoniſhed him to temper the ardor of his zeal. He was

and execution.
14th of June.

not aſtoniſhed at this unexpected incident. In all his behavior, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; and he conſidered death but as a paſſage to that eternal felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him.

THIS man, ſo celebrated for his parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in buſineſs, has left ſome writings behind him: They treat, all of them, of religious ſubjects, and are abſolutely unintelligible: No traces of eloquence, or even of common ſenſe appear in them. A ſtrange paradox! did we not know, that men of the greateſt genius, where they relinquiſh by principle the uſe of their reaſon, are only enabled, by their vigor of mind, to work themſelves the deeper into error and abſurdity. It was remarked, that, as Vane, by being the chief inſtrument of Strafford's death, had firſt opened the way for that deſtruction, which overwhelmed the nation; ſo by his own death he cloſed the ſcene of blood. He was the laſt that ſuffered on account of the civil wars. Lambert, tho' condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared, that, if Vane's behavior had been equally dutiful and ſubmiſſive, he had experienced like lenity in the King. Lambert ſurvived his condemnation near thirty years. He was confined to the iſle of Guerneſey; where he lived contented, forgetting all his paſt ſchemes of greatneſs, and entirely forgot by the nation.

Preſbyterian clergy ejected.
24th of Auguſt.

HOWEVER odious Vane and Lambert to the Preſbyterians, that party had no leizure to rejoice at their condemnation. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached; the day, when the clergy were obliged by the late law, either to relinquiſh their livings, or to ſign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the more zealous of the Preſbyterian eccleſiaſtics to refuſe the ſubſcription; in hopes, that the biſhops would not dare at once to expel ſo great a number of the moſt popular preachers. The Catholic party at court, who deſired a great rent among the Proteſtants, encouraged them in this obſtinacy, and gave them hopes, that the King would protect them in their refuſal. The King himſelf, by his irreſolute conduct, contributed, either from deſign or accident, to encreaſe this opinion. Above all, the terms of ſubſcription had been made very ſtrict and rigid, on purpoſe to diſguſt all the zealous and ſcrupulous among the Preſbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About 2000 of the clergy, in one day, relinquiſhed their cures; and to the great aſtoniſhment of the court, ſacrificed their intereſt to their religious tenets. Fortifyed by ſociety in their ſufferings, they were reſolved to undergo any hardſhips, rather than openly renounce thoſe principles, which, on other occaſions, they were ſo apt, from intereſt, to warp or elude. The church enjoyed the pleaſure of retaliation; and even puſhed, as uſual, the vengeance farther than the offence. During the dominion of the Parliamentary party, a fifth of the livings had been left to the ejected clergy; but this indulgence, tho' at firſt inſiſted on, by the Houſe of Peers, was now refuſed to the Preſbyterians. However difficult to conciliate peace among theologians, it was hoped by many that ſome relaxation in the terms of communion might have kept the Preſbyterians united to the church, and have cured thoſe eccleſiaſtical factions, which had been ſo fatal, and were ſtill ſo dangerous. Biſhoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter and Reynolds, great leaders among the Preſbyterians; the laſt only could be prevailed with to accept. Deaneries and other promotions were refuſed by many.

Dunkirk ſold to the French.

The next meaſure of the King has not had the good fortune to be juſtifyed by any party; but is conſidered as one of the greateſt miſtakes, if not blemiſhes, of his reign: 'Tis the ſale of Dunkirk to the French. The parſimonious maxims of the Parliament, and the liberal, not to ſay laviſh, diſpoſition of the King were but ill ſuited to each other; and notwithſtanding all the ſupplies voted him, his treaſury was ſtill very empty and very much indebted. He had received the ſum of 200,000 crowns from France; but the forces ſent over to Portugal, and the fleets, maintained in order to defend that kingdom, had already coſt the King that ſum, and together with it, above double the money, which he had received for the Queen's dowry [*]. The time fixed for payment of his ſiſter's portion to the duke of Orleans was now approaching. Tangiers, a fortreſs, from which great benefit was expected, was become an additional burthen on the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded in Dunkirk, had encreaſed the charge of that garriſon to near a hundred thouſand pounds a year. Theſe conſiderations had ſuch influence, not only on the King, but even on Clarendon, that that uncorrupt miniſter was the moſt forward to adviſe the accepting a ſum of money, in lieu of a place, which, he thought, the King, from the narrow ſtate of his revenue, was no longer able to retain. By the treaty with Portugal, it was ſtipulated, that Dunkirk ſhould never be yielded to the Spaniards: France was therefore the only purchaſer that remained. D' Eſtrades was invited over by a letter from the chancellor himſelf, in order to conclude the bargain. Nine hundred thouſand pounds were demanded: One hundred thouſand were offered. The Engliſh by degrees lowered their demands: The French raiſed their offer: And the bargain was ſtruck at 400,000 pounds. The artillery and ſtores were valued at a fifth of the ſum [†]. The importance of this ſale was not, at that time, ſufficiently known, either abroad or at home [‡]. The French Monarch himſelf, tho' ſo fond of acquiſitions, and ſo good

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[*] D' Eſtrades, 17th of Auguſt, 1662.

[†] Id. 21ſt of Auguſt, 12th of September, 1662.

[‡] It appears, however, from many of D' Eſtrade's letters, particularly that of the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1661, that the King might have transfered Dunkirk to the Parliament, who would not have refuſed to bear the charges of it, but were unwilling to give money to the King for that purpoſe. The King

a judge of his own intereſts, thought, that he had made a very hard bargain*; and this ſum, in appearance ſo ſmall, was the utmoſt, which he would allow his ambaſſador to offer.

Declaration of indulgence, 26th of December.

A NEW incident diſcovered ſuch a glimpſe of the King's character and principles of policy as at firſt the nation was ſomewhat at a loſs how to interpret, but ſuch as ſubſequent events, by degrees, rendered ſufficiently plain and manifeſt. He iſſued a declaration under pretext of mitigating the rigors, contained in the act of uniformity. After expreſſing his firm reſolution to obſerve the general indemnity, and to truſt entirely to the affections of his ſubjects, not to any military power, for the ſupport of his throne; he mentioned the promiſes of liberty of conſcience, contained in his declaration of Breda. And he ſubjoined, that, "as in the firſt place he had been zealous to ſettle the uniformity of the church of England, in diſcipline, ceremony and government, and ſhall ever conſtantly maintain it: So as for what concerns the penalties upon thoſe who, living peaceably, do not conform themſelves thereunto, thro' ſcruple and tenderneſs of miſguided conſcience, but modeſtly and without ſcandal perform their devotions in their own way, he ſhould make it his ſpecial care, ſo far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of Parliament, to incline their wiſdom next approaching ſeſſions to concur with him in making ſome ſuch act for that purpoſe, as may enable him to exerciſe, with a more univerſal ſatisfaction, that power of diſpenſing, which he conceived to be inherent in him†". Here a moſt important prerogative was exerciſed by the King; but under ſuch artificial reſerves and limitations as might prevent the full diſcuſſion of the claim, and obviate a breach between him and his Parliament. The foundation of this meaſure lay much deeper, and was of the utmoſt conſequence.

THE King, during his exile, had imbibed ſtrong prejudices in favor of the Catholic religion; and according to the moſt probable accounts, had already been reconciled in form to the church of Rome. The great zeal, expreſſed by the parliamentary party againſt all Papiſts, had always, from a ſpirit of oppoſition, inclined the court and all the Royaliſts to adopt more favorable ſentiments towards that ſect, who, thro' the whole courſe of the civil wars, had ſtrenuouſly ſupported the

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on the other hand was jealous, leſt the Parliament ſhould acquire any ſuch ſeparate dominion or authority: A proof, that the government was not as yet ſettled into that compoſure and mutual confidence, which is abſolutely requiſite for conducting it.

[*] Id. 3d of October, 1662. The chief importance indeed of Dunkirk to the Engliſh is that it was able extremely to diſtreſs their trade, when in the hands of the French: But it was Lewis the xivth who firſt made it a good ſea-port. England can have no occaſion to tranſport armies to the continent, but in ſupport of ſome ally whoſe towns ſerve to the ſame purpoſe as Dunkirk would, if in the hands of the Engliſh.

[†] Kennet's Regiſter, p. 850.

the rights of the Sovereign. The rigor too, which the King, during his abode in Scotland, had experienced from the Preſbyterians, diſpoſed him to run into the other extreme, and to bear a kindneſs to the party, moſt oppoſite in its genius to the ſeverity of thoſe religioniſts. The ſollicitations and importunities of the Queen mother, the contagion of the company which he frequented, the view of a more ſplendid and courtly mode of worſhip, the hopes of indulgence in pleaſure; all theſe cauſes operated powerfully on a young Prince, whoſe careleſs and diſſolute temper made him incapable of adhering cloſely to the principles of his early education. But if the thoughtleſs, diſengaged humor of Charles rendered him an eaſy convert to Popery, the ſame diſpoſition ever prevented the theological tenets of that ſect from taking any faſt hold of him. During his vigorous ſtate of health, while his blood was warm and his ſpirits high, a contempt and diſregard of all religion held poſſeſſion of his mind; and he might more properly be denominated a Deiſt than a Catholic. But in thoſe revolutions of temper, when the love of raillery gave place to reflection, and his penetrating, but negligent underſtanding was clouded with fears and apprehenſions, he had ſtarts of more ſincere conviction, and a ſect, which always poſſeſſed his inclinations, was then maſter of his judgement and opinion.

But tho' the King thus floated, during his whole reign, betwixt irreligion, which he more openly profeſſed, and Popery, to which he retained a ſecret propenſity, his brother, the duke of Yorke, had zealouſly adopted all the principles of that theological party. His eager temper and narrow underſtanding made him a thorow convert, without any reſerve from intereſt, or doubts from reaſoning and enquiry. By his application to buſineſs, he had acquired a great aſcendant over the King, who, tho' poſſeſſed of much more diſcernment, was glad to throw the burthen of affairs on the duke, of whom he entertained little jealouſy. Under pretext of eaſing the Proteſtant diſſenters, they agreed upon a plan for introducing a general toleration, and giving the Catholics the free exerciſe of their religion; at leaſt, the exerciſe of it in private houſes. With pleaſure the two brothers ſaw ſo numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuſe conformity; and it was hoped, that, under ſhelter of their name, the ſmall and hated ſect of the Catholics might meet with favor and protection.

1663.
18th of February.

But while the King pleaded his early promiſes of toleration, and inſiſted on many other plauſible topics, the Parliament, who ſate a little after the declaration was iſſued, could by no means be ſatisfied with this meaſure. The declared intention of eaſing the Diſſenters, and the ſecret purpoſe of favoring the Catholics, were equally diſagreeable to them; and in theſe prepoſſeſſions they were encouraged by the King's miniſters themſelves, particularly the chancellor. The Houſe of Commons repreſented to the King, that his declaration of Breda contained no promiſe to the Preſbyterians and other Diſſenters, but only an expreſſion of his intentions, upon the ſuppoſition of the Parliament's concurrence; that even if the Nonconformiſts had been entitled to plead a promiſe, they had entruſted this claim, as well as all their other rights and privileges, to the Houſe of Commons, who were their repreſentatives, and who now freed the King from that obligation; that it was not to be ſuppoſed, that his Majeſty and the Houſes were ſo bound by that declaration as to be incapacitated from making any laws, which might be contrary to it; that even at the King's reſtoration, there were laws of uniformity in force, which could not be diſpenſed with but by act of Parliament; and that the indulgence propoſed would prove moſt pernicious both to Church and State, would open the door to ſchiſm, encourage faction, diſturb the public peace, and diſcredit the wiſdom of the legiſlature. The King did not think proper, after this remonſtrance, to inſiſt any farther at preſent on the project of indulgence.

In order to deprive the Catholics of all hopes, the two Houſes concurred in a remonſtrance againſt them. The King gave a very gracious anſwer; tho' he ſcrupled not to profeſs his gratitude towards many of that perſwaſion, for their faithful ſervices in his father's cauſe and in his own. A proclamation, for form's ſake, was ſoon after iſſued againſt Jeſuites and Romiſh prieſts: But care was taken, by the very terms of it, to render it ineffectual. The Parliament had allowed, that all the foreign prieſts, belonging to the two Queens, ſhould be excepted, and that a permiſſion for them to remain in England ſhould ſtill be granted. In the proclamation, the word *foreign*, was purpoſely omitted; and the Queens were thereby authorized to give protection to as many Engliſh prieſts as they ſhould think proper.

That the King might reap ſome advantage from his compliances, however fallacious, he engaged the Commons anew into an examination of his revenue, which, chiefly by the negligence in levying it, had proved, he ſaid, much inferior to the public charges. Notwithſtanding the price of Dunkirk, his debts, he complained, amounted to a conſiderable ſum; and to ſatisfy the Commons, that the money, formerly granted him, had not been prodigally expended, he offered to lay before them the whole account of his diſburſements. It is however agreed on all hands, that the King, tho', during his baniſhment, he had managed his ſmall and precarious income with great order and oeconomy, had now much abated of theſe virtues, and was unable to make his royal revenues ſuffice for his expences. The Commons, without entering into too nice a diſquiſition, voted him four ſubſidies; and this was the laſt time, that taxes were levied in that manner.

SEVERAL laws were made this ſeſſion with regard to trade. The militia alſo came under conſideration, and ſome rules were eſtabliſhed for ordering and arming it. It was enacted, that the King ſhould have no power of keeping the militia under arms above fourteen days in the year. The ſituation of this iſland, together with its great naval power, has always occaſioned other means of ſecurity, however requiſite, to be much neglected amongſt us: And the Parliament ſhowed here a very ſuperfluous jealouſy of the King's ſtrictneſs in diſciplining the militia. The principles of liberty rather require a contrary jealouſy.

THE earl of Briſtol's friendſhip with Clarendon, which had ſubſiſted, with great intimacy, during their exile and the diſtreſſes of the royal party, had been conſiderably impaired ſince the reſtoration, by the chancellor's refuſal of his aſſent to ſome grants, which Briſtol had applied for to a court lady: And a little after, the latter nobleman, ſuitable to the impetuoſity and indiſcretion of his temper, broke out againſt the miniſter in the moſt outrageous manner. He even entered a charge of treaſon againſt him before the Houſe of Peers; but had concerted his plan ſo imprudently, that the judges, when conſulted, declared, that, neither for its matter nor its form, could it legally be received. The articles indeed reſemble more the incoherent altercations of a paſſionate enemy, than a ſerious charge, fit to be diſcuſſed by a court of judicature; and Briſtol himſelf was ſo aſhamed of his conduct and defeat, that during ſome time he abſconded. Notwithſtanding his fine talents, his eloquence, his ſpirit, and his courage, he could never regain the character, which he loſt by this haſty and precipitant meaſure.

Decline of Clarendon's credit.

BUT tho' Clarendon was able to elude this raſh aſſault, he was ſenſibly declining in his credit at court; and in proportion as the King found himſelf eſtabliſhed on the throne, he began to alienate himſelf from a miniſter whoſe character was ſo little ſuited to his own. The King's favor for the Catholics was always oppoſed by Clarendon, public liberty was ſecured againſt all attempts of the over-zealous Royaliſts, prodigal grants were checked or refuſed, and the dignity of his own character was ſo much conſulted by the chancellor, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did alſo his friend, Southampton, never to enter into any connexion with the royal miſtreſſes. The King's favorite was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created dutcheſs of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, diſſolute, violent, revengeful. She failed not in her turn to undermine Clarendon's credit with his maſter; and her ſucceſs was at this time made apparent to the whole world. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and Sir Harry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office. Bennet was ſoon after created lord Arlington.

Chap. I.
1663.

THO' the King's conduct had hitherto, ſince his reſtoration, been, in the main, laudable, men of penetration began to obſerve, that thoſe virtues, by which he had, at firſt, ſo much dazled and enchanted the nation, had great ſhow, but not equal ſolidity. His good underſtanding loſt much of its influence by his want of application; his bounty was more the reſult of a certain facility of diſpoſition than of any generoſity of character; his ſocial humor led him frequently to neglect his dignity; his love of pleaſure was not attended with proper ſentiment and decency; and while he ſeemed to bear a goodwill to every one that approached him, he had a heart not very capable of ſincere friendſhip, and he had ſecretly foſtered a very bad opinion and diſtruſt of mankind. But above all, what ſullied his character in the eyes of good judges was his negligent ingratitude towards the unfortunate cavaliers, whoſe zeal and ſufferings for the royal cauſe had known no bounds. This conduct however in the King may, from the circumſtances of his ſituation and temper, admit of ſome excuſe; at leaſt, of ſome alleviation. As he had been reſtored more by the efforts of his reconciled enemies than of his antient friends, the former pretended a title to ſhare his favor; and being, from practice, more acquainted with public buſineſs, they were better qualified to execute any truſt committed to them. The King's revenues were far from ample; and his miſtreſſes, and the companions of his mirth and pleaſures, gained by ſollicitation every requeſt from his eaſy temper. The very poverty, to which the more zealous Royaliſts had reduced themſelves, by rendering them inſignificant, made them unfit to ſupport the King's meaſures, and cauſed him to regard them as a uſeleſs incumbrance. And as many falſe and ridiculous claims of merit were offered, his natural indolence, averſe from a ſtrict diſcuſſion or enquiry, led him to treat them all with equal indifference. The Parliament took ſome notice of the poor cavaliers. Sixty thouſand pounds were at one time diſtributed among them: Mrs. Lane alſo and the Penderells had handſome preſents and penſions from the King. But the greateſt part of the Royaliſts ſtill remained in poverty and diſtreſs; aggravated by the cruel diſappointment of their ſanguine hopes, and by ſeeing favor and preferment beſtowed upon their moſt inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they univerſally ſaid, that it was an act of indemnity to the King's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

CHAP. II.

A new ſeſſion.——Rupture with Holland.——A new ſeſſion.——Victory of the Engliſh.——Rupture with France.——Rupture with Denmark.——New ſeſſion.——Sea-fight of four days.——Victory of the Engliſh.——Fire of London.——Advances towards peace.——Diſgrace at Chatham.——Peace of Breda.——Clarendon's fall,——and baniſhment.——State of France.——Character of Lewis XIV.——French invaſion of the Low Countries.——Negotiations.——Triple league.——Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.——Affairs of Scotland,——and of Ireland.

1664. 16th of March. A new ſeſſion.

THE next ſeſſion of Parliament diſcovered a continuance of the ſame principles, which had actuated all the foregoing. Monarchy and the church were ſtill the objects of tender affection. During no period of the preſent reign, did this ſpirit paſs more evidently the bounds of reaſon and moderation.

THE King, in his ſpeech to the Parliament, had ventured openly to demand a repeal of the triennial bill; and he even went ſo far as to declare, that, notwithſtanding the law, he never would allow any Parliament to be aſſembled by the methods preſcribed in that famous ſtatute. The Parliament, without taking offence at this declaration, repealed the law; and in lieu of all the ſecurities, formerly provided, ſatisfied themſelves with a general clauſe, "that Parliaments ſhould not "be interrupted above three years at the moſt." As the Engliſh Parliament had now raiſed itſelf to be a regular check and control upon royal power; 'tis evident, that they ought ſtill to have preſerved a regular ſecurity for their meeting, and not have truſted entirely to the goodwill of the King, who, if ambitious or enterpriſing, had ſo little reaſon to be pleaſed with theſe aſſemblies. Before the end of Charles's reign, the nation had occaſion to feel very ſenſibly the bad effects of this repeal.

BY the uniformity bill, every clergyman, who ſhould officiate without being properly qualified, was puniſhable by fines and impriſonment: But this ſecurity was not thought ſufficient for the church. It was now enacted, that, wherever five perſons above thoſe of the ſame houſehold, ſhould aſſemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the firſt offence, to be impriſoned three months or pay five pounds; for the ſecond, to be impriſoned ſix months or pay ten pounds; and for the third, to be tranſported ſeven years or pay one hundred pounds. The Parliament had only in their eye the malignity of the ſectaries: They ſhould have carried their attention farther, to the cauſe of that malignity, the former reſtraint and hardſhips, which they had undergone.

THE Commons likewiſe paſſed a vote, that the wrongs, diſhonors, and indignities, offered to the Engliſh by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, were the greateſt obſtructions to all foreign trade: And they promiſed to aſſiſt the King with their lives and fortunes in aſſerting the rights of his crown againſt all oppoſition whatſoever. This was the firſt open ſtep towards a Dutch war. We muſt explain the cauſes and motives of this meaſure.

Rupture with Holland.

THAT cloſe union and confederacy, which, during a courſe of near ſeventy years, has ſubſiſted, without interruption or jealouſy, betwixt England and Holland, is not ſo much founded on the natural unalterable intereſts of theſe States, as on their terror of the growing power of France, who, without their combination, it is apprehended, would ſoon extend her dominion over Europe. In the firſt years of Charles's reign, when the ambitious genius of the French Monarch had not, as yet, diſplayed itſelf; and when the mighty force of his people was, in a great meaſure, unknown even to themſelves; the rivalſhip of commerce, not checked by any other jealouſy or apprehenſion, had naturally in England begot a violent enmity againſt the neighboring Republic.

TRADE was beginning, among the Engliſh, to be a matter of very general concern; but notwithſtanding all their efforts and advantages, it ſeemed hitherto to ſtand upon a footing, which was ſomewhat precarious. The Dutch, who, by induſtry and frugality, were enabled to underſell them in every market, retained poſſeſſion of the moſt lucrative branches of commerce; and the Engliſh merchants had the mortification to find, that all attempts to extend their trade were ſtill turned, by the vigilance of their rivals, to their loſs and diſhonor. Their indignation encreaſed, when they conſidered the ſuperior naval power of England, the bravery of her officers and ſeamen, her favorable ſituation by which ſhe was enabled to intercept the whole Dutch commerce. By the proſpect of theſe advantages, they were ſtrongly prompted, from motives leſs juſt than political, to make war upon the States; and at once to raviſh from them by force, what they could not obtain, or could obtain but ſlowly, by ſuperior ſkill and induſtry.

THE careleſs, unambitious temper of Charles rendered him little capable of forming ſo vaſt a project as that of engroſſing the commerce and naval power of Europe; yet could he not remain altogether inſenſible to ſuch obvious and ſuch tempting proſpects.* His genius, happily turned towards mechanics, inclined him to ſtudy naval affairs, which, next to pleaſure, of all things he both loved the moſt, and underſtood the beſt. Tho' the Dutch, during his exile, had expreſſed towards him the greateſt civility and friendſhip, of all foreign powers; the Louveſtein or ariſtocratic faction, which, at this time, ruled the Commonwealth, had fallen into cloſe union with France; and could that party be ſubdued, he might hope, that his nephew, the young Prince of Orange, would be re-inſtated in the authority, poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, and would bring the States to a dependance under England. His narrow revenues made it ſtill requiſite for him to ſtudy the humor of his people, which now ran violently towards war; and it may be ſuſpected, that the hopes of diverting ſome of the ſupplies to his private uſe were not overlooked by this neceſſitous Monarch.

The duke of Yorke, more active and enterprizing, puſhed more eagerly the war with Holland. He deſired an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf: He loved to cultivate commerce: He was at the head of a new African company, whoſe trade was extremely checked by the ſettlements of the Dutch: And perhaps, the bigotted prejudices, by which that Prince was always ſo much governed, began, even ſo early, to inſtill into him an antipathy againſt a proteſtant Commonwealth, the bulwark of the reformation. Clarendon and Southampton, obſerving that the nation was not fortified by any foreign alliance, were averſe from the war; but their credit was on the decline.

17th of May.

By theſe concurring motives, the Court and Parliament were both of them inclined to a Dutch war. The Parliament was prorogued without voting any ſupplies: But as they had been induced, without any open application from the Crown, to paſs that vote above-mentioned againſt the Dutch encroachments, it was reaſonably conſidered as ſanction ſufficient for the vigorous meaſures, which were reſolved on.

Downing, the Engliſh miniſter at the Hague, a man of an inſolent, impetuous temper, preſented a memorial to the States, containing a liſt of thoſe depredations, which the Engliſh complained of. It is remarkable, that all the pretended depredations preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliances had been renewed with the Dutch; and theſe complaints were then thought, either ſo unjuſt or ſo frivolous, that they had not been mentioned in that treaty. Two ſhips alone, the Bonaventure and the Good-hope, had been claimed by the Engliſh; and it was agreed, that they ſhould proſecute their claim by the ordinary courſe of juſtice. The States had conſigned a ſum of money, in caſe the cauſe ſhould be decided againſt them; but the matter was ſtill in dependance. Cary, who was entruſted by the proprietors with the management of the lawſuit for the Bonaventure, had reſolved to accept of thirty thouſand pounds, which were offered him; but was

hindered

hindered by Downing, who told him, that the claim was a matter of ſtate betwixt the two nations, not a concern of private perſons *. Theſe circumſtances give us no favorable idea of the juſtice of the Engliſh pretenſions.

CHARLES confined not himſelf to memorials and remonſtrances. Sir Robert Holmes was ſecretly diſpatched with a ſquadron of twenty-two ſhips to the coaſt of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe, to which the Engliſh had ſome pretenſions: He likewiſe ſeized the Dutch ſettlements of Cape Verde and the Iſle of Goeree, together with ſeveral ſhips trading on that coaſt. And having ſailed to America, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Nova Belgia, ſince called New Yorke; a territory, which James the firſt had given by patent to the earl of Stirling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the States complained of theſe hoſtile meaſures, the King, unwilling to avow what he could not well juſtify, pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enterprize. He likewiſe confined Holmes to the Tower; but ſome time after reſtored him to his liberty.

THE Dutch, finding that their applications for redreſs were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was induſtriouſly ſought for by the Engliſh, began to arm with diligence. They even exerted, with ſome precipitation, an act of vigor, which haſtened on the rupture. Sir John Lawſon and de Ruyter had been ſent with combined ſquadrons into the Mediterranean, in order to chaſtiſe the pyratical States on the coaſt of Barbary; and the time of their ſeparation and return was now approaching. The States ſecretly diſpatched orders to de Ruyter, that he ſhould take in proviſions at Cadiz; and ſailing towards the coaſt of Guinea, ſhould retaliate on the Engliſh, and put the Dutch in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſettlements whence Holmes had expelled them. De Ruyter, having a conſiderable force on board, met with no oppoſition in Guinea. All the new acquiſitions of the Engliſh, except Cape Corſe, were recovered from them. They were even diſpoſſeſſed of ſome old ſettlements. Such of their ſhips as fell into his hands were ſeized by de Ruyter. That admiral ſailed next to America. He attacked Barbadoes, but was repulſed. He afterwards committed hoſtilities on Long Iſland.

MEANWHILE, the Engliſh preparations for war were advancing with vigor and induſtry. The King had received no ſupplies from Parliament; but by his own funds and credit he was enabled to equip a fleet: The City of London lent him 100,000 pounds: The ſpirit of the nation ſeconded his armaments: He himſelf went from port to port, inſpecting with great diligence, and encouraging the work: And in a little time the Engliſh navy was put into a very formidable condition. Eight hundred thouſand pounds are ſaid to be expended on this armament.

When

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* Temple, vol. ii. p. 42.

When Lawſon arrived, and communicated his ſuſpicion of de Ruyter's enterprize, orders were iſſued for ſeizing all Dutch ſhips; and 135 fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Theſe were not confiſcated nor declared prizes, till afterwards, that war was proclaimed.

24th of November. A new ſeſſion.

The Parliament, when met, granted a ſupply, the largeſt by far, that had ever been given to a King of England, but no more than ſufficient for the preſent undertaking. Near two millions and a half were voted, to be levied by quarterly payments in three years. The avidity of the merchants, together with the great proſpect of ſucceſs, had animated the whole nation againſt the Dutch.

A great alteration was made this ſeſſion on the method of taxing the clergy. In almoſt all the other Monarchies of Europe, the aſſemblies, whoſe conſent was formerly requiſite to the enacting of laws, were compoſed of three eſtates, the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty, which formed ſo many members of the political body, of which the King was conſidered as the head. In England too, the Parliament was always conceived to conſiſt of three eſtates; but their ſeparation was never ſo diſtinct as in other Kingdoms. A convocation, however, had always ſate at the ſame time with the Parliament: Tho' they poſſeſſed not a negative voice in the paſſing of laws, and aſſumed no farther power than that of impoſing taxes on the clergy. By reaſon of eccleſiaſtical preferments, which he could beſtow, the King's influence over the church was more conſiderable than over the laity; ſo that the ſubſidies, granted by the convocation, were uſually greater than thoſe voted by the Parliament. The church, therefore, was not diſpleaſed to depart tacitely from the right of taxing itſelf, and allow the Commons to lay impoſitions on eccleſiaſtical revenues as on the reſt of the Kingdom. In recompence, two ſubſidies, which the convocation had formerly granted, were remitted, and the parochial clergy were allowed to vote at elections. Thus the church of England made a barter of power for profit. Their convocations, having become uſeleſs to the Crown, have been very much diſuſed of late years.

With the utmoſt regret, the Dutch ſaw a war approaching, whence they might dread the moſt fatal conſequences, but which afforded no proſpect of advantage. Every art of negotiation they tried, before they would come to extremity. Their meaſures were at that time directed by John de Wit, a miniſter equally eminent for greatneſs of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. Tho' moderate in his private deportment, he knew how to adopt in his public councils that magnanimity, which ſuits the miniſter of a great ſtate. It was ever his maxim, that no independant government ſhould yield to another any evident point of reaſon or equity; and that all ſuch conceſſions, ſo far from preventing war, ſerved to no other purpoſe than to provoke freſh claims and inſolencies. By his management, a ſpirit of union

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Chap. II. 1664.

was preſerved in all the provinces; great ſums were levied; and a navy was equipped, compoſed of larger ſhips than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

1665. 22d of February.

As ſoon as certain intelligence arrived of de Ruyter's enterprizes, Charles declared war againſt the States. His fleet, conſiſting of 114 ſail, beſides fire-ſhips and ketches, was commanded by the duke of Yorke, and under him by prince Rupert and the gallant earl of Sandwich. It had about 22,000 men on board. Obdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in cloſe fight with the duke of Yorke, Obdam's ſhip blew up. This accident much diſcouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coaſt. Tromp alone, ſon of the famous admiral, killed during the Protectorſhip, bravely ſuſtained with his ſquadron the efforts of the Engliſh, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquiſhed had nineteen ſhips ſunk and taken. The victors loſt only one. Sir John Lawſon died ſoon after of his wounds.

3d of June. Victory of the Engliſh.

It is affirmed, and with great appearance of reaſon, that this victory might have been rendered much more compleat, had not orders been iſſued to ſlacken ſail by Brounker, one of the Duke's bedchamber, who pretended authority from his maſter. The Duke diſclaimed the orders; but Brounker never was ſufficiently puniſhed for his temerity *. It is allowed, however, that the Duke behaved with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickeſt of the fire. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle were killed by one ſhot at his ſide, and covered him all over with their brains and gore. And it is not likely, that, in a purſuit, where even perſons of inferior ſtation, and of the moſt cowardly diſpoſition, acquire courage, a commander ſhould feel his ſpirits to ſink within him, and ſhould turn from the back of an enemy, whoſe face he had not been afraid to encounter.

This diſaſter threw the Dutch into conſternation, and determined de Wit, who was the ſoul of all their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to ſupport the declining courage of his countrymen. He went on board the fleet, which he took under his command; and he ſoon remedied all thoſe diſorders, which had been occaſioned by the late misfortune. The genius of this man was of the moſt extenſive nature. He quickly became as much maſter of naval affairs, as if he had from his infancy been educated in them; and he even improved ſome parts of pilotage and ſailing, beyond what men expert in thoſe arts had ever been able to attain.

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* Burnet ſufficiently accounts for Brounker's impunity, by informing us, that he was a favorite of the dutcheſs of Cleveland, the King's favorite miſtreſs.

Rupture with France.

THE miſfortunes of the Dutch determined their allies to act for their aſſiſtance and ſupport. The King of France was engaged in a defenſive alliance with the States; but as his naval force was yet in its infancy, he was extremely averſe, at that time, from the entering into war with ſo formidable a power as England. He tried long to mediate a peace betwixt the two parties, and for that purpoſe ſent an embaſſy to London, which returned without effecting any thing. Lord Hollis, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, endeavored to draw over Lewis to the ſide of England; and in his maſter's name, made him the moſt tempting offers. Charles was content to abandon all the Spaniſh Low Countries to the French, without pretending to a foot of ground for himſelf; provided Lewis would allow him to purſue his advantages againſt the Dutch[*]. But the French Monarch, tho' the conqueſt of that valuable territory was the chief object of his ambition, rejected the offer as contrary to his intereſt: He thought, that, if the Engliſh had once eſtabliſhed an uncontroleable dominion over the ſea and over commerce, they would ſoon be able to render his acquiſitions a very dear purchaſe to him. When de Lionne, the French ſecretary, aſſured Van Buninghen, ambaſſador of the States, that this offer had been preſſed on his maſter during ſix months. "I can " readily believe it," replied the Dutchman, "I am ſenſible that it is the intereſt " of England[†].

SUCH were the eſtabliſhed maxims at that time with regard to the intereſts of Princes. It muſt however be allowed, that the politics of Charles in making this offer were not a little hazardous. The extreme weakneſs of Spain would have rendered the French conqueſts eaſy and infallible: But the vigor of the Dutch, it might be foreſeen, would make the ſucceſs of the Engliſh much more precarious. And even were the naval force of Holland totally annihilated, the acquiſition of the Dutch commerce to England could not be relied on as a certain conſequence; nor is trade a conſtant attendant of power, but depends on many other, and ſome of them very delicate, circumſtances.

THO' the King of France was reſolved to ſupport the Hollanders in that unequal conteſt, in which they were engaged; he yet protracted his declaration, and employed the time in naval preparations, both in the Ocean and the Mediterranean. The King of Denmark meanwhile was reſolved not to remain an idle ſpectator of the conteſt between the maritime powers. The part, which he acted was the moſt extraordinary. He made a ſecret agreement with Charles to ſeize all the Dutch ſhips in his harbors, and to ſhare the ſpoils with the Engliſh, provided they would aſſiſt him in executing this meaſure. In order to encreaſe his prey, he perfidiouſly invited all the Dutch ſhips to take ſhelter in his ports; and accordingly, the

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[*] D'Eſtrades, 19th of December, 1664.

[†] Id. 14th of Auguſt, 1665.

3d of Auguſt.

the Eaſt India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen. Sandwich, who now commanded the Engliſh navy (the Duke having gone aſhore) diſpatched Sir Thomas Tiddiman with a ſquadron to attack them; but whether from the King of Denmark's delay in ſending orders to the governor, or, what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavoring to engroſs the whole booty, the Engliſh admiral, tho' he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpoſe. The Daniſh governor fired upon him; and the Dutch, having had leizure to fortify themſelves, made a very gallant reſiſtance.

Rupture with Denmark.

The King of Denmark, ſeemingly aſhamed of his conduct, concluded with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy, an offenſive alliance againſt the States; and at the very ſame time, his reſident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offenſive alliance againſt England. To this laſt alliance he adhered, probably from jealouſy of the growing power of this iſland; and he ſeized and confiſcated all the Engliſh ſhips in his harbors. This was a very ſenſible check to the advantages, which Charles had obtained over the Dutch. Not only a great blow was given to the Engliſh commerce: The King of Denmark's naval force was conſiderable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That Prince ſtipulated to aſſiſt his allies with a fleet of thirty ſail; and he received in return a yearly ſubſidy of 1,500,000 crowns; of which 300,000 were payed by France.

The King endeavored to counterballance theſe confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies. He had diſpatched Sir Richard Fanſhaw into Spain, who met with a very cold reception. That Monarchy was ſunk into a great degree of weakneſs, and was menaced with an invaſion from France; yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to enter into a cordial friendſhip with England. Charles's alliance with Portugal, the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers, the ſale of Dunkirk to the French; all theſe offences ſunk ſo deep into the mind of the Spaniſh Monarch, that no motive of intereſt was ſufficient to outweigh them.

The biſhop of Munſter was the only ally, that Charles could acquire. That prelate, a man of reſtleſs enterprize and ambition, had entertained a violent animoſity againſt the States; and he was eaſily engaged, by the promiſe of ſubſidies from England, to make an incurſion on that Republic. With a tumultuary army of near 20,000 men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak reſiſtance. The land forces of the States were as feeble and ill-governed, as their fleets were gallant and formidable. But after committing great ravages in ſeveral of the provinces, the warlike prelate found, that a ſtop was put to his progreſs. He had not military ſkill ſufficient to improve the advantages, which fortune had offered him. The King of France ſent a body of 6000 men to oppoſe him: Subſidies were not regularly remitted from England; and many of his troops deſerted for want of pay:

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The Elector of Brandenburgh threatened him with an invaſion in his own State: And on the whole, he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the firſt ſurmize of his intentions, Sir William Temple was ſent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance; but found, that he had arrived too late.

The Dutch, encouraged by all theſe favorable circumſtances, continued reſolute to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in their own defence. De Ruyter, their great admrial, was arrived from his expedition to Guinea: Their India fleet was come home in ſafety: Their harbors were crowded with merchant ſhips: Faction at home was appeaſed: The young Prince of Orange had put himſelf under the tuition of the States of Holland, and of de Wit, their penſionary, who executed his truſt with great honor and fidelity: And the animoſity, which they entertained againſt the attack of the Engliſh, ſo unprovoked, as they thought it, made them hope for better ſucceſs in their next enterprize. Such vigor was exerted in the common cauſe, that, in order the better to man the fleet, all merchant ſhips were prohibited to ſail, and even the fiſheries were totally ſuſpended*.

The Engliſh likewiſe continued in the ſame diſpoſition; tho' another more grievous calamity had joined itſelf to that of war. The plague had broke out in London; and that with ſuch violence as to cut off, in leſs than a year, near 100,000 inhabitants. The King was obliged to ſummon the Parliament at Oxford.

10th of October.
New ſeſſion.

The good agreement ſtill continued betwixt the King and the Parliament. They, on their part, unanimouſly voted him the ſupply demanded, twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, to be levied in two years by monthly aſſeſſments. And he, to gratify them, paſſed the famous five-mile-act, which has given occaſion to ſuch grievous and ſuch juſt complaints: The church, under pretext of guarding Monarchy againſt its inveterate enemies, perſevered in the project of wracking its own enmity againſt the Nonconformiſts. It was enacted, that no diſſenting teacher, who took not the non-reſiſtance oath above-mentioned, ſhould, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had preached after the act of oblivion. The penalty was a fine of fifty pounds, and ſix months impriſonment. By ejecting the Nonconformiſt miniſters from their churches, and prohibiting all ſeparate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of gaining any livelihood by their ſpiritual profeſſion. And now, under color of removing them from places, where their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of ſubſiſtence.

Five-mile-act.

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* Tromp's life. D'Eſtrades, 5th of February, 1665.

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ence. Had not the ſpirit of the nation undergone a change, theſe violences were preludes to the moſt furious perſecution.

However prevalent the hierarchy, this law paſſed not without oppoſition. Beſides ſeveral peers, attached to the old Parliamentary party, Southampton himſelf, tho' Clarendon's great friend, expreſſed his diſapprobation of theſe meaſures. But the church party, not diſcouraged with this oppoſition, introduced into the Houſe of Commons a bill for impoſing the oath of non-reſiſtance on the whole nation. It was rejected only by three voices. The Parliament, after a very ſhort ſeſſion, was prorogued.

31ſt of October.

1666.

After France had declared war, England was evidently over-matched in force. Yet ſhe poſſeſſed this advantage by her ſituation, that ſhe divided the fleets of her enemies, and might be able, by ſpeedy and well-concerted operations, to prevent their conjunction. But ſuch was the unhappy conduct of her commanders, or ſuch the want of intelligence in her miniſters, that this circumſtance turned rather to her prejudice. Lewis had given orders to the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to ſail from Toulon; and the French ſquadron, under his command, conſiſting of above forty ſail *, was now commonly ſuppoſed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of ſeventy ſix, was at ſea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert commanded the Engliſh fleet, which exceeded not ſeventy four ſail. Albemarle, who, from his ſucceſſes under the Protectorſhip, had too much learned to deſpiſe the enemy, propoſed to detach Prince Rupert with twenty ſhips, in order to oppoſe the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayſcue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter, proteſted againſt the temerity of this reſolution: But Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the Engliſh ſet ſail to give battle to the Dutch; who, ſeeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle, which enſued, is one of the moſt memorable, which we read of in ſtory; whether we conſider its duration, or the deſperate courage, with which it was fought. Albemarle made here ſome atonement by his valor for the raſhneſs of the attempt. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himſelf more than did this man, who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the ſummit of honors. We ſhall not enter minutely into particulars. It will be ſufficient to mention the chief events of each day's engagement.

Sea fight of four days.

1ſt of June.

In the firſt day, Sir William Berkeley, vice admiral, leading the van, fell into the thickeſt of the enemy, was over-powered, and his ſhip taken. He himſelf was

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* D' Eſtrades, 21ſt of May 1666.

was ſound dead in his cabbin, all covered with blood. The Engliſh had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew ſo high, that they could not uſe their lower tire, they received ſmall advantage from this circumſtance. The Dutch ſhot, however, fell chiefly on their ſails and rigging; and few ſhips were ſunk or much damaged. Chain ſhot was at that time a new invention; and commonly attributed to de Wit. Sir John Harman exerted himſelf extremely this day. The Dutch admiral, Evertz, was killed in engaging him. Darkneſs parted the combatants.

In the ſecond day, the wind was ſomewhat fallen, and the combat became more ſteddy and more terrible. The Engliſh now found, that the moſt heroic valor cannot compenſate the ſuperiority of numbers, againſt an enemy who is well conducted, and who is not defective in courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, rivals in glory and enemies from faction, exerted themſelves in emulation of each other; and de Ruyter had the advantage of diſengaging and ſaving his antagoniſt who had been ſurrounded by the Engliſh, and was in the moſt imminent danger. Sixteen freſh ſhips joined the Dutch fleet during the action: And the Engliſh were ſo ſhattered, that their fighting ſhips were reduced to twenty eight, and they found themſelves obliged to retreat towards their own coaſt. The Dutch followed them, and were juſt on the point of renewing the combat; when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the engagement.

Next morning, the Engliſh were neceſſitated to continue their retreat; and a proper diſpoſition was made for that purpoſe. The ſhattered ſhips were ordered to ſtretch a-head; and ſixteen of the moſt entire followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Albemarle himſelf cloſed the rear, and preſented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The earl of Oſſory, ſon to Ormond, a gallant youth, who ſought honor and danger in every action thro'out Europe, was then on board the admiral. To him, Albemarle confeſſed his intention rather to blow up his ſhip and periſh glorioſly than yield to the enemy. Oſſory applauded this deſperate reſolution.

About two o'clock, the Dutch had come up with their enemy, and were ready to renew the fight; when a new fleet was deſcried from the ſouth, crowding all their ſails to reach the ſcene of action. The Dutch flattered themſelves that Beaufort was arrived, to cut off the retreat of the vanquiſhed: The Engliſh hoped, that Prince Rupert had come, to turn the ſcale of action. Albemarle, who had received intelligence of the Prince's approach, bent his courſe towards him. Unhappily, Sir George Ayſcue, in a ſhip of a hundred guns, the largeſt in the fleet, ſtruck on the Galloper ſands, and could receive no aſſiſtance from his friends, who were haſtening to join the reinforcement. He could not even reap the conſolation of periſhing glorioufly, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing fireſhips to attack him, and he was obliged to ſtrike. The Engliſh ſailors, ſeeing the neceſſity, with the utmoſt indignation ſurrendered themſelves priſoners.

Albemarle and Prince Rupert were now determined to face the enemy; and next morning, the battle began afreſh, with more equal force than ever, and with equal valor. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a more cloſe combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a miſt. The Engliſh retired firſt into their harbors.

Tho' the Engliſh, by their obſtinate courage, reaped the chief honor in this engagement, it is ſomewhat uncertain, who obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ſhips; and having ſome appearances of advantage, expreſſed their ſatisfaction by all the ſigns of triumph and rejoicing. But as the Engliſh fleet was repaired in a little time, and put to ſea more formidable than ever, together with many of thoſe ſhips, which the Dutch had boaſted to have burned or deſtroyed; all Europe ſaw that thoſe two brave nations were engaged in a conteſt, which was never likely, on either ſide, to prove deciſive.

25th of July. Victory of the Engliſh.

It was the conjunction of the French alone, which could give the ſuperiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, de Ruyter, having repaired the fleet, poſted himſelf at the mouth of the Thames. The Engliſh under Prince Rupert and Albemarle were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty ſail; and the valor and experience of the commanders, as well as of the ſeamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obſtinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white ſquadron of the Engliſh, attacked the Dutch van, whom he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was ſeparated from de Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or deſign was never certainly known. De Ruyter, with great conduct and valor, maintained the combat againſt the main body of the Engliſh; and tho' overpowered by numbers, kept his ſtation, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet ſcattered and diſcouraged, his high ſpirit was obliged to ſubmit to a retreat, which yet he conducted with ſuch ſkill as to render it equally honorable to him as the greateſt victory. Full of indignation however for yielding the ſuperiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! "what a wretch am I? among ſo many thouſand bullets, is there not one to put "an end to my miſerable life?" One de Witte, his ſon in law, who ſtood near, exhorted him, ſince he ſought death, to turn upon the Engliſh, and render his life a dear purchaſe to the victors. But de Ruyter eſteemed it more worthy a brave man to perſevere to the uttermoſt, and, as long as poſſible, render ſervice to his country. All that night and next day, the Engliſh preſſed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of de Ruyter, that the latter ſaved themſelves in their harbors.

THE loſs of the Hollanders in this action was not very conſiderable; but as the two admirals had broke out into violent animoſities, and engaged all the officers on one ſide or other, the conſternation, which took place, was very great among the provinces. Tromp's commiſſion was at laſt taken from him; but tho' ſeveral captains had miſbehaved, they were ſo protected by their friends in the magiſtracy of the towns, that moſt of them eſcaped puniſhment, many were ſtill continued in their commands. Such relaxation of diſcipline is but too frequent an effect of a republican government.

THE Engliſh now rode inconteſtible maſters of the ſea, and inſulted the Dutch in their harbors. A detachment under Holmes was ſent into the road of Vlie, and burned a hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, together with Brandaris, a large and rich village on the coaſt. The merchants, who loſt by this enterprize, uniting themſelves to the Orange faction, exclaimed againſt an adminiſtration, which, they pretended, had brought ſuch diſgrace and ruin on their country. None but the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit could have ſupported itſelf under ſuch a complication of calamities.

THE King of France, apprehenſive that the Dutch would ſink under their miſfortunes; at leaſt, that de Wit, his friend, might be diſpoſſeſſed of the adminiſtration, haſtened the advance of the duke of Beaufort. The Dutch fleet likeways was again equipped; and under the command of de Ruyter cruiſed near the Straits of Dover. Prince Rupert with the Engliſh navy, now ſtronger than ever, came full ſail upon them. The Dutch admiral thought proper to decline the combat, and retired into St. John's Road near Bulloigne. Here he ſheltered himſelf, both from the Engliſh, and from a furious ſtorm, which aroſe. Prince Rupert too was obliged to retire into St. Helens; where he ſtayed ſome time, in order to repair the damages, which he had ſuſtained. Mean while the duke of Beaufort proceeded up the channel, and paſſed the Engliſh fleet unperceived; but he found not the Dutch, as he expected. De Ruyter had been ſeized with a fever: Many of the chief officers had fallen into ſickneſs: A contagious diſtemper was ſpred thro' the whole fleet: And the States thought it neceſſary to recall them into their harbors, before the enemy ſhould be refitted. The French King, anxious for his navy, which, with ſo much care and induſtry, he had lately built, diſpatched orders to Beaufort, to make the beſt of his way to Breſt. That admiral

had

Chap. II. 1666. had again the good fortune to paſs the Engliſh. One ſhip alone, the Ruby, fell into the hands of the enemy.

3d of September. Fire of London. WHILE the war continued without any deciſive ſucceſs on either ſide, a dreadful calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great conſternation. A fire, breaking out in a baker's houſe near the bridge, ſpred itſelf on all ſides with ſuch rapidity, that no efforts could extinguiſh it, till it laid in aſhes a conſiderable part of the city. The inhabitants were reduced to be ſpectators of their own ruin; and were purſued from ſtreet to ſtreet by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houſes, that it was at laſt extinguiſhed. The King and Duke uſed their utmoſt endeavors to ſtop the progreſs of the flames; but all their induſtry was fruitleſs. About four hundred ſtreets, and thirteen thouſand houſes were reduced to aſhes.

THE cauſes of this calamity were evident. The narrow ſtreets of London, the houſes built entirely of timber, the dry ſeaſon, and a violent eaſt wind which blew; theſe were ſo many concurring circumſtances, which rendered it eaſy to aſſign the cauſe of the deſtruction, that enſued. But the people were not ſatisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, ſome aſcribed the guilt to the Republicans, others to the Catholics; tho' it is not eaſy to conceive how the burning of London could ſerve the purpoſes of either party. As the Papiſts were the chief objects of public deteſtation, the rumor, which threw the guilt on them, was more favorably received by the people. No proof however, or even preſumption, after the ſtricteſt enquiry by a committee of Parliament, ever appeared to authorize ſuch a calumny; yet in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inſcription, engraved by authority on the monument, aſcribed this calamity to that hated ſect. This clauſe was erazed by order of King James, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obſtinate, are the people, in believing every thing, which foſters their prevailing paſſion.

THE fire of London, tho' at that time a great calamity, has proved in the iſſue beneficial both to the city and the kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very little time; and care was taken to make the ſtreets wider and more regular than before. A diſcretionary power was aſſumed by the King to regulate the diſtribution of the buildings, and to forbid the uſe of lath and timber, the materials, of which the houſes were formerly compoſed. The neceſſity was ſo urgent, and the occaſion ſo extraordinary, that no exceptions were made to an exerciſe of authority, which otherwiſe might have been eſteemed illegal. Had the King been enabled to carry his power ſtill farther, and made the houſes be rebuilt with perfect regularity, and entirely upon one plan; he had much contributed to the convenience, as well as embelliſhment of the city. Great advantages, however, have reſulted from the alterations; tho' not carried to the full length. London became much more healthy after the fire. The plague, which uſed to break out with great fury twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in ſome corner of the city, has not once diſcovered itſelf ſince that calamity.

THE Parliament met ſoon after, and gave the ſanction of law to thoſe regulations made by royal authority; as well as appointed commiſſioners for deciding all thoſe queſtions of property, which might ariſe from the fire. They likewiſe voted a ſupply of 1,800,000 pounds to be levied, partly by a poll-bill, partly by aſſeſſments. Tho' their enquiry brought out no proofs, which could fix on the Papiſts the burning of London, the general averſion againſt that ſect ſtill prevailed; and complaints were made, probably without much foundation, of its dangerous progreſs. Charles, at the deſire of the Commons, iſſued a proclamation for the baniſhment of all prieſts and jeſuites; but the bad execution of this, as well as of former edicts, deſtroyed all confidence in his ſincerity, whenever he pretended an averſion towards the Catholic religion. Whether ſuſpicions of this nature had diminiſhed the King's popularity is uncertain; but it appears, that the ſupply was voted much later than Charles expected, or even than the public neceſſities ſeemed to require. The intrigues of the duke of Buckingham, a man who wanted only ſteadineſs to render him extremely dangerous, had ſomewhat embarraſſed the meaſures of the court: And this was the firſt time that the King found any conſiderable reaſon to complain of a failure of confidence in this Houſe of Commons. The riſing ſymptoms of ill humor tended, no doubt, to quicken the ſteps, which were already making towards a peace with foreign enemies.

1667.

Advances towards peace.

CHARLES began to be ſenſible, that all the ends, for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove entirely ineffectual. The Dutch, even when alone, had defended themſelves with great vigor, and were every day improving in their military ſkill and preparations. Tho' their trade had ſuffered extremely, their extenſive credit enabled them to levy prodigious ſums; and while the ſeamen of England loudly complained of want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly ſupplyed with every thing requiſite for its ſubſiſtance. As two powerful Kings now ſupported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coaſts of Bayonne, was become hoſtile to the Engliſh. And Charles, neither fond of action, nor ſtimulated by any violent ambition, gladly ſought for means of reſtoring tranquillity to his people, heartily diſguſted with a war, which, being conjoined with the plague and fire, had proved ſo fruitleſs and deſtructive.

THE firſt advances towards an accommodation were made by England. When the King ſent for the body of Sir William Berkeley, he inſinuated to the States his deſire of peace on reaſonable terms; and their anſwer correſponded in the ſame amicable intentions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of ſuperiority, ſtill inſiſted, that the States ſhould treat at London; and they agreed to make him this compliment ſo far as concerned themſelves: But being engaged in alliance with two crowned heads, they could not, they ſaid, prevail with theſe to depart in that reſpect from their dignity. On a ſudden, the King went ſo far on the other ſide as to offer the ſending ambaſſadors to the Hague; but this propoſal, which ſeemed honorable to the Dutch, was meant only to divide and diſtract them, by affording the Engliſh an opportunity to carry on cabals with the diſaffected party. The offer was therefore rejected; and conferences were ſecretly held in the Queen mother's apartments at Paris, where the pretenſions of both parties were diſcuſſed. The Dutch made very equitable propoſals; either that all things ſhould be reſtored to the ſame condition, in which they ſtood before the war; or that both parties ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of their preſent acquiſitions. Charles accepted the latter offer; and almoſt every thing was adjuſted, except the diſputes with regard to the iſle of Polerone. This iſland lies in the Eaſt Indies, and was formerly valuable for its product of ſpices. The Engliſh had been maſters of it; but were diſpoſſeſſed at the time when the violences had been committed againſt them at Amboyna. Cromwel had ſtipulated to have it reſtored; and the Hollanders, having firſt entirely deſtroyed all the ſpice trees, maintained, that they had executed the treaty, but that the Engliſh had been anew expelled during the courſe of the war. Charles renewed his pretenſions to this iſland; and as the reaſons on both ſides began to multiply, and ſeemed to require a long diſcuſſion, it was agreed to transfer the treaty to ſome other place; and Charles made choice of Breda.

LORD Hollis and Henry Coventry were the Engliſh ambaſſadors. They immediately deſired, that a ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be agreed to, till the ſeveral claims could be adjuſted: But this propoſal, ſeemingly ſo natural, was rejected by the intereſt of de Wit. That penetrating and active miniſter, thorowly acquainted with the characters of Princes and the ſituation of affairs, had diſcovered an opportunity of ſtriking a blow, which might at once reſtore to the Dutch the honor loſt during the war, and ſeverely revenge thoſe injuries, which he aſcribed to the wanton ambition and injuſtice of the Engliſh.

WHATEVER projects might have been formed by Charles for ſecreting the money granted him by Parliament, he had hitherto failed in his intention. The expences of ſuch vaſt armaments had exhauſted all the ſupplies [*]; and even a great debt was contracted to the ſeamen. The laſt ſupply, therefore, of 1,800,000 pounds, the King was reſolved to ſave as far as poſſible; and to employ it for payment of his debts, as well thoſe occaſioned by the war, as thoſe which either neceſſity, or pleaſure, or generoſity had formerly engaged him to contract. He obſerved, that the Dutch had been with great reluctance forced into the war, and that the events of it were not ſuch as to inſpire them with great deſire of its continuance. The French, he knew, had been engaged into hoſtilities by no other motive than that of ſupporting their allies; and were now more deſirous than ever of putting an end to the quarrel. The differences between the parties were ſo inconſiderable, that the concluſion of peace appeared abſolutely infallible; and nothing but forms, or at leaſt ſome vain points of honor, ſeemed to remain for the ambaſſadors at Breda to diſcuſs. In this ſituation, Charles, allured by the proſpect of gain, raſhly remitted his preparations, and expoſed England to one of the greateſt affronts, which it ever received. Two ſmall ſquadrons alone were equipped; and during a war with ſuch potent and martial enemies, every thing was left almoſt in the ſame ſituation as in times of the moſt profound tranquillity.

10th of June.
Diſgrace at Chatham.

De Wit protracted the negotiations at Breda, and haſtened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of de Ruyter, and threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt conſternation. A chain had been drawn croſs the river Medway; ſome fortifications had been added to Sheerneſs and Upnore caſtle: But all theſe preparations were unequal to the preſent neceſſity. Sheerneſs was ſoon taken; nor could it be ſaved by the valor of Sir Edward Sprague, who defended it. Having the advantage of a ſpring tyde and an eaſterly wind, the Dutch furiouſly preſſed on, and broke the chain, tho' fortifyed by ſome ſhips, which had been there ſunk by order of the Duke of Albemarle. They burned the three ſhips, which lay to guard the chain, the Mathias, the Unity, and the Charles the fifth. After damaging ſeveral veſſels, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the Engliſh had burned, they advanced with ſix men of war, and five fire ſhips as far as Upnore caſtle, where they burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, periſhed in the flames, tho' he had an eaſy opportunity of eſcaping. "Never was it known," he ſaid, "that a Douglas had left his poſt without orders [†]." The Hollanders fell down the Medway without receiving any conſiderable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tyde advance up the Thames, and extend their hoſtilities even to the bridge of London. Nine ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall: Platforms were raiſed in many places, furniſhed with artillery: The train-bands were called out; and every place was full of the utmoſt diſorder. The Dutch ſailed next to Portſmouth, where they made a fruitleſs attempt: They met with no better ſucceſs at Plymouth: They inſulted Harwich: They ſailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulſed. The whole coaſt was in alarm; and had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet, and to invade England, conſequences the moſt fatal might juſtly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to puſh the victory to ſuch extremities. His intereſt required, that a ballance ſhould be kept betwixt the two maritime powers; not that an uncontrouled ſuperiority ſhould be given to either.

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[*] The Dutch had ſpent on the war near 40 millions of livres a year, above 3 millions ſterling: A much greater ſum than had been granted by the Parliament. D'Eſtrades, 24th of December 1665; 1ſt of January 1666. Temple, vol. i. p. 71. It was probably the want of money which engaged the King to pay the ſeamen with tickets; a contrivance which proved ſo much to their loſs.

[†] Temple, vol. ii. p. 41.

Great indignation prevailed amongſt the Engliſh, to ſee an enemy, whom they regarded as inferior, whom they had expected totally to ſubdue, and over whom they had gained many honorable advantages, now of a ſudden ride undiſputed maſters of the ocean, burn their ſhips in their very harbors, fill every part with confuſion, and ſtrike a terror into the capital itſelf. But tho' the cauſe of all theſe diſaſters could be aſcribed neither to bad fortune, to the miſconduct of admirals, nor the miſbehavior of ſeamen, but ſolely to the avarice, at leaſt to the improvidence, of the government; no dangerous ſymptoms of diſcontent appeared, and no attempt for an inſurrection was made by any of thoſe numerous ſectaries, who had been ſo openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who upon that ſuppoſition had been treated with ſuch ſeverity [*].

In the preſent diſtreſs, two expedients were embraced: An army of 12,000 men was ſuddenly levyed; and the Parliament, tho' it lay under prorogation, was ſummoned to meet. The Houſes were very thin; and the only vote, which the Commons paſſed, was an addreſs for breaking the army; which was complyed with. This expreſſion of a jealouſy not ill-grounded, ſhewed the court what they might expect from that aſſembly; and it was thought moſt prudent to prorogue them till next winter.

10th of July. Peace of Breda.

But the ſigning the treaty at Breda extricated the King from his preſent difficulties. The Engliſh ambaſſadors received orders to recede from thoſe demands, which, however frivolous in themſelves, could not now be yielded, without acknowleging a ſuperiority in the enemy. Polerone remained with the Dutch; ſatisfaction for the ſhips, Bonaventure and Good-hope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer inſiſted on; Acadie was yielded to the French. The acquiſition of New-York, a ſettlement ſo important by its ſituation, was the chief advantage, which the Engliſh reaped from a war, where the national character of bravery had ſhone out with great luſtre, but where the miſconduct of the government, eſpecially in the concluſion, had been no leſs apparent.

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[*] Some Nonconformiſts however, both in Scotland and England, had kept a correſpondence with the States, and had entertained projects for inſurrections, but they were too weak even to attempt the execution of them. D'Eſtrades, 13th of October, 1665.

Clarendon's fall.

To appeaſe the people by ſome ſacrifice ſeemed requiſite before the meeting of the Parliament; and the prejudices of the nation plainly pointed out the victim. The chancellor was at this time much expoſed to the hatred of the public, and of every party, which divided the nation. All the numerous ſectaries regarded him as their determined enemy; and aſcribed, to his advice and influence, thoſe perſecuting laws, to which they had ſo long been expoſed. The Catholics knew, that, while he retained any authority, all their credit with the King and the Duke would be entirely uſeleſs to them, nor muſt they ever expect any favor or indulgence. Even the Royaliſts, diſappointed in their ſanguine hopes of preferment, threw a great load of envy on Clarendon, into whoſe hands the King ſeemed at firſt to have reſigned the whole power of government. The ſale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the ſeamen, the diſgrace at Chatham, the unſucceſsful concluſion of the war; all theſe misfortunes were charged on the chancellor, who, tho' he had ever oppoſed the rupture with Holland, thought it ſtill his duty to juſtify what he could not prevent. A building likewiſe of more expence and magnificence than his ſlender fortune could afford, being unwarily undertaken by him, much expoſed him to public reproach, as if he had acquired great riches by corruption. The populace gave it commonly the appellation of Dunkirk Houſe.

The King himſelf, who had always more revered than loved the chancellor, was now totally eſtranged from him. Amidſt the diſſolute manners of the court, that miniſter ſtill maintained an inflexible dignity, and would not ſubmit to any condeſcenſions, which he deemed unworthy his age and character. Buckingham, a man of profligate morals, happy in his talent of ridicule, but expoſed in his own conduct to all the ridicule, which he threw on others, ſtill made him the object of his raillery, and gradually leſſened in the King that regard, which he bore his miniſter. When any difficulties aroſe, either for want of power or money, the blame was ſtill caſt on him, who, it was believed, had carefully at the reſtoration checked all laviſh conceſſions to the King. And what perhaps touched Charles more nearly, he found in Clarendon, it is ſaid, obſtacles to his pleaſure as well as to his ambition.

The King diſguſted with the homely perſon of his ſpouſe, and deſirous of having children, had hearkened to propoſals of obtaining a divorce, on pretext either of her being pre-engaged to another, or of having made a vow of chaſtity before her

marriage.

1667. marriage. He was farther ſtimulated by his paſſion for Mrs. Stuart, daughter to a Scotch gentleman; a lady of great beauty, and whoſe virtue he had hitherto found impregnable: But Clarendon, apprehenſive of the conſequences attending a diſputed title, and perhaps anxious for the ſucceſſion of his grandchildren, engaged the duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and thereby put an end to the King's hopes. It is pretended, that Charles never forgave this diſappointment.

When politics, therefore, and inclination both concurred to make the King ſacrifice Clarendon to popular prejudices, the memory of his paſt ſervices was not able any longer to delay his fall. The ſeals were taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman. Southampton the treaſurer was now dead, who had perſevered to the utmoſt in his attachments to the chancellor. The laſt time he appeared at the council-board, he exerted his friendſhip with a vigor, which neither age nor infirmities could abate. "This man," ſaid he, ſpeaking of Clarendon, "is a true Proteſtant, and an honeſt Engliſhman; and while he enjoys power, "we are ſecure of our laws, liberties, and religion. I dread the conſequences of "his removal."

But the fall of the chancellor was not ſufficient to gratify the malice of his enemies: His total ruin was reſolved on. The duke of Yorke in vain exerted his intereſt in behalf of his father-in-law. Both Prince and people united in promoting that violent meaſure; and no means were thought ſo proper for ingratiating the court with a Parliament, which had ſo long been governed by that very miniſter, who was now to be the victim of their prejudices.

10th of October. Some popular acts paved the way for the ſeſſion; and the Parliament, in their firſt addreſs, gave the King thanks for theſe inſtances of his goodneſs, and among the reſt, they took care to mention his diſmiſſion of Clarendon. The King, in reply, aſſured the Houſes, that he would never again employ that nobleman in any public office whatſoever. Immediately, the charge againſt him was opened in the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Seymour, afterwards Sir Edward, and conſiſted of ſeventeen articles. The Houſe, without examining particulars, farther than hearing general affirmations, that all would be proved, immediately voted his impeachment. Many of the articles * we know to be either falſe or frivolous; and

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* The articles were, that he had adviſed the King to govern by military power without Parliaments, that he had affirmed the King to be a Papiſt or popiſhly affected, that he had received great ſums of money for procuring the Canary patent and other illegal patents, that he had adviſed and procured divers of his Majeſty's ſubjects to be impriſoned againſt law, in remote iſlands and garriſons, thereby to prevent their having the benefit of the law, that he had procured the cuſtoms to be farmed at underrates, that he had received great ſums from the Vintner's Company for allowing them to inhance the price of wines, that he had in a ſhort time gained a greater eſtate than could have been ſuppoſed to ariſe from the profits of his offices, that he had introduced an arbitrary government into his Majeſty's plantations,

and ſuch of them, whoſe foundation we are unacquainted with, we may fairly preſume to be no better grounded. His adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk, ſeems the heavieſt and trueſt part of the charge; but a miſtake in judgement, where there appears no ſymptoms of corruption or bad intentions, it would be very hard to charge as a crime on any miniſter. The King's neceſſities, which occaſioned that imprudent meaſure, cannot with any appearance of reaſon be imputed to Clarendon.

When the charge was carried up to the Peers, as it contained an accuſation of treaſon in general, without ſpecifying any particulars, it ſeemed not a ſufficient ground for committing Clarendon to cuſtody. The precedents of Strafford and Laud were not, by reaſon of the violence of the times, eſteemed a proper authority; but as the Commons ſtill inſiſted upon his commitment, it was neceſſary to appoint a free conference between the Houſes. The Lords perſevered in their reſolution; and the Commons voted this conduct to be an obſtruction to public juſtice, and a precedent of evil and dangerous conſequence. They alſo choſe a committee to draw up a vindication of their own proceedings.

Clarendon, finding that the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, ran with great impetuoſity againſt him, and that a defence, offered to ſuch prejudiced ears, would be entirely ineffectual, thought proper to withdraw himſelf. At Calais, he wrote a paper addreſſed to the Houſe of Lords. He there ſaid, that his fortune, which was but moderate, had been gained entirely by the lawful, avowed profits of his office, and by the voluntary bounty of the King; that during the firſt years after the reſtoration he had always concurred in opinion with the other counſellors, men of ſuch reputation that no-one could entertain ſuſpicions of their wiſdom or integrity; that his credit ſoon declined, and however he might diſapprove of ſome meaſures adopted, he found it vain to oppoſe them; that his repugnance to the Dutch war, the ſource of all the public grievances, was always generally known, as well as his diſapprobation of many unhappy ſteps taken in conducting it; and that whatever pretext might be made of national offences, his real crime, that which had exaſperated his powerful enemies, was his frequent oppoſition to exorbitant grants, which the importunity of ſuitors had extorted from his Majeſty.

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plantations, that he had rejected a propoſal for the preſervation of Nevis and St. Chriſtophers, which was the occaſion of great loſſes in thoſe parts, that when he was in his Majeſty's ſervice beyond ſea he held a correſpondence with Cromwel and his complices, that he adviſed the ſale of Dunkirk, that he had unduly altered letters patent under the King's ſeal, that he had unduly decided cauſes in council, which ſhould have been brought before Chancery, that he had iſſued quo warrantos againſt corporations with an intention of ſqueezing money from them, that he had taken money for paſſing the bills of ſettlement of Ireland, that he betrayed the nation in all foreign treaties, and that he was the principal adviſer of dividing the fleet in June 1666.

This

1667.

THIS paper the Lords tranſmitted to the Commons under the appellation of a libel; and by a vote of both Houſes, it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They next proceeded to exert their legiſlative power againſt Clarendon, and paſſed a bill of baniſhment and incapacity, which received the royal aſſent. He retired into France, where he lived in a private manner. His baniſhment he ſurvived ſix years; and he employed his leizure chiefly in reducing into order the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. The performance does great honor to his memory; and, except Whitelocke's Memorials, is the moſt candid account of thoſe times, compoſed by any cotemporary author.

Clarendon's baniſhment.

CLARENDON was always a friend to the liberty and the conſtitution of his country. At the commencement of the civil wars, he had entered into the late King's ſervice, and was honored with a great ſhare in the eſteem and friendſhip of that Monarch: He was purſued with unrelenting animoſity by the Long Parliament: He had ſhared all the fortunes and directed all the councils of the preſent King during his exile: He had been advanced to the higheſt truſt and offices after the reſtoration: Yet all theſe circumſtances, which might naturally operate with ſuch force, either on reſentment, gratitude, or ambition, had no influence on his uncorrupted mind. It is ſaid, that when he firſt engaged in the ſtudy of the law, his father exhorted him with great earneſtneſs to ſhun the practice too common in that profeſſion, of ſtraining every point in favor of prerogative, and perverting ſo uſeful a ſcience to the oppreſſion of liberty: And in the midſt of theſe rational and virtuous councils, which he re-iterated, he was ſuddenly ſeized with an apoplexy, and expired in his ſon's preſence. This circumſtance gave additional weight to the principles, which he inculcated.

THE combination of King and ſubject to oppreſs ſo good a miniſter affords, to men of oppoſite diſpoſitions, an equal occaſion of inveighing againſt the ingratitude of Princes or ignorance of the people. Charles ſeems never to have mitigated his reſentment againſt Clarendon; and the national prejudices purſued him to his retreat in France. Even ſome years after, a company of Engliſh ſoldiers, being quartered near him, aſſaulted his houſe, broke open the doors, and would have proceeded to the laſt extremity, had not their officers, hearing of the violence, happily interpoſed.

1668.

THE next expedient, which the King embraced, in order to acquire popularity, is much more deſerving of praiſe; and, had it been ſteadily purſued, would probably have rendered his reign happy, certainly his memory glorious. It is the Triple Alliance of which I ſpeak; a meaſure, which gave entire ſatiſfaction to the public.

Chap. II. 1668.

State of France.

THE glory of France, which had long been eclipſed, either by domeſtic factions or by the ſuperior force of the Spaniſh Monarchy, began now to break out with great luſtre, and to engage the attention of all the neighboring nations. The independant power and mutinous ſpirit of the nobility were ſubdued: The popular pretenſions of the Parliaments reſtrained: The Hugonot party reduced to ſubjection: That extenſive and fertile country, poſſeſſed of every advantage both of climate and ſituation, was fully peopled with ingenious and induſtrious inhabitants: And while the ſpirit of the nation diſcovered all the vigor and bravery requiſite for great enterprizes, it was tamed to an entire ſubmiſſion under the will of the Sovereign.

Character of Lewis XIV.

THE Sovereign, who now filled the throne, was well adapted, by his perſonal character, both to encreaſe and to avail himſelf of theſe mighty advantages. Lewis the fourteenth, endowed with every quality, which could enchant the people, poſſeſſed many which merit the approbation of the wiſe. The maſculine beauty of his perſon was embelliſhed with a noble air: The dignity of his behavior was tempered with the higheſt affability and politeneſs: Elegant without effeminacy, addicted to pleaſure without neglecting buſineſs, decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midſt of arbitrary power; he ſurpaſſed all cotemporary Monarchs, as in grandeur, ſo likewiſe in fame and glory.

HIS ambition, regulated by prudence, not by juſtice, had carefully provided every means of conqueſt; and before he put himſelf in motion, he ſeemed to have abſolutely enſured himſelf of ſucceſs. His finances were reduced to order: A naval power created: His armies encreaſed and diſciplined: Magazines and military ſtores provided: And tho' the magnificence of his court was ſupported beyond all former example, ſo regular was the oeconomy obſerved, and ſo willingly did the people, now enriched by arts and commerce, ſubmit to multiplied taxes, that his military force much exceeded what in any preceding age had ever been employed by any Europæan Monarch.

THE ſudden decline and almoſt total fall of the Spaniſh Monarchy opened an inviting ſcene to ſo enterprizing a Prince, and ſeemed to promiſe him an eaſy and univerſal conqueſt. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill-governed, were aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of his riſing empire; and all of them caſt their eyes towards England, as the only power, which could ſave them from that ſubjection, with which they were ſo nearly threatened.

THE animoſity, which had antiently ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and French nations, and which had been laid aſleep for above a century by the jealouſy of Spaniſh greatneſs, began to revive and to exert itſelf. The glory of preſerving the ballance of Europe, a glory ſo much founded on juſtice and humanity, flattered the ambition of England; and the whole people were eager to provide for their own future ſecurity, by oppoſing the progreſs of ſo hated a rival. The proſpect of embracing ſuch meaſures had contributed, among other reaſons, to render the peace of Breda ſo univerſally acceptable to the nation. By the death of Philip the fourth, King of Spain, an inviting opportunity, and ſome very ſlender pretences, had been afforded to call forth the ambition of Lewis.

At the treaty of the Pyrenees, when Lewis eſpouſed the Spaniſh Princeſs, he had renounced every title of ſucceſſion to every part of the Spaniſh Monarchy; and this renounciation had been couched in the moſt accurate and moſt preciſe terms, which language could afford. But on the death of his father-in-law, he retracted his renounciation, and pretended, that natural rights, depending on blood and ſucceſſion, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a ſon, Charles the ſecond of Spain; but as the Queen of France was of a former marriage, ſhe laid claim to a conſiderable province of the Spaniſh Monarchy, even to the excluſion of her brother. By the cuſtoms of ſome parts of Brabant, a female of a firſt marriage was preferred to a male of a ſecond, in the ſucceſſion to private inheritances; and Lewis thence inferred, that his Queen had acquired a right to the dominion of that important dutchy.

French invaſion of the Low Countries.

A claim of this nature was more properly ſupported by military force than by argument and reaſoning. Lewis appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands with a numerous army of 40,000 men, commanded by the beſt generals of the age, and provided of every thing requiſite for action. The Spaniards, tho' they might have foreſeen this meaſure, were totally unprepared. Their towns, without magazines, without fortifications, without garriſons, fell into the hands of the French King, as ſoon as he preſented himſelf before them. Athe, Liſle, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Charleroi, Binche were immediately taken: And it was viſible, that no force in the Low Countries was able to ſtop or retard the progreſs of the French arms.

This meaſure, executed with ſuch celerity and ſucceſs, gave great alarm to almoſt every court in Europe. It had been obſerved with what dignity or even haughtineſs, Lewis, from the time he began to govern, had ever ſupported all his rights and pretenſions. D'Eſtrades, the French ambaſſador, and Watteville, the Spaniſh, having quarrelled in London, on account of their pretenſions for precedency, the French Monarch was not ſatisfied, till Spain ſent to Paris a ſolemn embaſſy, and promiſed never more to revive ſuch conteſts. Crequi, his ambaſſador in Rome, had met with an affront from the Pope's guards. The Pope, Alexander the ſeventh, had been obliged to break his guards, to diſpatch his nephew to aſk pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itſelf, as a monument of his own humiliation. The King of England too had experienced the high ſpirit and unſubmitting temper of Lewis. A claim of precedency in the Engliſh flag having been advanced, the French Monarch remonſtrated with ſuch vigor, and prepared himſelf to reſiſt with ſuch courage, that Charles found it more prudent to deſiſt from his pretenſions. The King of England, ſaid Lewis to his ambaſſador D'Eſtrades, may know my force, but he knows not the ſentiments of my heart: Every thing appears to me contemptible in compariſon of glory *. Theſe meaſures of conduct had given ſtrong indications of his character: But by the invaſion of Flanders was diſcovered an ambition, which, being ſupported by ſuch overgrown power, menaced the general liberties of Europe.

As no State lay nearer the danger, none was ſeized with more terror than the United Provinces. They were ſtill engaged, together with France, in a war againſt England; and Lewis had promiſed them, that he would take no ſteps againſt Spain without previouſly informing them: But he kept a total ſilence, till on the very point of entering upon action. If the renounciation, made at the treaty of the Pyrenees, was not valid, it was foreſeen, that, upon the death of the King of Spain, a ſickly infant, the whole monarchy would be claimed by Lewis; after which it would be vainly expected to ſet bounds to his pretenſions. Charles, acquainted with theſe well-grounded apprehenſions of the Dutch, had been the more obſtinate in inſiſting on conditions at Breda; and by delaying to ſign the treaty, had imprudently expoſed himſelf to the ſignal diſgrace, which he received at Chatham. De Wit, ſenſible, that a few week's delay would be of no conſequence in the Low Countries, took this opportunity of ſtriking an important blow, and of finiſhing the war with honor to himſelf and to his country.

Negotiations.

NEGOTIATIONS meanwhile commenced for the ſaving Flanders; but no reſiſtance was made to the French arms. The Spaniſh miniſters exclaimed every where againſt the flagrant injuſtice of Lewis's pretenſions, and repreſented it to be the intereſt of every power in Europe, even more than of Spain itſelf, to prevent the conqueſt of the Low Countries. The Emperor and the German Princes diſcovered evident ſymptoms of diſcontent; but their motions were ſlow and backward. The States, tho' terrifyed at the proſpect of having their frontiers expoſed to ſo formidable a foe, ſaw no reſſource nor means of ſafety. England indeed ſeemed diſpoſed to make oppoſition to the French; but the variable and impolitic conduct of Charles kept that Republic from making him any open advances, by which they might loſe the friendſhip of France, without acquiring any new ally. And tho' Lewis, dreading a combination of all Europe, had offered terms of accommodation,

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* 25th of January, 1662.

commodation, the Dutch apprehended leſt theſe, either from the obſtinacy of the Spaniards or the ambition of the French, would never be carryed into execution.

Charles reſolved with great prudence to take the firſt ſtep towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his reſident at Bruſſels, received orders to go ſecretly to the Hague, and to concert with the States the means of ſaving the Netherlands. This man, whom philoſophy had taught to deſpiſe the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, ſincere, ſuperior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians: And meeting in de Wit with a man of the ſame generous and enlarged ſentiments, he immediately opened his maſter's intention, and preſſed a ſpeedy concluſion. A treaty was from the firſt negotiated between theſe two ſtateſmen with the ſame cordiality, as if it were a private affair, tranſacted between two intimate companions. Eſteeming the intereſts of their country the ſame, they gave full ſcope to that ſympathy of character, which diſpoſed them to an entire reliance on each others profeſſions and engagements. And tho' the jealouſy againſt the Houſe of Orange might inſpire de Wit with an averſion to a ſtrict union with England, he generouſly reſolved to ſacrifice all private conſiderations to the public ſervice.

Temple preſſed an offenſive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquiſh all her conqueſts: But de Wit told him, that this meaſure was too bold and precipitant to be agreed to by the States. He ſaid, that the French were the old and conſtant allies of the Republic; and till matters came to extremity, ſhe never would deem it prudent to abandon a friendſhip ſo well eſtabliſhed, and rely entirely on a treaty with England, who had lately waged ſo cruel a war againſt her: That ever ſince the reign of Elizabeth, there had been ſuch a fluctuation in the Engliſh councils, that it was not poſſible, for two years together, to take any certain meaſures with that kingdom: That tho' the preſent miniſtry, having entered into views ſo conformable to national intereſt, promiſed greater firmneſs and conſtancy, it might ſtill be unſafe, in a buſineſs of ſuch conſequence, to put entire confidence in them: That the French Monarch was young, haughty, and powerful; and if treated in ſo imperious a manner, would expoſe himſelf to the greateſt extremities rather than ſubmit: That it was ſufficient, if he could be conſtrained to adhere to the offer, which he had already made; and if the remaining provinces of the Low Countries could be thereby ſaved from the danger, with which they were at preſent threatened: And that the other powers, in Germany and the North, whoſe aſſiſtance they might expect, would be ſatisfyed with putting a ſtop to the French conqueſts, without pretending to recover the places, which were already loſt.

THE Engliſh ambaſſador was content to accept of the terms, propoſed by the penſionary. Lewis had offered to relinquiſh all the Queen's rights, on condition either of keeping the conqueſts, which he had made laſt campaign, or of receiving, in lieu of them, Franchecomté, together with Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon this propoſal. They agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to this alternative and Spain to accept of it. If Spain refuſed, they agreed, that France ſhould not proſecute her claim by arms, but leave it entirely to England and Holland to employ force for making the terms effectual. And the remainder of the Low Countries they thenceforth guaranteed to Spain. A defenſive treaty was likewiſe concluded between Holland and England.

THE articles of this confederacy were ſoon adjuſted by ſuch candid and able negotiators: But the greateſt difficulty ſtill remained. By the conſtitution of the Republic, all the towns in all the provinces muſt give their conſent to every treaty; and beſides that this formality could not be diſpatched in leſs than two months, it was juſtly to be dreaded, that the influence of France would obſtruct the paſſage of the treaty in ſome of the ſmaller cities. D'Eſtrades, the French ambaſſador, a man of great ability, hearing of the league, which was on the carpet, treated it very lightly; "Six weeks hence," ſaid he, "we ſhall ſpeak to it." To obviate this difficulty, de Wit had the courage, for the public good, to break thro' the laws in ſo fundamental an article; and by his authority, he prevailed with the States General at once to ſign and ratify the league: Tho' they acknowledged, that, if that meaſure ſhould diſpleaſe their conſtituents, they riſqued their heads by this irregularity. After ſealing, all parties embraced with great cordiality. Temple cryed out, *At Breda, as friends: Here, as brothers.* And de Wit added, that now the matter was finiſhed, it looked like a miracle.

13th of January.

ROOM had been left in the treaty for the acceſſion of Sweden, which was ſoon after obtained; and thus was concluded in five days the triple league; an event received with equal ſurprize and approbation by the world. Notwithſtanding the unfortunate concluſion of the laſt war, England now appeared in her proper ſtation, and, by this wiſe conduct, had recovered all her influence and credit in Europe. Temple likewiſe received great applauſe; but to all the compliments made him on that occaſion he modeſtly replyed: That to remove things from their center or proper element required force and labor; but that of themſelves they eaſily returned to it.

Triple league.

THE French Monarch was extremely diſpleaſed with this meaſure. Not only bounds were at preſent ſet to his ambition: Such a barrier was alſo raiſed as ſeemed for ever impregnable. And tho' his own offer was made the foundation of the

treaty,

treaty, he had preſcribed ſo ſhort a time for the acceptance of that offer, that he ſtill expected, from the delays and reluctance of Spain, to find ſome opportunity of eluding it. The court of Madrid ſhowed equal diſpleaſure. To be obliged to give up any part of the Spaniſh provinces, in lieu of claims, ſo apparently unjuſt, and theſe urged with ſuch violence and haughtineſs, inſpired the higheſt diſguſt. Often did they threaten to abandon entirely the Low Countries rather than ſubmit to ſo cruel a mortification; and they endeavored, by this menace, to terrify the mediating powers into more vigorous meaſures for their ſupport. But Temple and de Wit were better acquainted with the views and intereſts of Spain. They knew, that ſhe muſt ſtill retain the Low Countries, as a bond of connexion with the other Europæan powers, who alone, if her young Monarch ſhould happen to die without iſſue, could enſure her independancy againſt the pretenſions of France. They ſtill urged, therefore, the terms of the triple league, and threatened Spain with war in caſe of refuſal. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix la Chapelle. Temple was miniſter for England; Van Beuninghen for Holland; D' Hona for Sweden.

SPAIN at laſt, preſſed on all hands, made choice of the alternative offered; but in her very compliance, ſhe gave ſtrong ſymptoms of ill-humor and diſcontent. It had been apparent, that the Hollanders, entirely neglecting the honor of the Spaniſh monarchy, had been anxious only for their own ſecurity; and provided they could remove Lewis to a diſtance from their frontiers, were more indifferent what progreſs he made in all other places. Senſible of theſe views, the Queen-regent of Spain reſolved ſtill to keep them in an anxiety, which might for the future be the foundation of an union more intimate than they were willing at preſent to enter into. Franchecomté, by a vigorous and well concerted plan of the French King, had been conquered, in fifteen days, during a rigorous ſeaſon, and in the midſt of winter. She choſe therefore to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the laſt campaign. By this means, Lewis extended his garriſons into the heart of the Low Countries; and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spaniſh provinces.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

BUT notwithſtanding the advantages of his ſituation, the French Monarch could entertain ſmall hopes of ever extending his conqueſts on that quarter, which lay the moſt expoſed to his ambition, and where his acquiſitions were of moſt importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces to Spain; and the Emperor and other powers of Germany, whoſe intereſts ſeemed to be ſtrongly concerned, were invited to enter into the ſame confederacy. Spain herſelf, having about this time, under the mediation of Charles, made peace on equal terms with Portugal, might be expected to exert more vigor in oppoſition to her haughty and triumphant rival. The mighty ſatisfaction, expreſſed in England, on account of the councils now embraced by the court, promiſed the hearty concurrence of Parliament in every meaſure, which could be propoſed for oppoſition to the grandeur of France. And thus all Europe ſeemed to repoſe herſelf with ſecurity under the wings of that powerful confederacy, which had ſo happily been formed for her protection. It is now time to give ſome account of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland and in Ireland.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE Scotch nation, tho' they had never been ſubject to the arbitrary power of their Prince, had but very imperfect notions of law and liberty; and ſcarce in any age had they ever enjoyed an adminiſtration, which had reſtrained itſelf within the proper boundaries. By their final union alone with England, their once hated antagoniſt, they have happily attained the experience of a government perfectly regular, and exempt from all violence and injuſtice. Charles, from his averſion to buſineſs, had entruſted the affairs of that country to his miniſters, particularly Middleton; and theſe could not forbear making very extraordinary ſtretches of authority.

THERE had been intercepted a letter, wrote by Lorne to lord Duffus, in which, a little too plainly, but very truly, he complained, that his enemies had endeavored by falſhood to prepoſſeſs the King againſt him. But he ſaid, that he had now diſcovered them, and had defeated them, and had gained the perſon, meaning the earl of Clarendon, upon whom the chief of them depended. This letter was produced before the Parliament; and Lorne was tried upon an old, tyrannical, abſurd law of *Leaſing-making*; by which it was rendered criminal to belye the ſubjects to the King, or create in him an ill opinion of them. He was condemned to die: But Charles was much diſpleaſed with the ſentence, and granted him a pardon *.

IT was carried in Parliament, that twelve perſons, without crime, witneſs, trial, or accuſer, ſhould be declared incapable of all truſt or office; and to render this injuſtice more egregious, it was agreed, that theſe perſons ſhould be named by ballot: A method of voting, which ſeveral Republics had adopted at elections, in order to prevent faction and intrigue; but which could ſerve only as a cover to malice and iniquity, in the inflicting of puniſhments. Lauderdale, Crawford, and Sir Robert Murray, among others, were incapacitated: But the King, who diſapproved of this injuſtice, refuſed his aſſent †.

AN act was paſſed againſt all perſons, who ſhould move the King for reſtoring the children of thoſe attainted by Parliament; an unheard-of reſtraint on applications for grace and mercy. No penalty was affixed; but the act was but the more violent and tyrannical on that account. The court-lawyers had eſtabliſhed it as

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* Burnet, p. 149.

† Id. p. 152.

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as a maxim, that the aſſigning a puniſhment was a limitation of the crown: Whereas a law, forbidding any thing, tho' without a penalty, made the offenders criminal. And in that caſe, they determined, that the puniſhment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. Middleton as commiſſioner paſſed this act; tho' he had no inſtructions for that purpoſe.

An act of indemnity paſſed; but at the ſame time it was voted, that all thoſe who had offended during the late diſorders, ſhould be ſubjected to fines; and a committee of Parliament was appointed for impoſing them. Theſe proceeded without any regard to ſome equitable rules, which the King had preſcribed to them *. The moſt obnoxious compounded ſecretly. No conſideration was had, either of men's eſtates, or of the degrees of their guilt: No proofs were produced: Enquiries were not ſo much as made: But as faſt as men were delated, they were marked down for a particular fine: And all was tranſacted in a ſecret committee. When the liſt was red in Parliament, exceptions were made to many: Some had been under age during the civil wars; ſome had been abroad. But it was ſtill replyed, that a proper time would come, when every man ſhould be heard in his own defence. The only intention, it was ſaid, of ſetting the fine was, that ſuch perſons ſhould have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unleſs they payed the ſum demanded: Every one that choſe to ſtand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, might do it at his peril. It was well known, that no-one would dare ſo far to ſet at defiance ſo arbitrary an adminiſtration. The King wrote to the council, ordering them to ſuperſede the levying thoſe fines: But Middleton found means, during ſome time, to elude thoſe orders †. And at laſt, the King obliged his miniſters to compound for half the ſums, which had been impoſed.

But the chief circumſtance, whence were derived all the ſubſequent tyranny and diſorders in Scotland, was the rigorous execution of the laws for the eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy, to which a great part of the nation had foſtered the moſt unſurmountable averſion. The right of patrons had for ſome years been aboliſhed; and the power of electing miniſters had been veſted in the church-ſeſſion and lay-elders. It was now enacted, that all incumbents, who had been admitted upon this title, ſhould receive a preſentation from the patron, and ſhould be inſtituted anew by the biſhop, under the penalty of deprivation. The more rigid Preſbyterians concerted meaſures among themſelves, and refuſed obedience: They imagined, that their number would protect them. Three hundred and fifty pariſhes, above a third of the kingdom, were at once declared vacant. The weſtern counties chiefly were obſtinate in this particular. New miniſters were ſought for all over the

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* Burnet, p. 147.

† Id. p. 201.

the kingdom; and no one was ſo ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who loved extremely and reſpected their former teachers; men remarkable for the ſeverity of their manners and their fervor in preaching; were inflamed againſt theſe intruders, who had obtained their livings under ſuch invidious circumſtances, and who took no care, by the regularity of their manners, to ſoften the prejudices contracted againſt them. Even moſt of thoſe, who retained their livings by compliance, fell under the imputation of hypocriſy, either by ſhewing a diſguſt to the new model of eccleſiaſtical government, which they had acknowleged; or on the other hand, by declaring, that their former adherence to Preſbytery and the Covenant had been the reſult of violence and neceſſity. And as Middleton and the new miniſtry indulged themſelves in great riot and diſorder, to which the nation had been little accuſtomed, an opinion univerſally prevailed, that any form of religion, offered by ſuch hands, muſt be profane and impious.

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THE people, notwithſtanding their diſcontents, were reſolved to give no handle againſt them, by the leaſt ſymptom of mutiny or ſedition: But this ſubmiſſive diſpoſition, inſtead of procuring a mitigation of the rigors, was made uſe of as an argument for continuing the ſame meaſures, which by their vigor had enforced ſo prompt an obedience. The King, however, was diſguſted with the violence of Middleton *; and he made Rothes commiſſioner in his place. This nobleman was already preſident of the council; and ſoon after was made lord keeper and treaſurer. Lauderdale ſtill continued ſecretary of ſtate, and commonly reſided at London.

AFFAIRS remained in a peacable ſituation, till the ſevere law was made in England againſt conventicles. The Scotch Parliament imitated this violence, by paſſing a like act. The king appointed a kind of high-commiſſion-court, for executing this rigorous law, and for the direction of eccleſiaſtical affairs. But even this court, illegal as it might be eſteemed, was much preferable to the method next adopted. Military force was let looſe by the council. Wherever the people had generally forſaken their churches, the guards were quartered thro' the country. Sir James Turner commanded them, a man whoſe natural ferocity of temper was often inflamed by the uſe of ſtrong liquors. He went about the country, and received from the miniſters liſts of thoſe who abſented themſelves from church, or were ſuppoſed to frequent conventicles. Without any proof or legal conviction, he demanded a fine from them, and quartered ſoldiers on the ſuppoſed delinquents till he received payment. As an inſurrection was dreaded during the Dutch war, new forces were levyed, and entruſted to the command of Dalziel and Drummond; two officers, who had ſerved the King during the civil wars, and had afterwards

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* Burnet, p. 202.

terwards retired to Muſcovy, where they had encreaſed the native cruelty of their diſpoſition. A full career was given to their tyranny by the Scotch miniſtry. Repreſentations were made to the King againſt theſe enormities. He ſeemed touched with the ſtate of the country; and beſides giving orders, that the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion ſhould be diſcontinued, he ſignifyed his opinion, that another way of proceeding was neceſſary to his ſervice *.

THIS lenity of the King's came too late to remedy the diſorders. The people, inflamed with bigotry, and irritated by ill uſage, roſe in arms. They were inſtigated by Guthry, Semple, and other preachers. They ſurprized Turner in Dumfries, and reſolved to have put him to death; but finding, that his orders, which fell into their hands, were more violent than his execution of them, they ſpared his life. At Laneric, after many prayers, they renewed the covenant, and ſet out their manifeſto; where they profeſſed all ſubmiſſion to the King: They deſired only the reſtoration of Preſbytery and of their former miniſters. As many gentlemen of their party had been confined on ſuſpicion; Wallace and Learmont, two officers, who had ſerved, but in no high rank, were entruſted with the command. Their force exceeded not two thouſand men; and tho' the whole country bore them great favor, men's ſpirits were ſo ſubdued, that the rebels could expect no farther acceſſion of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppoſe their motions. Their number was now diminiſhed to 800; and theſe, having advanced near Edinburgh, attempted to find their way back into the weſt by Pentland Hills. They were attacked by the King's forces†. Finding that they could not eſcape, they ſtopped their march. Their miniſters endeavored to infuſe courage into them. After ſinging ſome pſalms, they turned on the enemy; and being aſſiſted by the advantage of the ground, they received the firſt charge very reſolutely. But that was all the action: Immediately, they loſt order, and fled for their lives. About forty were killed on the ſpot, and a hundred and thirty taken priſoners. The reſt, favored by the night, and by the wearyneſs, and even by the pity, of the King's troops, made their eſcape.

THE oppreſſion which theſe people had ſuffered, the deluſions under which they labored, and their inoffenſive behavior during the inſurrection, made them the objects of compaſſion: Yet were the King's miniſters, particularly Sharpe, reſolute to take ſevere vengeance. Ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh: Thirty-five before their own doors in different places. Theſe criminals might all have ſaved their lives, if they would have renounced the covenant. The executions were going on, when the King put a ſtop to them. He ſaid, that blood enough had already been ſhed; and he wrote a letter, where he ordered, that ſuch of the priſoners,

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* Burnet, p. 213.

† 28th of November, 1666.

priſoners, as ſhould ſimply promiſe to obey the laws for the future, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that the incorrigible ſhould be ſent to the plantations[*]. This letter was brought by Burnet, archbiſhop of Glaſgow; but not being immediately delivered to the council by Sharpe, the preſident[†], one Maccail had in the interval been put to the torture, under which he expired. He ſeemed to die in a triumph of joy. "Farewel ſun, moon, and ſtars; farewel world and time; farewel weak and "frail body: Welcome eternity, welcome angels and ſaints, welcome Savior of "the world, and welcome God, the judge of all!" Such were his laſt words: And theſe animated ſpeeches he uttered with a voice and manner, which ſtruck all the byſtanders with aſtoniſhment.

Affairs of Ireland.

THE ſettlement of Ireland after the reſtoration was a work of much greater difficulty than that of England or of Scotland. Not only the power, during the former uſurpations, had there been veſted in the King's enemies: The whole property, in a manner, of the kingdom had been changed; and it became neceſſary to redreſs, but with as little violence as poſſible, many grievous hardſhips and iniquities, which were there complained of.

THE Iriſh Catholics had in 1648 concluded a treaty with Ormond, the King's lieutenant; where they had ſtipulated pardon for their paſt rebellion, and had engaged under certain conditions to aſſiſt the royal cauſe: And tho' the violence of the prieſts and the bigotry of the people had prevented, in a great meaſure, the execution of this treaty; yet were there many, who, having ſtrictly, at the hazard of their lives, adhered to it, ſeemed on that account well entitled to reap the fruits of their loyalty. Cromwel, having without diſtinction expelled all the native Iriſh from the three provinces of Munſter, Leinſter, and Ulſter, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare; and among thoſe who had thus been forfeited, were many whoſe innocence was altogether unqueſtionable. Several Proteſtants likewiſe, and Ormond among the reſt, had all along oppoſed the Iriſh rebellion; yet having afterwards embraced the King's cauſe againſt the Parliament, they were all of them forfeited by the Protector. And there were many officers, who had, from the commencement of the inſurrection, ſerved in Ireland, and who, becauſe they would not deſert the King, had been refuſed all their arrears by the Engliſh Commonwealth.

To all theſe unhappy ſufferers ſome juſtice ſeemed to be due: But the difficulty was to find the means of redreſſing ſuch great and extenſive iniquities. Almoſt all the valuable parts of Ireland had been meaſured out and divided, either to the adventurers, who had lent money to the Parliament for the ſuppreſſion of the Iriſh rebellion, or to the ſoldiers, who had received land in lieu of their arrears. Theſe

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[*] Burnet, p. 237.

[†] Wodrow's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 255.

Chap. II. 1668.

could not be diſpoſſeſſed, becauſe they were the moſt powerful and only armed part of Ireland; becauſe it was requiſite to favor them, in order to ſupport the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom; and becauſe they had generally, with a ſeeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the King's reſtoration. The King, therefore, iſſued a proclamation; where he promiſed to maintain their ſettlement, and at the ſame time engaged to give redreſs to the innocent ſufferers. There was a large quantity of land as yet undivided in Ireland; and from this and ſome other funds, it was thought poſſible for the King to fulfill both theſe engagements.

A COURT OF CLAIMS was erected, conſiſting altogether of Engliſh commiſſioners, who had no connexion with any of the parties, into which Ireland was divided. Before theſe, were laid four thouſand claims of perſons deſiring reſtitution on account of their innocence; and the commiſſioners had found leizure to examine only ſix hundred. It already appeared, that, if all theſe were to be reſtored, the funds, whence the adventurers and ſoldiers muſt get reprizals, would fall extremely ſhort of giving them any tolerable ſatisfaction. A great alarm and anxiety ſeized all ranks of men: The hopes and fears of every party were excited: Theſe eagerly graſp'd at recovering their paternal inheritance: Thoſe were reſolute to maintain their new acquiſitions.

THE duke of Ormond was created lord-lieutenant, being the only perſon, whoſe prudence and juſtice could compoſe ſuch jarring intereſts. A Parliament was aſſembled at Dublin; and as the Lower Houſe was almoſt entirely choſen by the ſoldiers and adventurers, who ſtill kept poſſeſſion, it was extremely favorable to that intereſt. The Houſe of Peers ſhowed greater impartiality.

AN inſurrection was projected, together with a ſurprizal of the caſtle of Dublin, by ſome of the diſbanded ſoldiers; but this deſign was happily defeated by the vigilance of Ormond. Some of the criminals were puniſhed. Blood, the moſt deſperate of them, eſcaped into England.

BUT affairs could not long remain in the confuſion and uncertainty, in which they were placed. All parties ſeemed willing to abate ſomewhat of their pretenſions, in order to attain ſome ſtability; and Ormond interpoſed his authority to that purpoſe. The ſoldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquiſh a third part of their poſſeſſions; and as they had purchaſed their lands at very low prices, they had reaſon to think themſelves extremely favored by this compoſition. All the perſons, forfeited on account of their adherence to the King, were reſtored; and ſome of the innocent Iriſh. It was a hard ſituation, that a man was obliged to prove himſelf innocent, in order to recover poſſeſſion of the eſtate, which he and his anceſtors had ever enjoyed: But the hardſhip was augmented, by the difficult conditions annexed to this proof. If the perſon had ever lived in the quarters of the rebels, he was not admitted to plead his innocence; and he was, for that reaſon alone, ſuppoſed to have been a rebel. The enormous guilt of the Iriſh nation made men overlook the more willingly any iniquity, which might fall on individuals; and tho' it be always the intereſt of all good government to prevent injuſtice, it is not always poſſible to remedy it, after it has had a long courſe, and has been attended with great ſucceſſes.

Ireland began to attain a ſtate of ſome compoſure, when it was diſturbed by a very violent act, paſſed by the Engliſh Parliament, which prohibited the importation of Iriſh cattle into England*. Ormond remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt this law. He ſaid, that the preſent trade, carried on betwixt England and Ireland, was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only proviſions or rude materials, and ſent back in return every ſpecies of manufacture: That if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of that iſland had no other commodity by which they could pay England for their importations, and muſt have recourſe to other nations for a ſupply: That the induſtrious inhabitants of England, if deprived of Iriſh proviſions, which made living cheap, would be obliged to augment the price of labor, and thereby render their manufactures too dear to be exported to foreign markets: That the lazy inhabitants of Ireland, finding proviſions fall almoſt to nothing, would never be induced to labor, but would perpetuate to all generations their native ſloth and barbariſm: That by cutting off almoſt entirely the trade between the kingdoms, all the natural bands of union were diſſolved, and nothing remained to keep the Iriſh to their duty but force and violence: And that by reducing that kingdom to extreme poverty, it would be even rendered incapable of maintaining that military power, by which, during its well grounded diſcontents, it muſt neceſſarily be retained in ſubjection.

The King was ſo convinced of the juſtneſs of theſe reaſons, that he uſed all his intereſt to oppoſe the bill; and he openly declared, that he could not give his aſſent to it with a ſafe conſcience. But the Commons were reſolute in their purpoſe. The rents of England had fallen of late years, which had been aſcribed entirely to the importation of Iriſh cattle: Some intrigues had contributed to inflame that prejudice, particularly thoſe of Buckingham and Aſhley, who were deſirous of giving Ormond diſturbance in his government: And the ſpirit of tyranny, of which nations are as ſuſceptible as individuals, had animated the Engliſh extremely to exert their ſuperiority over their dependant ſtate. No affair could be conducted with greater violence than this was by the Commons. They even went ſo far in the preamble of the bill as to declare the importation of Iriſh cattle to be a *nuiſance*. By this expreſſion, they both gave ſcope to their paſſion, and barred the King's prerogative, by which he

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* In 1666.

he might think himſelf entitled to diſpenſe with a law, ſo full of injuſtice and bad policy. The Lords expunged the word; but as the King was ſenſible, that no ſupply would be given by the Commons, unleſs they were gratified in all their prejudices, he was obliged both to employ his intereſt with the peers for making the bill paſs, and to give the royal aſſent to it. He could not, however, forbear expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the jealouſy entertained againſt him, and at the intention, which the Commons diſcovered of retrenching his prerogative.

THIS law brought great diſtreſs for ſome time upon Ireland; but it has occaſioned their applying with greater induſtry to manufactures, and has proved in the iſſue beneficial to that kingdom.

CHAP. III.

A Parliament.——The Cabal.——Their characters.——Their councils.——Alliance with France.——A Parliament.——Coventry act.——Blood's crimes.——Duke declares himſelf Catholic.——Exchequer ſhut.——Declaration of indulgence.——Attack of the Smyrna fleet.——War declared with Holland.——Weakneſs of the States.——Battle of Solebay.——Sandwich killed.——Progreſs of the French.——Conſternation of the Dutch.——Prince of Orange Stadtholder.——Maſſacre of the de Wits.——Good conduct of the Prince.——A Parliament.——Declaration of indulgence recalled.——Sea-fight.——Another ſea-fight.——Another ſea-fight.——Congreſs of Cologne.——A Parliament.——Peace with Holland.

1668. SINCE the reſtoration, England was in a condition, which had never been experienced in any former period of her government, and which ſeemed the only one, that could fully enſure her happineſs and her liberty: The King was in continual want of ſupport from the Parliament; and he ſeemed willing to accommodate himſelf to that dependant ſituation. Inſtead of reviving thoſe claims of prerogative, ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on by his father and grandfather, he had ſtrictly confined himſelf within the limits of law, and had courted, by every art of popularity, the affections of his ſubjects. Even the ſeverities, however blameable, which he had been forced to exerciſe againſt Nonconformiſts, are to be conſidered as expedients, by which he ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with that party, which predominated in Parliament. But notwithſtanding theſe promiſing appearances, there were many circumſtances, which kept the government from reſting ſteddily on that bottom, on which it was placed. The Crown having loſt almoſt all its antient demeſnes, relied entirely on voluntary grants of the people; and the Commons, not fully accuſtomed to this new ſituation, were not diſpoſed to ſupply with ſufficient liberality the neceſſities of the Crown. They imitated too ſtrictly the example of their predeceſſors in a rigid frugality of public money; and neither ſufficiently conſidered the indigent ſituation of the Prince, nor the general ſtate of Europe, where every nation, by its encreaſe both of magnificence and force, had made great additions to all public expences. Some conſiderable ſums, indeed, were beſtowed on Charles, and the patriots of that age, tenacious of antient maxims, loudly upbraided the Commons with prodigality: But if we may judge by the example of a latter period, when the government has become more regular, and the harmony of the parts has been more happily adjuſted, the Parliaments of this reign ſeem rather to have merited a contrary reproach.

THE natural conſequence of the poverty of the Crown was, beſides feeble irregular tranſactions in foreign affairs, a continual uncertainty in its domeſtic adminiſtration. No-one could anſwer with any tolerable aſſurance for the meaſures of the Houſe of Commons. Few of the members were attached to the Court by any other band than that of inclination. Royaliſts indeed in their principles, but unexperienced in buſineſs, they lay expoſed to every rumor or inſinuation; and were driven by momentary guſts or currents, no leſs than the populace themſelves. Even the attempts made to gain an aſcendant over them, by offices, and, as 'tis believed, by bribes and penſions, were apt to operate in a manner contrary to what was intended by the miniſters. The novelty of the practice conveyed a general, and indeed a juſt, alarm; while at the ſame time, the poverty of the Crown rendered this influence very limited and precarious.

THE character of Charles was ill fitted to remedy thoſe defects in the conſtitution. He acted in the adminiſtration of public affairs, as if government were a paſtime, rather than a ſerious occupation; and by the uncertainty of his conduct, he loſt that authority, which could alone beſtow conſtancy on the fluctuating reſolutions of the Parliament. His expences too, which always exceeded the proper bounds, were directed more by inclination than by policy; and at the ſame time, that they rendered him continually dependant on the Parliament, they were not calculated ſo as fully to ſatisfy either the intereſted or diſintereſted part of that aſſembly.

Chap. III. 1668. 8th of February. A Parliament.

The Parliament met after a longer adjournment; and the King promiſed himſelf every thing from the attachment of the Commons. All his late meaſures had been calculated to acquire the goodwill of his people; and above all, the triple league, it was hoped, would be able to efface all the impreſſions left by the unhappy concluſion of the Dutch war. But a new attempt made by the court, and a very laudable one too, loſt him, for a time, the effect of all theſe endeavors. Buckingham, who was in great favor with the King, and carried on many intrigues among the Commons, had alſo endeavored to ſupport connexions with the Nonconformiſts; and he now formed a ſcheme, together with the lord keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and Sir Mathew Hale, chief juſtice, two worthy patriots, to put an end to thoſe ſeverities, under which theſe religioniſts had ſo long labored. It was propoſed to reconcile the Preſbyterians by a comprehenſion, and to grant a toleration to the Independants and other ſectaries. Favor ſeems not, by this ſcheme, as by others embraced during the preſent reign, to have been intended the Catholics: Yet were the zealous Commons ſo diſguſted, that they could not be prevailed on even to give the King thanks for the triple league, however laudable that meaſure was then, and has ever ſince been eſteemed. They immediately voted an addreſs for a proclamation againſt conventicles. Their requeſt was complied with; but as the King ſtill dropped ſome hints of his deſire to reconcile his proteſtant ſubjects, the Commons paſſed a very unuſual vote, that no man ſhould bring into the Houſe any bill of that nature. The King in vain re-iterated his ſollicitations for ſupply, repreſented the neceſſity of equipping a fleet, and even offered, that the money which they ſhould grant, ſhould be collected and iſſued for that purpoſe by commiſſioners appointed by the Houſe. Inſtead of compliance, the Commons voted an enquiry into all the miſcarriages during the late war; the ſlackening ſail after the Duke's victory from falſe orders delivered by Brounker, the miſcarriage at Berghen, the diviſion of the fleet under Prince Rupert and Albemarle, the diſgrace at Chatham. Brounker was expelled the Houſe, and ordered to be impeached. Commiſſioner Pet, who had neglected orders for the ſecurity of Chatham, met with the ſame fate. Theſe impeachments were never proſecuted. The Houſe at laſt, having been indulged in all their prejudices, were prevailed with to vote the King three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, by an impoſition on wine and other liquors; after which they were adjourned.

11th of May.

Besides the ill humor of the Commons againſt the tolerating maxims of the Court, public buſineſs was ſomewhat retarded this ſeſſion by a quarrel betwixt the two Houſes. Skinner, a rich merchant in London, having received ſome injuries from the Eaſt India Company, laid the matter by petition before the Houſe of Lords, by whom he was relieved in coſts and damages to the extent of five thouſand pounds. The Commons voted, that the Lords, in taking cognizance of this affair, originally, without any appeal from inferior courts, had acted in a manner not agreeable to the laws of the land, and tending to deprive the ſubject of the right, eaſe, and benefit, due to him by theſe laws; and that Skinner, in proſecuting the ſuit, had infringed the privileges of the Commons: For which offence, they ordered him to be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms. Some conferences enſued between the Houſes; where the Lords were tenacious of their right of judicature, and maintained, that the method, in which they had exerciſed it was quite regular. The Commons roſe into a great ferment; and went ſo far as to vote, that "whoever ſhould be aiding or aſſiſting in putting in execution the order or ſentence of the Houſe of Lords, in the caſe of Skinner againſt the Eaſt India Company, ſhall be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England, and an infringer of the privileges of the Houſe of Commons." They rightly judged, that it would not be eaſy, after this vote, to find any one, who would venture on their indignation. The proceedings indeed of the Lords ſeem in this caſe to have been unuſual and without precedent.

1669.
19th of October.

THE King's neceſſities obliged him again to aſſemble the Parliament, who ſhowed ſome diſpoſition to relieve him. The price, however, which he muſt pay for this indulgence, was his yielding to laws againſt conventicles. His complaiſance in this particular contributed more to gain the Commons, than all the pompous pretexts of ſupporting the triple alliance, that popular meaſure, by which he expected to make ſuch advantage. The quarrel betwixt the two Houſes was revived; and as the Commons had voted only four hundred thouſand pounds, with which the King was not ſatisfied, he thought proper, before they had carried their vote into a law, to prorogue them. The only buſineſs finiſhed this ſhort ſeſſion was the receiving the report of the committee appointed for examining the public accounts. On the firſt inſpection of this report, there appears a vaſt ſum, no leſs than a million and a half, unaccounted for; and the natural inference is, that the King had very much abuſed the truſt repoſed in him by Parliament. But a more accurate inſpection of particulars ſerves, in a great meaſure, to remove this imputation. The King indeed went ſo far as to tell the Parliament from the throne, "That he had fully informed himſelf of that matter, and did affirm, that no part of thoſe monies, which they had given him, had been diverted to other uſes, but on the contrary, beſides all thoſe ſupplies, a very great ſum had been raiſed out of his ſtanding revenue and credit, and a very great debt contracted; and all for the war." Tho' artificial pretexts have often been employed by Kings in their ſpeeches to Parliament, and by none more than Charles, it is ſomewhat difficult to ſuſpect him of a direct

11th of December.

Chap. III. 1669. lye and falſhood. He muſt have had ſome reaſons, and perhaps not unplauſible ones, for this affirmation, of which all his hearers, as they had the accounts lying before them, were at that time very competent judges*.

THE method which all Parliaments had hitherto followed, was to vote a particular ſum for the ſupply, without any diſtinction or appropriation for particular ſervices. So long as the demands of the Crown were only ſmall and caſual, no great inconveniencies aroſe from this practice. But as the whole meaſures of government were now changed, it muſt be confeſſed, that, if the King made a juſt application of public money, this inaccurate method of proceeding, by expoſing him to ſuſpicions, was very prejudicial to him. If he was inclined to act otherwiſe, it was equally hurtful to the people. For theſe reaſons, a contrary practice, during all the late reigns, has conſtantly been followed by the Commons.

1670. 14th of February. WHEN the Parliament met after the prorogation, they entered anew upon the buſineſs of the ſupply, and granted the King an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each tun of Spaniſh wine, eight on each tun of French. A law was alſo paſſed empowering him to ſell the fee farm rents; the laſt remains of the demeſnes by which the antient Kings of England had been ſupported. By this expedient he obtained ſome ſupply for his preſent neceſſities, but left the Crown, if poſſible, ſtill more dependant than before. How much money might be raiſed by theſe ſales is uncertain; but it could not be near one million eight hundred thouſand pounds, the ſum aſſigned by ſome writers†.

THE act againſt conventicles paſſed, and received the royal aſſent. It bears the appearance of mitigating the former perſecuting laws; but, if we may judge by the ſpirit, which had broke out almoſt every ſeſſion during this Parliament, it was not intended as any favor to the Nonconformiſts. 'Twas probably found by experience, that laws over rigid and ſevere could not be executed. By this act the hearer in a conventicle, (that is, in a diſſenting aſſembly, where more than five were preſent beſides the family) was fined five ſhillings for the firſt offence, ten for the ſecond; the preacher twenty pounds for the firſt offence, forty for the ſecond. The perſon, in whoſe houſe the conventicle met, forfeited a like ſum with the preacher. One clauſe is very remarkable; that, if any diſpute ſhould ariſe with regard to the interpretation of any part of the act, the judges ſhould always explain the doubt in the ſenſe leaſt favorable to conventicles, it being the intention of the Parliament entirely to ſuppreſs them. Such was the zeal of the Commons, that they violated the plaineſt and moſt eſtabliſhed maxims of civil policy, which require, that, in all criminal proſecutions, favor ſhould always be given to the priſoner.

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* The abſtract of the report of the Brook-houſe committee (ſo that committee was called) was firſt publiſhed by Mr. Ralph, vol. i. p. 177, from lord Hallifax's Collections, to which I refer. If we peruſe their apology, which we find in the ſubſequent page of the ſame author, we ſhall find, that they acted with ſome malignity towards the King. They would take notice of no ſervices performed before the 1ſt of September, 1664. But all the King's preparations preceded that date, and, as chancellor Clarendon told the Parliament, amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds; and the computation is very probable. This ſum, therefore, muſt be added. The committee likewiſe charged ſeven hundred thouſand pounds to the King on account of the winter and ſummer guards, ſaved during two years and ten months that the war laſted. But this ſeems iniquitous. For tho' that was an uſual burthen on the revenue, which was then ſaved; would not the diminution of the cuſtoms during the war be an equivalent to it? Beſides, near three hundred and forty thouſand pounds are charged for prize-money, which perhaps the King thought he ought not to account for. Theſe ſums exceed the million and a half.

† Mr. Carte, in his Vindication of the Anſwer to the Byſtander, p. 99, ſays, that the ſale of the fee farm rents would not yield above one hundred thouſand pounds; and his reaſons appear well founded.

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THE affair of Skinner ſtill remained a ground of quarrel betwixt the two Houſes; but the King prevailed with the Peers to accept of the expedient propoſed by the Commons, that a general razure ſhould be made of all the tranſactions with regard to that diſputed queſtion.

SOME attempts were made by the King to effectuate a union betwixt England and Scotland: But they were too feeble to remove all the difficulties, which obſtructed that uſeful and important undertaking. Commiſſioners were appointed to meet, in order to regulate the conditions: But the deſign, chiefly by the intrigues of Lauderdale, ſoon after came to nothing.

THE KING, about this time, began frequently to attend the debates of the Houſe of Peers. He ſaid, that they amuſed him, and that he found them no leſs entertaining than a play. But deeper deſigns were ſuſpected. As he ſeemed to intereſt himſelf extremely in the cauſe of lord Roos, who, on account of adultery, had obtained a divorce from his wife, and applied to Parliament for leave to marry again; people imagined, that Charles propoſed to make a precedent of the caſe, and that ſome other pretext would be found for getting rid of the queen. Many propoſals to this purpoſe, it is ſaid, were made by Buckingham: But the King, however little ſcrupulous in ſome reſpects, was incapable of any action, harſh or barbarous; and he always rejected with horror all ſchemes of this nature. A ſuſpicion however of ſuch intentions, it was obſerved, had, at this time, begot a coldneſs betwixt the two brothers.

WE now come to a period, when the King's councils, which had hitherto, in the main, been good, tho' negligent and fluctuating, became, during ſome time, remarkably bad, or even criminal; and breeding incurable jealouſies in all men, were followed by ſuch conſequences as had almoſt terminated in the ruin both of prince and people. Happily the ſame negligence ſtill attended him, and, as it had

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leſſened the influence of the good, it alſo diminiſhed the effect of the bad meaſures, which he embraced.

It was generally remarked, that the committee of council, eſtabliſhed for foreign affairs, was entirely changed; and that Prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, ſecretary Trevor, and lord keeper Bridgeman, men in whoſe honor the nation had great confidence, were never called to any deliberations. The whole ſecret was entruſted to five perſons, Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale. These men were known by the appellation of the Cabal, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compoſe. This incident ſerved with the people to propagate and perpetuate that appellation. Never was there a more dangerous miniſtry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious councils.

The Cabal.

Their characters.

Lord Ashley, ſoon after known by the name of earl of Shafteſbury, was one of the moſt remarkable characters of the age, and the chief ſpring of all the ſucceeding movements. During his early youth, he had engaged in the late King's party; but being diſguſted with ſome meaſures of Prince Maurice, he ſoon deſerted to the Parliament. He inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Cromwel; and as he had great influence on the Preſbyterians, he was ſerviceable in ſupporting the authority of that uſurper. He employed the ſame credit to promote the reſtoration; and on that account both deſerved and acquired great favor with the King. In all his changes, he ſtill maintained the character of never betraying thoſe friends whom he deſerted; and which ever party he joined, his great capacity and ſingular talents ſoon gained him their confidence, and enabled him to take the lead among them. Reſtleſs, turbulent, factious; no ſtation could ſatisfy his ambition, no fatigues were inſuperable to his induſtry. Well-acquainted with the blind attachment of parties, he ſurmounted all ſenſe of ſhame: And relying on the ſubtilty of his contrivances, he was not ſtartled with enterprizes, the moſt hazardous and moſt criminal. His talents, both of public ſpeaking and private inſinuation, ſhone out in an eminent degree; and amidſt all his furious paſſions, he poſſeſſed a ſound judgement of buſineſs, and ſtill more of men. Tho' fitted by nature for beginning and puſhing the greateſt undertakings, he was never able to conduct any to a happy period; and his eminent abilities, by reaſon of his inſatiable deſires, were equally dangerous to himſelf, to the Prince, and to the people.

The duke of Buckingham poſſeſſed all the advantages, which a graceful perſon, a high rank, a ſplendid fortune, and a lively wit could beſtow; but by his wild conduct, unreſtrained either by prudence or principle, he found means to render himſelf in the end odious and even inſignificant. The leaſt intereſt could make him abandon his honor; the ſmalleſt pleaſure could ſeduce him from his intereſt; the moſt frivolous caprice was ſufficient to counterballance his pleaſure. By the want of ſecrecy and conſtancy, he deſtroyed his character in public life; by the contempt of order and œconomy, he diſſipated his private fortune; by riot and debauchery, he ruined his health; and he remained at laſt as incapable of doing hurt, as he had ever been little deſirous of doing good, to mankind.

The earl, ſoon after created duke, of Lauderdale, was not defective in natural, and ſtill leſs in acquired, talents; but neither was his addreſs graceful, nor his underſtanding juſt. His principles, or, more properly ſpeaking, his prejudices, were obſtinate, but unable to reſtrain his ambition: His ambition was ſtill leſs dangerous than the tyranny and violence of his temper. An implacable enemy, but a lukewarm friend; inſolent to his inferiors, but abject to his ſuperiors; tho' in his whole character and deportment, he was almoſt diametrically oppoſite to the King, he had the fortune, beyond any other miniſter, to maintain, during the greateſt part of his reign, an aſcendant over him.

The talents of parliamentary eloquence and intrigue had raiſed Sir Thomas Clifford; and his daring impetuous ſpirit gave him weight in the King's councils. Of the whole Cabal, Arlington was the leaſt dangerous either by his vices or his talents. His judgement was ſound, tho' his capacity was but moderate; and his intentions were good, tho' he wanted courage and integrity to perſevere in them. Together with Temple and Bridgeman, he had been a great promoter of the triple league; but he threw himſelf with equal alacrity into oppoſite meaſures, when he found them agreeable to his maſter. Clifford and he were ſecretly Catholics: Shafteſbury, tho' addicted to aſtrology, was reckoned a Deiſt: Buckingham had too little reflection to embrace any ſteady principles: Lauderdale had long been a bigotted and furious Preſbyterian; and the opinions of that ſect ſtill kept poſſeſſion of his mind, however little they appeared in his conduct.

Their councils.

The dark councils of the Cabal, tho' from the firſt they gave anxiety to all men of reflection, were not thorowly known but by the event. Theſe ſeem to have been the views, which they ſuggeſted to the King and the Duke, and which theſe Princes too greedily embraced. They ſaid, that the Parliament, tho' the ſpirit of party, for the preſent, attached them to the Crown, were ſtill more attached to thoſe powers and privileges, which their predeceſſors had uſurped from the Sovereign: That after the firſt flow of kindneſs, they had diſcovered ſymptoms of diſcontent; and would be ſure to turn againſt the King all the authority which they yet retained, and ſtill more thoſe pretenſions which it was eaſy for them in a moment to revive: That they not only kept the King in dependance by means of his precarious revenue, but had never diſcovered a ſuitable generoſity, even in thoſe temporary ſupplies, which they granted him: That it was time for the Prince to rouze himſelf from his lethargy, and to recover that authority, which his predeceſſors, during ſo

Chap. III. 1670. ſo many ages, had peaceably enjoyed: That the great error or miſfortune of his father was the not having formed any cloſe connexion with foreign Princes, who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, might have found their intereſt in ſupporting him: That the preſent alliances, being entered into with ſo many weaker potentates, who themſelves ſtood in need of the King's protection, could never ſerve to maintain, much leſs augment, the royal authority: That the French Monarch alone, ſo generous a Prince, and by blood ſo nearly allied to the King, would be found both able and willing, if gratified in his ambition, to defend the common cauſe of Kings againſt uſurping ſubjects: That a war, undertaken againſt Holland by the united force of two ſuch mighty potentates, would prove an eaſy enterprize, and would ſerve all the purpoſes which were aimed at: That under pretext of that war it would not be difficult to levy a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his ſubjects, the King would vainly expect to defend his prerogative: That his naval power might be maintained, partly by the ſupplies, which, on other pretexts, would previouſly be obtained from Parliament; partly by ſubſidies from France; partly by captures, which might eaſily be made on that opulent republic: That in ſuch a ſituation, attempts to recover the loſt authority of the Crown would be attended with ſucceſs; nor would any dare to reſiſt a Prince, fortified by ſo powerful an alliance; or if they did, they would only bring more certain ruin on themſelves and on their cauſe: And that by ſubduing the States, a great ſtep would be taken towards advancing a reformation of the government; ſince it was apparent, that that republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified, in his factious ſubjects, their attachment to what they vainly called their civil and religious liberties.

THESE ſuggeſtions happened fatally to concur with all the inclinations and prejudices of the King; his deſire of more extenſive authority, his propenſity to the Catholic religion, his avidity for money. He ſeems likewiſe, from the very beginning of his reign, to have entertained great jealouſy of his own ſubjects, and, on that account, a deſire of fortifying himſelf by an intimate alliance with France. So early as 1664, he had offered the French Monarch to allow him without oppoſition to conquer Flanders, provided that Prince would engage to furniſh him with ten thouſand infantry, and a ſuitable number of cavalry, in caſe of any rebellion in England *. As no dangerous ſymptoms at that time diſcovered themſelves, we are left to conjecture, from this incident, what opinion Charles had conceived of the factious diſpoſition of his people.

EVEN during the time, when the triple alliance was moſt zealouſly cultivated, the King never ſeems to have been entirely cordial in thoſe ſalutary meaſures, but ſtill to have caſt a longing eye towards the French alliance. Clifford, who had much

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* D' Eſtrades, 21ſt of July, 1667.

much of his confidence, ſaid imprudently, "Notwithſtanding all this joy, we "muſt have a ſecond war with Holland." The acceſſion of the emperor to that alliance had been refuſed by England on very frivolous pretences. And many unfriendly cavils were raiſed againſt the States with regard to Surinam and the conduct of the Eaſt India Company. But about April 1669, the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms appeared of thoſe fatal meaſures, which were afterwards more openly purſued.

De Wit, at that time, came to Temple; and told him, that he payed him a viſit as a friend, not a miniſter. The occaſion was to acquaint him with a converſation which he had lately had with Puffendorf, the Swediſh agent, who had paſſed by the Hague in the way from Paris to his own country. The French miniſters, Puffendorf ſaid, had taken much pains to perſwade him, that the Swedes would find their account very ill in thoſe meaſures, which they had lately embraced: That Spain would fail them in all her promiſes of ſubſidies; nor would Holland alone be able to ſupport them: That England would certainly fail them, and had already adopted councils directly oppoſite to thoſe which by the triple league ſhe had bound herſelf to purſue: And that the reſolution was not the leſs fixed and certain, that the ſecret was at yet communicated to very few either in the French or Engliſh court. When Puffendorf ſeemed incredulous, Turenne ſhowed him a letter from Colbert de Croiſſy, the French miniſter at London; where, after mentioning the ſucceſs of his negotiations, and the favorable diſpoſition of the chief miniſters there, he added; "And I have at laſt made them ſenſible of the whole extent of his Majeſty's "liberality *." From this incident, it appears, that the infamous practice of ſelling themſelves to foreign Princes, a practice, which, notwithſtanding the malignity of the vulgar, is certainly very rare among men in high office, had not been ſcrupled by Charles's miniſters.

But the King's reſolutions ſeem never to have been entirely fixed, till the viſit, which he received from his ſiſter, the dutcheſs of Orleans. Lewis, knowing the addreſs and inſinuation of that amiable Princeſs, and the great influence, which ſhe had obtained over her brother, had engaged her to employ all her good offices, in order to detach England from the triple league, which, he knew, had fixed ſuch an unſurmountable barrier to his ambition. That he might the better cover this negotiation, he pretended to viſit his frontiers, particularly the great works, which he had undertaken at Dunkirk; and he carried the Queen and the whole court along with him. While he remained on the oppoſite ſhore, the dutcheſs of Orleans went over into England; and Charles met her at Dover, where they paſſed ten days together in great mirth and feſtivity. By her artifices and careſſes, ſhe prevailed on Charles to relinquiſh the moſt ſettled maxims of honor and policy, and to finiſh his engagements

16th of May.

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* Temple, vol. ii. 179.

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Alliance with France.

engagements with Lewis for the deſtruction of Holland. No particular articles ſeem here to have been ſigned, or even agreed upon. Neither of the Princes had the leaſt claims on that republic; and they could therefore regulate their pretenſions only by the future ſucceſs of their arms. And as to the ſcheme, which Charles is with ſo good reaſon ſuppoſed to have entertained, of employing the French power, or at leaſt the terror of it, for enlarging his authority at home; it was of ſuch a nature as muſt depend upon incidents, and, for the preſent, it ſufficed, if he conjoined his intereſts intimately with France, and obtained general aſſurances of ſupport, in caſe of any oppoſition or inſurrection.

But Lewis well knew Charles's character, and the uſual fluctuation of his councils. In order to fix him in the French intereſts, he reſolved to bind him by the tyes of pleaſure, the only ones which with him were irreſiſtible; and he made him a preſent of a French miſtreſs, by whoſe means, he hoped, for the future, to govern him. The dutcheſs of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name of Queroüaille, whom the King carried to London, and ſoon after created dutcheſs of Portſmouth. He was extremely attached to her during the whole courſe of his life; and ſhe proved a great means of ſupporting his connexions with her native country. 'Tis impoſſible but his quick diſcernment muſt have perceived the ſcope of all theſe artifices; but he was too much a ſlave to pleaſure ever to defend himſelf againſt its preſent allurements.

The ſatisfaction, which Charles reaped from his new alliance, received a great check by the death of his ſiſter, and ſtill more by thoſe melancholy circumſtances, which accompanied it. Her death was ſudden, after a few days illneſs; and ſhe was ſeized with the malady upon drinking a glaſs of ſuccory-water. Strong ſuſpicions of poyſon aroſe in the court of France, and ſpred all over Europe; and as her huſband had diſcovered many ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſcontent on account of her conduct, he was univerſally believed to be the author of that crime. Charles himſelf, during ſome time, was entirely convinced of his guilt; but upon receiving the atteſtation of phyſicians, who, on opening her body, found no foundation for the general rumor, he was or pretended to be ſatisfied. The duke of Orleans indeed did never, in any other circumſtance of his life, betray ſuch diſpoſitions as might lead him to ſo criminal an action; and a lady, it is ſaid, drank the remains of the ſame glaſs, without feeling any inconvenience. The ſudden death of Princes is commonly accompanied with theſe diſmal ſurmizes; and therefore leſs weight is in this caſe to be laid on the ſuſpicions of the public.

Charles, inſtead of breaking with France upon this incident, took advantage of it to ſend over Buckingham, under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans, but in reality to concert farther meaſures for the projected war. Never ambaſſador received greater careſſes. The more deſtructive the preſent meaſures were to the intereſts of England, the more natural was it for Lewis to load with civilities and even with favors, thoſe whom he could engage to promote them.

THE journey of Buckingham raiſed ſtrong ſuſpicions in Holland, which every circumſtance tended ſtill farther to confirm. Lewis made a ſudden irruption into Lorraine; and tho' he miſſed ſeizing the duke himſelf, who had no ſurmize of the danger, and who very narrowly eſcaped, he was ſoon able without reſiſtance to make himſelf maſter of the whole country. The French Monarch was ſo far unhappy, that, tho' the moſt tempting opportunities offered themſelves, he had not commonly ſo much as the pretext of equity and juſtice to cover his ambitious meaſures. This acquiſition of Lorraine ought to have excited the jealouſy of the contracting powers in the triple league, as much as an invaſion of Flanders itſelf; yet did Charles turn a deaf ear to all remonſtrances, which were made him upon that ſubject.

BUT what tended chiefly to open the eyes of de Wit and the States with regard to the meaſures of England, was the ſudden recall of Sir William Temple. That miniſter had ſo firmly eſtabliſhed his character of honor and integrity, that he was believed incapable even of obeying his maſter's commands, in promoting meaſures, which he eſteemed pernicious to his country; and ſo long as he remained in employment, de Wit thought himſelf aſſured of the fidelity of England. Charles was ſo ſenſible of this prepoſſeſſion, that he ordered Temple to leave his family at the Hague, and pretended that that miniſter would immediately return, after having conferred with the King about ſome buſineſs, where his negotiation had met with obſtructions. De Wit made the Dutch reſident inform the Engliſh court, that he would conſider the recall of Temple as an expreſs declaration of a change of meaſures in England; and would even know what interpretation to put upon any delay of his return. What a diſhonor to the King, that his own moſt ſolemn engagements ſhould be ſo little truſted; while his ſubject had acquired ſo high a reputation, and, on his own account, had obtained the confidence of the neighboring nations!

24th of October. A Parliament.

WHILE theſe meaſures were ſecretly in agitation, the Parliament met, according to adjournment. The King made a very ſhort ſpeech; and left the buſineſs to be enlarged upon by the keeper. That miniſter inſiſted much on the King's great want of ſupply; the mighty encreaſe of the naval power of France, now triple to what it was before the laſt war with Holland; the decay of the Engliſh navy; the neceſſity of fitting out next year a fleet of fifty ſail; the obligations, which the King lay under by ſeveral treaties to exert himſelf for the common good of chriſtendom. Among other treaties, he mentioned the triple alliance, and the defenſive league with the States. It is certain, that Bridgeman, tho' he was not admitted into the

Chap. III. 1670. ſecrets of the Cabal, muſt have obſerved ſo many grounds of ſuſpicion, as ſhould have kept him from giving ſanction to that deceit, which was intended to be put upon the Parliament.

The artifice ſucceeded. The Houſe of Commons, entirely ſatisfied with the King's meaſures, voted him conſiderable ſupplies. A land tax for a year was impoſed of a ſhilling a pound; two ſhillings a pound on two thirds of the ſalaries of offices; fifteen ſhillings on every hundred pound of bankers' money and ſtock; an additional exciſe upon beer for ſix years, and certain impoſitions upon law proceedings for nine years. The Parliament had never before been in a more liberal diſpoſition; and never ſurely was it leſs merited by the councils of the King and of his miniſters.

The Commons paſſed another bill for laying a duty on tobacco, Scotch ſalt, glaſſes, and ſome other commodities. Againſt this bill the merchants of London appeared by petition before the Houſe of Lords. The Lords entered into their reaſons, and began to make amendments on the bill ſent up by the Commons. This attempt was highly reſented by the lower Houſe, as an encroachment on the right, which they pretended to poſſeſs alone, of granting money to the Crown. Many remonſtrances paſſed betwixt the two Houſes; and by their altercations the King
1671. was obliged to prorogue the Parliament; and he thereby loſt the money which was
22d of April. intended him. This is the laſt time, that the Peers have revived any pretenſions of that nature. Ever ſince, the privilege of the Commons, in all other places except in the Houſe of Peers, has paſſed for undiſputed.

There was a private affair, which during this ſeſſion diſguſted the Houſe of Commons, and required ſome pains to accommodate it. The uſual method of thoſe who oppoſed the Court in the money bills, was, if they failed in the main vote as to the extent of the ſupply, to levy the money from ſuch funds as they expected would be unacceptable or would prove deficient: It was propoſed to lay an impoſition upon playhouſes: The courtiers objected, that the players were the King's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, aſked, "whether the King's pleaſure lay among the male or the "female players?" This ſtroke of ſatyre was aimed at Charles, who, beſides his miſtreſſes of higher quality, entertained at that time two actreſſes, Davis and Nell Gwin. The King received not the raillery with that good humor, which might have been expected. It was ſaid, that this being the firſt time, when reſpect to Majeſty had been publicly violated, it was neceſſary, by ſome ſevere chaſtiſement, to make Coventry an example to all who might incline to tread in his footſteps. Sands, Obrian, and ſome others of the guards were ordered to way-lay him, and to ſet a mark upon him. He defended himſelf with great bravery, and after wounding ſeveral of the aſſailants, was with ſome difficulty diſarmed. They cut his noſe to the bone, in order, as they ſaid, to teach him what reſpect he owed to the King. The Commons were enflamed by this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words ſpoke in the Houſe. They paſſed a law, where they made it capital to maim any perſon; and they enacted, that thoſe criminals, who had aſſaulted Coventry, ſhould be incapable of receiving a pardon from the Crown.

Coventry-act.

There was another private affair, tranſacted about this time, by which the King was as much expoſed to the imputation of a capricious lenity, as he was here blamed for unneceſſary ſeverity. Blood, a diſbanded officer of the Protector's, had been engaged in the conſpiracy for raiſing an inſurrection in Ireland; and for this crime he himſelf had been attainted, and ſome of his accomplices capitally puniſhed. The daring villain meditated a revenge upon Ormond, the lord lieutenant. Having by artifice drawn off the duke's footmen, he attacked his coach in the night, as he drove along St. James's Street in London, and made himſelf maſter of his perſon. He might here have finiſhed the crime, had he not meditated refinements in his vengeance: He was reſolved to hang the duke at Tyburn; and for that purpoſe bound him, and mounted him on horſeback behind one of his companions. They were advanced a good way into the fields; when the duke, making efforts for his liberty, threw himſelf to the ground, and brought down with him the aſſaſſin, to whom he was tied. They were ſtruggling together in the mud; when Ormond's ſervants, whom the alarm had reached, came and ſaved him. Blood and his companions, firing their piſtols in a hurry at the duke, rode off and ſaved themſelves, by means of the darkneſs.

Blood's crimes.

BUCKINGHAM was at firſt, with great appearance of reaſon, ſuſpected to be the author of the attempt. His profligate character and his enmity againſt Ormond expoſed him to this imputation. Oſſory ſoon after came to court, and ſeeing Buckingham ſtand by the King, his color roſe, and he could not forbear expreſſing himſelf to this purpoſe. "My lord, I know well, that you are at the bottom of "this late attempt upon my father: But I give you warning, if by any means he "comes to a violent end, I ſhall not be at a loſs to know the author: I ſhall conſider "you as the aſſaſſin: I ſhall treat you as ſuch; and wherever I meet you, I ſhall "piſtol you, tho' you ſtood behind the King's chair; and I tell it you in his Ma"jeſty's preſence, that you may be ſure I ſhall not fail of performance*. If there was here any indecorum, it was eaſily excuſed in a generous youth, when his father's life was expoſed to danger.

A LITTLE after, Blood formed a deſign of carrying off the Crown and Regalia from the Tower; a deſign, to which he was prompted, as well by the ſurprizing boldneſs

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* Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 225.

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boldneſs of the enterprize as by the views of profit. He was very near ſucceeding. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel office; and had got out of the Tower with his prey, but was overtaken and ſeized, together with ſome of his aſſociates. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ringleader. When aſked, he frankly avowed the enterprize; but refuſed to tell his accomplices. "The fear of death," he ſaid, "would never engage him, either to deny a guilt, or betray a friend." All theſe extraordinary circumſtances made him the general ſubject of converſation; and the King was moved by an idle curioſity to ſee and ſpeak with a perſon ſo noted for his courage and his crimes. Blood might now eſteem himſelf ſecure of pardon; and he wanted not addreſs to improve the opportunity. He told Charles, that he had been engaged, with others, in a deſign to kill him with a carabine above Batterſea, where his Majeſty often went to bathe: That the cauſe of this reſolution was the ſeverity exerciſed over the conſciences of the godly, in reſtraining the liberty of their religious aſſemblies: That when he had taken his ſtand among the reeds, full of theſe bloody reſolutions, he found his heart checked with an awe of Majeſty; and not only relented himſelf, but diverted his aſſociates from their purpoſe: That he had long ago brought himſelf to an entire indifference about life, which he now gave for loſt; yet could he not forbear warning the King of the danger which might attend his execution: That his aſſociates had bound themſelves together by the ſtricteſt oaths to revenge the death of any of their confederacy: And that no caution nor power could ſecure any one from the effects of their deſperate reſolutions.

Whether theſe conſiderations excited fear or admiration in the King, they confirmed his reſolution of granting a pardon to Blood; but he thought it a requiſite point of decency firſt to obtain the duke of Ormond's conſent. Arlington came to Ormond in the King's name, and deſired that he would not proſecute Blood, for reaſons which he was commanded to give him. The duke gallantly replied, that his Majeſty's commands were the only reaſon, that could be given, and being ſufficient, he might therefore ſpare the reſt. Charles carried his kindneſs to Blood ſtill farther: He granted him an eſtate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland; he encouraged his attendance about his perſon; he ſhowed him great countenance, and many applied to him for promoting their pretenſions at court. And while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded, in defending the Crown and Regalia, was forgotten and neglected, this man, who deſerved only to be ſtared at and deteſted as a monſter, became a ſpecies of favorite.

Errors of this nature in private life have often as bad an influence as miſcarriages, in which the public is more immediately concerned. Another incident happened this year, which infuſed a very general diſpleaſure, and ſtill greater apprehenſions, into all men. The dutcheſs of York died, and in her laſt ſickneſs, ſhe made open profeſſion of the Romiſh religion, and finiſhed her life in that communion. This put an end to that thin diſguiſe, which the Duke had hitherto worne; and he now openly declared his attachment to the church of Rome. Unaccountable terrors of popery, ever ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, had prevailed thro'out the nation; but theſe had formerly been found ſo groundleſs, and had been employed to ſo many bad purpoſes, that ſurmizes of this nature were likely to meet with the leſs credit from all men of ſenſe; and nothing but the Duke's imprudent bigotry could have convinced the whole nation of his converſion. Popery, which had hitherto been only a hideous ſpecter, was now become a real ground of terror, being openly and zealouſly embraced by the heir apparent to the Crown, a Prince of great induſtry and enterprize; while the King himſelf was not entirely free from like ſuſpicions. By means of ſuch dangerous attachments, it was feared, that theſe Princes were engaged in a kind of conſpiracy againſt the people, and had already, ſo far at leaſt, embraced a ſeparate intereſt, the foundation of many other oblique views and hazardous enterprizes. Nor could it be ſuppoſed, that a nation, who regarded with ſuch horror a ſyſtem of religion, revered by theſe Princes as ſacred and divine, and who ſeemed determined with the utmoſt obſtinacy to oppoſe its re-eſtabliſhment, could be the object of their ſincere affection and regard.

Duke declares himſelf Catholic.

It is probable, that the new alliance with France inſpired the Duke with courage to make open profeſſion of his religion, and rendered him more careleſs of the affections and eſteem of the Engliſh. This alliance became every day more viſible to all the world. Temple was declared to be no longer ambaſſador to the States; and Downing, whom the Dutch regarded as the inveterate enemy of their republic, was ſent over in his place. A ground of quarrel was ſought by means of a yatcht, diſpatched for lady Temple. The captain ſailed thro' the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coaſts; and had orders to make them ſtrike, to fire on them, and to perſevere till they ſhould return his fire. The Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, ſurprized at this bravado, came on board the yatcht, and expreſſed his willingneſs to pay reſpect to the Britiſh flag, according to antient practice: But that a fleet on their own coaſts ſhould ſtrike to a ſingle veſſel, and that not a ſhip of war, was, he ſaid, ſuch an innovation, that he durſt not, without expreſs orders, agree to it. The captain, thinking it dangerous to renew firing in the midſt of the Dutch fleet, continued his voyage; and for this neglect of orders was committed to the Tower.

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This incident however furniſhed Downing with a new article to encreaſe thoſe vain pretexts, on which it was propoſed to ground the intended quarrel. The Engliſh court delayed ſeveral months before they complained; leſt, if they had demanded ſatisfaction more early, the Dutch might have had time to grant it. Even when Downing delivered his memorial, he was bound by his inſtructions not to accept of any ſatisfaction after a certain number of days; a very imperious manner of negotiating, and impracticable in Holland, where the forms of the republic render delays abſolutely unavoidable. An anſwer, however, tho' refuſed by Downing, was ſent over to London; with an ambaſſador extraordinary, who had orders to uſe every expedient, which might give ſatisfaction to the court of England. That Court replied, that the anſwer of the Hollanders was dark and obſcure; but they would not ſpecify the articles or expreſſions, which were liable to that objection. The Dutch ambaſſador deſired the Engliſh miniſtry to draw the anſwer in what terms they pleaſed; and he engaged to ſign it: The Engliſh miniſtry replied, that it was not their buſineſs to draw papers for the Dutch. The ambaſſador brought them the draught of an article, and aſked them whether it was ſatisfactory: The Engliſh anſwered, that, when he had ſigned and delivered it, they would tell him their mind concerning it. The Dutchman reſolved to ſign it at a venture; and on his demanding a new conference, an hour was appointed for that purpoſe. But when he attended, the Engliſh refuſed to enter upon buſineſs, and told him, that the ſeaſon for negotiating was now paſt [*].

Long and frequent prorogations were made of the Parliament; leſt the Houſes ſhould declare themſelves with vigor againſt councils, ſo oppoſite to the inclination as well as intereſts of the public. Could we ſuppoſe, that Charles, in his alliance againſt Holland, really meant the good of his people, that meaſure muſt paſs for an extraordinary, nay romantic, ſtrain of heroiſm, which could lead him, in ſpite of all difficulties, and even in ſpite of themſelves, to ſeek the happineſs of the nation. But every ſtep, which he took in this affair, became a proof to all men of penetration, that the preſent war was intended againſt the liberties of his own ſubjects, even more than againſt the Dutch themſelves. He now acted in every thing, as if he were already an abſolute Monarch, and was never more to lie under the control of national aſſemblies.

The long prorogation of Parliament, if it freed the King from their importunate advices and remonſtrances, was however attended with this inconvenience, that no money could be procured to carry on the military preparations againſt Holland. Under pretext of maintaining the triple league, which, at that very time, he had firmly reſolved to break, Charles had obtained a large ſupply from the Commons;

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[*] England's Appeal, p. 22.

but this money, by debts and expences, was ſoon exhauſted. France had ſtipulated to pay two hundred and forty thouſand pounds the firſt year of the war, and the third of that ſum every year during the courſe of it; but theſe ſupplies were very inconſiderable, compared to the immenſe charge of the Engliſh navy. It ſeemed as yet premature to venture on levying money, without conſent of Parliament; ſince the power of taxing themſelves was the privilege, of which the Engliſh were, with reaſon, particularly jealous. Some other reſſource muſt be fallen on. The King had declared, that the ſtaff of treaſurer was ready for any one, that could find an expedient for ſupplying the preſent neceſſities. Shafteſbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately ſeized, and carried to the King, who granted him the promiſed reward, together with a peerage. This expedient was the ſhutting up the Exchequer, and retaining all the payments, which ſhould be made into it.

2d of January. Exchequer ſhut.

It had been uſual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, and to advance it upon the ſecurity of the funds, by which they were afterwards repayed, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, ſometimes ten, per cent. for ſums, which either had been conſigned to them without intereſt, or which they had borrowed at ſix per cent: Profits, which they dearly payed for by this egregious breach of public faith. The meaſure was ſo ſuddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confuſion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. The bankers ſtopped payment; the merchants could anſwer no bills; diſtruſt took place every where, together with a ſtagnation of commerce, by which the public was univerſally affected. And men, full of diſmal apprehenſions, aſked each other what muſt be the ſcope of thoſe myſterious councils, whence the Parliament and all men of honor were excluded, and which commenced by the forfeiture of public credit and an open violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements, both foreign and domeſtic.

Declaration of indulgence.

Another meaſure of the Court contains ſomething laudable, when conſidered in itſelf; but if we reflect on the motive whence it proceeded, as well as the time when it was embraced, it will appear a ſtrong inſtance of the arbitrary and dangerous councils, purſued at preſent by the King and his miniſtry. Charles reſolved to make uſe of his ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical matters; a power, he ſaid, which was not only inherent in him, but which had been recognized by ſeveral acts of Parliament. By virtue of this authority, he iſſued a proclamation, ſuſpending the penal laws, enacted againſt all Nonconformiſts or Recuſants whatſoever, and granting to the proteſtant Diſſenters the public exerciſe of their religion, to the Catholics the exerciſe of it in private houſes. A fruitleſs experiment of this kind, oppoſed by the Parliament and retracted by the King, had already been made a few years

15th of March.

years after the reſtoration; but Charles expected that the Parliament, whenever it ſhould meet, would now be tamed to greater ſubmiſſion, and would no longer dare to control his meaſures. Meanwhile, the Diſſenters, the moſt inveterate enemies to the Court, were mollified by theſe indulgent maxims: And the Catholics, under their ſhelter, enjoyed more liberty than the laws had hitherto allowed them.

At the ſame time, the act of navigation was ſuſpended by royal will and pleaſure: A meaſure, which, tho' a ſtretch of prerogative, ſeemed uſeful to commerce, while all the ſeamen were employed on board the royal navy. A like ſuſpenſion had been granted, during the time of the firſt Dutch war, and was not much remarked; becauſe men had, at that time, entertained leſs jealouſy of the Crown. A proclamation alſo was iſſued, containing very rigorous clauſes in favor of preſſing: Another full of menaces againſt thoſe who preſumed to ſpeak undutifully of his Majeſty's meaſures, and even thoſe who heard ſuch diſcourſes, unleſs they informed in due time upon the offenders: Another againſt importing or vending any ſorts of painted earthen ware, "except thoſe of China, upon pain of being grievouſly fined and "ſuffering the utmoſt puniſhment, which might be lawfully inflicted upon con-"temners of his Majeſty's royal authority." A new army had been levied; and it was found, that diſcipline could not be enforced without the exerciſe of martial law, which was therefore eſtabliſhed by order of council, tho' contrary to the petition of right. All theſe acts of power, however little important in themſelves, ſavored ſtrongly of arbitrary government, and were no way ſuitable to that legal adminiſtration, which the Parliament, after ſuch violent convulſions and civil wars, had hoped to have eſtabliſhed in the kingdom.

It may be worth remarking, that the lord keeper refuſed to affix the ſeals to the declaration for ſuſpending the penal laws; and was for that reaſon, tho' under other pretexts, removed from his office. Shafteſbury was made chancellor in his place; and thus another member of the Cabal received the reward of his councils.

Attack of the Smyrna fleet.

Foreign tranſactions kept pace with theſe domeſtic occurrences. An attempt, before the declaration of war, was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet by Sir Robert Holmes. That fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, valued at a million and a half; and the hopes of ſeizing ſo rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the preſent war, and he had conſidered that capture as a principal reſſource for ſupporting his military enterprizes. Holmes with nine frigates and three yatchts had orders to go in ſearch of this fleet; and he paſſed Sprague in the Channel, who was returning home with a ſquadron from a cruize in the Mediterranean. Sprague informed him of the near approach of the Hollanders; and had not Holmes, from a deſire of engroſſing all the honor and profit of the enterprize, kept the ſecret of his orders, the conjunction of theſe ſquadrons had rendered the ſucceſs infallible.

When

13th of March.

When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral, Van Neſs, who commanded the convoy, to come on board of him: One of his captains gave a like inſidious invitation to the rere-admiral. But theſe officers were on their guard. They had received intelligence of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh, and had already put all the ſhips of war and merchantmen in an excellent poſture of defence. Three times were they valiantly aſſailed by the Engliſh; and as often did they valiantly defend themſelves. In the third attack one of the Dutch ſhips of war was taken; and three or four of their moſt inconſiderable merchantmen fell into the enemies hands. The reſt, fighting with great ſkill and courage, continued their courſe; and, favored by a miſt, got ſafe into their own harbors: This attempt is denominated perfidious and pyratical by the Dutch writers, and even by many of the Engliſh. It merits at leaſt the appellation of irregular; and as it had been attended with bad ſucceſs, it brought double ſhame upon the contrivers. The Engliſh miniſtry endeavored to cover the action, by pretending, that it was a caſual rencounter, ariſing from the obſtinacy of the Dutch, who refuſed the honors of the flag: But the contrary was ſo well known, that even Holmes himſelf had not the aſſurance to perſiſt in this aſſeveration.

17th of March. War declared with Holland.

'TILL this incident the States, notwithſtanding all the menaces and preparations of the Engliſh, never believed them to be thorowly in earneſt; and had always expected, that the affair would terminate, either in ſome demands of money, or in ſome propoſals for the advancement of the Prince of Orange. The French themſelves had made little account of aſſiſtance from England; and could ſcarce believe, that their ambitious projects would, contrary to every maxim of honor and policy, be forwarded by that power, which was moſt intereſted and moſt able to oppoſe them. But Charles was too far advanced to retreat. He immediately iſſued a declaration of war againſt the Dutch; and ſurely reaſons, more falſe and frivolous, never were employed to juſtify a flagrant violation of treaty. Some complaints are made of injuries done the Eaſt India Company, which yet that company diſavowed: The detenſion of ſome Engliſh in Surinam is mentioned; tho' it appears that theſe perſons had voluntarily remained there: The refuſal of a Dutch fleet on their own coaſts to ſtrike to an Engliſh yatcht is extremely exaggerated: And to piece up all theſe pretenſions, ſome abuſive pictures are mentioned, and repreſented as a ground of quarrel. The Dutch were long at a loſs what to make of this article; till at laſt it was diſcovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the penſionary, painted by order of ſome magiſtrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-houſe, had given occaſion to the complaint. In the perſpective of this portrait, the painter had drawn ſome ſhips on fire in a harbor. This was conſtrued to be Chatham, where de Wit had really diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and had acquired great honor; but little did he imagine, that, while the inſult itſelf had ſo long been forgiven, the picture of it ſhould draw down ſuch ſevere vengeance upon his country. The concluſion of this manifeſto, where the King ſtill profeſſed his attachment to the triple alliance, was of a piece with all the reſt of it.

The French King's declaration of war contained more dignity, if undiſguiſed violence and injuſtice could merit that appellation. He pretended only, that the behavior of the Hollanders had been ſuch that it did not conſiſt with his glory any longer to bear it. That Monarch's preparations were in great forwardneſs; and his ambition was flattered with the moſt promiſing views of ſucceſs. Sweden was detached from the triple league: The biſhop of Munſter was engaged by the payment of ſubſidies to take part with France: The elector of Cologne had entered into the ſame alliance; and having conſigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected; and it was from that quarter, that France propoſed to invade the United Provinces. The ſtanding force of that Kingdom amounted to one hundred and eighty thouſand men; and with more than the half of this prodigious army was the King now approaching to the Dutch frontiers. The order, oeconomy, induſtry of Colbert, ſubſervient equally to the ambition of the Prince and happineſs of the people, furniſhed unexhauſted treaſures: Theſe, employed by the unrelenting vigilance of Louvois, ſupplied every military preparation, and facilitated all the enterprizes of the army: Condé, Turenne, ſeconded by Luxembourg, Crequi, and the moſt renowned generals of the age, conducted this army, and by their conduct and reputation inſpired courage into every one. The Monarch himſelf, ſurrounded with a gallant nobility, animated his troops, by the proſpect of reward, or, what was more valued, by the hopes of his approbation. The fatigues of war gave no interruption to gaiety: Its dangers furniſhed matter for glory: And in no enterprize did the genius of that gallant and polite people ever break out with more diſtinguiſhed luſter.

Tho' de Wit's intelligence in foreign courts was not equal to the vigilance of his domeſtic adminiſtration, he had, long before, received many ſurmizes of this fatal confederacy; but he prepared not for defence, ſo early or with ſuch induſtry, as the danger required. An union of England with France was evidently, he ſaw, deſtructive to the intereſts of the former kingdom; and therefore, overlooking or ignorant of the humors and ſecret views of Charles, he concluded it impoſſible, that ſuch pernicious projects could ever really be carried into execution. Secure in this fallacious reaſoning, he allowed the Republic to remain too long in that defenceleſs ſituation, into which many concurring accidents had united to throw it.

Weakneſs of the States.

By a continued and ſucceſsful application to commerce, the people were become very unwarlike, and confided entirely for their defence in that mercenary army, which they maintained. After the treaty of Weſtphalia, the States, truſting to their peace with Spain, and their alliance with France, had broke a great part of this army, and ſupported not with ſufficient vigilance the diſcipline of the troops, which remained. When the ariſtocratic party prevailed, it was thought prudent to diſmiſs many of the old experienced officers, who were devoted to the houſe of Orange; and their place was ſupplied by raw youths, the ſons or kinſmen of Burgomaſters, by whoſe intereſt the party was ſupported. Theſe new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, neglected their military duty; and ſome of them, it is ſaid, were even allowed to ſerve by deputes, to whom they aſſigned a ſmall part of their pay. During the war with England, all the forces of that nation had been diſbanded: Lewis's invaſion of Flanders, followed by the triple league, occaſioned the diſmiſſion of the French regiments: And the place of theſe troops, which had ever had a chief ſhare in the honor and fortune of all the wars in the Low Countries, had not been ſupplied by any new levies.

De Wit, ſenſible of this dangerous ſituation, and alarmed by the reports, which came from all quarters, beſtirred himſelf to ſupply thoſe defects, to which it was not eaſy of a ſudden to provide a ſuitable remedy. But every propoſal, which he could make, met with oppoſition from the Orange party, which was now become extremely formidable. The long and uncontroled adminiſtration of this ſtateſman had engendered envy: The preſent incidents rouzed up his enemies and opponents, who aſcribed to his miſconduct alone the bad ſituation of the Commonwealth: And above all, the popular affection to the young Prince, which had ſo long been held in violent conſtraint, and had thence acquired new acceſſion of force, began to diſplay itſelf, and to threaten the Commonwealth with ſome great convulſion. William the third, Prince of Orange, was now in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and gave ſtrong indications of all thoſe great qualities, by which his life was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed. De Wit himſelf, by giving him an excellent education, and inſtructing him in all the principles of government and ſound policy, had generouſly contributed to make his rival formidable. Dreading the precarious ſituation of his own party, he was always reſolved, he ſaid, by conveying to him the knowlege of affairs, to render the Prince capable of ſerving his country, if ever any future emergence ſhould throw the adminiſtration into his hands. The conduct of the young Prince had hitherto been extremely laudable. Notwithſtanding his powerful alliances with England and Brandenburgh, he had expreſſed his reſolution of depending entirely on the States for his advancement; and the whole tenor of his behavior ſuited extremely the genius of that people. Silent and

Chap. III. 1672. thoughtful; given to hear and to enquire; of a ſound and ſteddy underſtanding; much firmneſs in what he once reſolved or once denied; great application to buſineſs, little to pleaſure: By theſe virtues, he engaged the attention of all men. And the people, ſenſible, that they owed their liberty, and very exiſtence, to his family, and remembring that his great uncle, Maurice, had been able, even in more early youth, to protect them againſt the exorbitant power of Spain, were deſirous of raiſing this Prince to all the authority of his anceſtors, and hoped, from his valor and conduct alone, to receive protection againſt thoſe imminent dangers, with which they were at preſent threatened.

While theſe two powerful factions ſtrugled for ſuperiority, every ſcheme for defence was oppoſed, every project retarded. What was determined with difficulty was executed without vigor. Levies indeed were made, and the army compleated to ſeventy thouſand men*: The Prince was appointed both general and admiral of the Commonwealth, and the whole military power was put into his hands. But new troops could not of a ſudden acquire diſcipline and experience: And the partizans of the Prince were ſtill unſatisfied, as long as the *perpetual edict*, ſo it was called, remained in force; by which he was excluded from the Stadtholderſhip, and from all ſhare in the civil adminiſtration.

It had always been the maxim of de Wit's party to cultivate naval affairs with extreme care, and to give the fleet a viſible preference above the army, which they repreſented as the object of an unreaſonable partiality in the Princes of Orange. The two violent wars, which had of late been waged with England, had exerciſed the valor, and improved the ſkill of the ſailors. And above all, de Ruyter, the greateſt ſea commander of the age, was cloſely connected with the Louveſtein party; and every one, with confidence and alacrity, was diſpoſed to obey him. The equipment of the fleet was therefore haſtened by de Wit; in hopes, that, by ſtriking at firſt a ſucceſsful blow, he might inſpire courage into the diſmayed States, and ſupport his own declining authority. He ſeems too, to have been, in a peculiar manner, enraged againſt the Engliſh, and reſolved to take revenge on them for their conduct, of which, he thought, his country had ſuch reaſon to complain. By the offer of a cloſe alliance and a confederacy for mutual defence, they had ſeduced the Republic to quit the alliance of France; but no ſooner had ſhe embraced theſe meaſures, than they formed leagues for her deſtruction, with that very power, which they had treacherouſly engaged her to offend. In the midſt of full peace, nay during an intimate union, they had diſhonorably attacked her commerce, the only means of her ſubſiſtence, and, moved by ſhameful rapacity, had invaded that property, which, relying on their faith, they had hoped to find unprotected and defenceleſs. Contrary to their own viſible intereſt, as well as their honor, they ſtill retained a malignant reſentment for her ſucceſsful concluſion of the laſt war; a war, which had, at firſt, ſprung from their own wanton inſolence and ambition. To repreſs ſo dangerous an enemy, would, de Wit imagined, give a peculiar pleaſure, and contribute to the future ſecurity of his country, whoſe proſperity was ſo much the object of general envy.

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* Temple, vol. i. p. 75.

Battle of Solebay.
28th of May.

Actuated by like motives and views, de Ruyter put to ſea with a formidable fleet, conſiſting of ninety-one ſhips of war and forty-four fire-ſhips. Cornelius de Wit was on board, as deputy from the States. They ſailed in queſt of the Engliſh, who were under the command of the duke of Yorke, and who had already conjoined themſelves with the French under Mareſchal d' Etrées. The combined fleets lay at Solebay in a very negligent poſture; and Sandwich, being an experienced officer, had given the Duke warning of the danger; but received, 'tis ſaid, ſuch an anſwer as intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehenſions. Upon the appearance of the enemy, every one ran to his poſt with precipitation, and many ſhips were obliged to cut their cables, in order to be in readineſs. Sandwich commanded the van; and tho' determined to conquer or to periſh, yet he ſo tempered his courage with prudence, that to him the whole fleet was viſibly indebted for its ſafety. He haſtened out of the bay, where it had been eaſy for de Ruyter with his fire-ſhips to have deſtroyed the combined fleets, which were crowded together; and by this wiſe meaſure he gave time to the duke of Yorke, who commanded the main body, and Mareſchal d' Etrées, admiral of the rear, to diſengage themſelves. He himſelf meanwhile was engaged in cloſe fight; and by preſenting himſelf to every danger, had drawn upon him all the braveſt of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, the Dutch admiral, and beat off his ſhip: He ſunk another ſhip, which ventured to lay him aboard: He ſunk three fire-ſhips, which endeavored to grapple with him: And tho' his veſſel was torne in pieces with ſhot, and of a thouſand men ſhe contained, near ſix hundred were laid dead upon the deck, he continued ſtill to thunder with all his artillery in the midſt of the enemy. But another fire ſhip, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his veſſel, her deſtruction was now inevitable. Warned by Sir Edward Haddoc, his captain, he refuſed to make his eſcape, and bravely embraced death as a ſhelter from that ignominy, which a raſh expreſſion of the Duke's, he thought, had thrown upon him.

Sandwich killed.

During this fierce engagement with Sandwich, de Ruyter remained not inactive. He attacked the duke of Yorke, and fought him with ſuch fury for above two hours, that of two and thirty actions, in which he had been engaged, he declared this combat to be the moſt obſtinately diſputed. The Duke's ſhip was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His ſquadron was overpowered with numbers; till Sir Joſeph Jordan, who had ſucceeded to Sandwich's command, came to his aſſiſtance; and the fight, being more equally ballanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the Engliſh. The loſs, ſuſtained by the fleets of the two maritime powers, was nearly equal; if it did not rather fall more heavy on the Engliſh. The French ſuffered very little, becauſe they had ſcarce been engaged in the action; and as this backwardneſs is not their national character, it was concluded, that they had received orders to ſpare their ſhips, while the Dutch and Engliſh ſhould weaken themſelves by their mutual animoſity. Almoſt all the other actions during the preſent war tended to confirm this ſuſpicion.

14th of May.

Progreſs of the French.

It brought great honor to the Dutch to have fought with ſome advantage the combined fleets of two ſuch powerful nations; but nothing leſs than a compleat victory could ſerve the purpoſe of de Wit, or ſave his country from thoſe calamities, which from every quarter threatened to overwhelm her. He had expected, that the French would make their attack on the ſide of Maſtricht, which was well fortified and provided of a good garriſon; but Lewis, taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne, reſolved to invade the enemy from that quarter, which he knew to be more feeble and defenceleſs. The armies of that Elector and thoſe of Munſter appeared on the other ſide of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States. The Dutch troops, too weak to defend ſo extenſive a frontier, were ſcattered into ſo many towns, that no conſiderable body remained in the field; and a ſtrong garriſon was hardly to be found in any fortreſs. Lewis paſſed the Meuſe at Viſet; and laying ſiege to Orſoi, a town of the Elector of Brandenburgh's, but garriſoned by the Dutch, he carried it in three days. He divided his army, and inveſted at once Burik, Weſel, Emerik, and Rhimberg, four places regularly fortified, and not unprovided of troops: In four days, all theſe places were ſurrendered. A general aſtoniſhment had ſeized the Hollanders, from the combination of ſuch powerful Princes againſt the Republic; and no where was reſiſtance made, ſuitable to the antient glory or preſent greatneſs of the State. Governors without experience, commanded troops without diſcipline; and deſpair had univerſally extinguiſhed that ſenſe of honor, by which alone men, in ſuch dangerous extremities, can be animated to a valorous defence.

2d of June.

Lewis advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which he prepared to paſs. To all the other calamities of the Dutch was added the extreme drought of the ſeaſon, by which the greateſt rivers were much diminiſhed, and in ſome places rendered fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the preſence of their Prince, full of impetuous courage, but ranged in exact order, flung themſelves into the river:

The infantry paſſed in boats: A few regiments of Dutch appeared on the other ſide, who were unable to make reſiſtance. And thus was executed without danger, but not without glory, the paſſage of the Rhine; ſo much celebrated, at that time, by the flattery of French courtiers, and tranſmitted to poſterity by the more durable flattery of their poets.

Each ſucceſs added courage to the conquerors, and ſtruck the vanquiſhed with diſmay. The Prince of Orange, tho' prudent beyond his age, was but newly advanced to the command, unacquainted with the army, unknown to them; and all men, by reaſon of the violent factions which prevailed, were uncertain of the authority, on which they muſt depend. It was expected, that the fort of Skink, ſo famous for the ſieges, which it had formerly ſuſtained, would make ſome reſiſtance; but it yielded to Turenne in a few days. The ſame general made himſelf maſter of Arnheim, Knotzembourg, and Nimeguen, as ſoon as he appeared before them. Doeſbourg at the ſame time opened its gates to Lewis: Soon after, Harderwic, Amerſfort, Campen, Rhenen, Viane, Elberg, Zwol, Cuilemberg, Wageninguen, Lochem, Woerden fell into the enemies hands. Groll and Deventer ſurrendered to the Mareſchal Luxembourg, who commanded the troops of Munſter. And every hour brought to the States news of the rapid progreſs of the French, and of the cowardly defence of their own garriſons.

The Prince of Orange, with his ſmall and diſcouraged army, retired backwards into the province of Holland; where he expected, from the natural ſtrength of the country, ſince all human art and courage failed, to be able to make ſome reſiſtance. The town and province of Utrecht ſent deputations, and ſurrendered themſelves to Lewis. Naerden, a place within three leagues of Amſterdam, was ſeized by the marqueſs of Rochefort; and had he puſhed on to Muyden, he had eaſily got poſſeſſion of it. Fourteen ſtraglers of his army having appeared before the gates of that town, the magiſtrates ſent them the keys; but a ſervant maid, who was alone in the caſtle, having raiſed the drawbridge, kept them from taking poſſeſſion of that fortreſs. The magiſtrates afterwards, finding the party ſo weak, made them drunk, and took the keys from them. Muyden is ſo near to Amſterdam, that its cannon may infeſt the ſhips, which enter into that city.

25th of June.

Lewis with a ſplendid court made a ſolemn entry into Utrecht, full of glory, becauſe every where attended with ſucceſs; tho' more owing to the cowardice and miſconduct of his enemies than to his own valor or prudence. Three provinces were already in his hands, Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Utrecht; Groninghen was threatened; Friezeland lay expoſed: The only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand; and the Monarch deliberated concerning the proper meaſures for reducing them. Condé and Turenne exhorted him to diſmantle all the towns, which he

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had taken, except a few; and fortifying his main army by the garriſons, put himſelf in a condition of puſhing his conqueſts. Louvois, hoping that the other provinces, weak and diſmayed, would prove an eaſy prey, adviſed him to keep poſſeſſion of places, which might afterwards ſerve to retain the people in ſubjection. His council was followed; tho' it was found ſoon after to have been the moſt impolitic.

Conſternation of the Dutch.

MEANWHILE the people, thro'out all the Republic, inſtead of collecting a noble indignation againſt the haughty conqueror, diſcharged their rage upon their own unhappy miniſter, on whoſe prudence and integrity every one formerly beſtowed the merited applauſe. The bad condition of the armies was laid to his charge: The ill choice of governors was aſcribed to his partiality: As inſtances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was ſuſpected; and his former connexions with France being remembered, the populace believed, that he and his partizans had now combined to betray them to their moſt mortal enemy. The Prince of Orange, notwithſtanding his youth and inexperience, was looked on as the only ſavior of the State; and men were violently drove by their fears into his party, to which they had always been led by favor and inclination.

THE town of Amſterdam alone ſeemed to retain ſome courage; and by forming a regular plan of defence, endeavored to infuſe ſpirit into the other cities. The magiſtrates obliged the burgeſſes to keep a ſtrict watch: The populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed for the defence of the public. Some ſhips, which lay uſeleſs in the harbor, were refitted, and ſtationed to guard the city: And the ſluices being opened, the neighboring country, without regard to the great damage ſuſtained, was laid under water. All the province followed this example, and ſcrupled not in this extremity to reſtore to the ſea thoſe fertile fields, which with infinite art and expence had been won from it.

THE States of Holland met to conſider, whether any means were left to ſave the remains of their lately flouriſhing, and now diſtreſſed Commonwealth. Tho' they were ſurrounded with waters, which barred all acceſs to the enemy, their deliberations were not conducted with that tranquillity, which could alone ſuggeſt meaſures, proper to extricate them from their preſent difficulties. The nobles gave their vote, that, provided their religion, liberty, and ſovereignty could be ſaved, every thing elſe without ſcruple ſhould be ſacrificed to the conqueror. Eleven towns concurred in the ſame ſentiments. Amſterdam ſingly declared againſt all treaty with inſolent and triumphant enemies: But notwithſtanding that oppoſition, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to implore the pity of the two combined Monarchs. It was reſolved to ſacrifice to Lewis Maſtricht and all the frontier towns, which lay without the bounds of the ſeven provinces; and to pay him a large ſum for the charges of the war.

LEWIS deliberated with his miniſters Louvois and Pomponne, concerning the meaſures, which he ſhould embrace in the preſent emergence; and fortunately for Europe, he ſtill preferred the violent councils of the former. He offered to evacuate his conqueſts on condition, that all duties lately impoſed on the commodities of France ſhould be taken off; that the public exerciſe of the Romiſh religion ſhould be permitted; the churches ſhared with the Catholics, and their prieſts maintained by appointments from the States; that all the frontier towns of the Republic ſhould be reſigned to him, together with Nimeguen, Skink, Knotzembourg, and that part of Guelderland which lay on the other ſide of the Rhine; as likewiſe the iſle of Bommel, that of Voorn, the fortreſs of St. Andrew, that of Louveſtein and Crevecœur; that they ſhould pay him the ſum of twenty millions of livres for the charges of the war; that they ſhould every year ſend him a ſolemn embaſſy, and preſent him with a golden medal, as an acknowlegement, that to him they owed the preſervation of that liberty, which by the aſſiſtance of his predeceſſors they had been able to acquire; and that they ſhould give entire ſatisfaction to the King of England: And he allowed them but ten days for the acceptance of theſe exorbitant demands.

THE ambaſſadors, who came to London, met with ſtill worſe reception: No miniſter was allowed to treat with them; and they were retained in a ſpecies of confinement. But notwithſtanding this rigorous conduct of the Court, the preſence of the Dutch ambaſſadors excited the ſentiments of tender compaſſion, and even indignation among the people in general, but eſpecially among thoſe who could foreſee the aim and reſult of thoſe dangerous councils. The two moſt powerful Monarchs, they ſaid, in Europe, the one by land, the other by ſea, have, contrary to the faith of ſolemn treaties, combined to exterminate an illuſtrious Republic: What a diſmal proſpect did their ſucceſs afford to the neighbors of the one, and to the ſubjects of the other? Charles had formed the triple league, in order to reſtrain the exorbitant power of France: A ſure proof, that he does not now err from ignorance. He had courted and obtained the applauſes of his people by that wiſe meaſure: As he now adopts contrary councils, he muſt ſurely expect by their means to render himſelf totally independent of his people, whoſe ſentiments are become ſo indifferent to him. During the moſt entire ſubmiſſion of the nation, and moſt dutiful behavior of the Parliament, dangerous projects, without provocation, are formed to reduce them to ſubjection, and all the foreign intereſts of the people are ſacrificed, in order the more ſurely to bereave them of their domeſtic liberties. Leſt any inſtance of freedom ſhould remain within their

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view, the United Provinces, the real barrier of England, muſt be abandoned to the moſt dangerous enemy of England; and by an univerſal combination of tyranny againſt laws and liberty, all mankind, who have retained, in any degree, their precious, tho' hitherto precarious, birthrights, are for ever to ſubmit to ſlavery and injuſtice.

Tho' the fear of giving offence to his confederate had engaged Charles to treat the Dutch ambaſſadors with ſuch rigor, he was not altogether without uneaſineſs, on account of the rapid and unexpected progreſs of the French arms. Were Holland entirely conquered, its whole commerce and naval force, he ſaw, muſt become an acceſſion to France; the Spaniſh Low Countries muſt ſoon follow; and Lewis, now independent of his ally, would no longer think it his intereſt to ſupport him againſt his diſcontented ſubjects. Charles, tho' he never ſtretched his attention to very diſtant conſequences, could not but foreſee theſe obvious events; and tho' incapable of envy or jealouſy, he was touched with anxiety, when he found every thing yield to the French arms, while ſuch vigorous reſiſtance was made to his own. He ſoon diſmiſſed the Dutch ambaſſadors, leſt they ſhould cabal among his ſubjects, who bore them great favor: But he ſent over Buckingham and Arlington, and ſoon after lord Halifax, to negotiate anew with the French King, in the preſent proſperous ſituation of that Monarch's affairs.

These miniſters paſſed thro' Holland; and as they were ſuppoſed to bring peace to the diſtreſt Republic, they were received every where with the loudeſt acclamations. "God bleſs the King of England! God bleſs the Prince of Orange! "Confuſion to the States!" This was every where the cry of the populace. The ambaſſadors had ſeveral conferences with the States and the Prince of Orange; but made no reaſonable advances towards an accommodation. They went to Utrecht, where they renewed the league with Lewis, and agreed, that neither of the Kings ſhould ever make peace with Holland but by common conſent. They next gave in their pretenſions, of which the following are the principal articles; that the Dutch ſhould give up the honor of the flag without the leaſt reſerve or limitation, nor ſhould whole fleets, even on the coaſt of Holland, refuſe to ſtrike and lower their topſails to the ſmalleſt ſhip, carrying the Britiſh flag; that all perſons, guilty of treaſon againſt the King or of writing ſeditious libels, ſhould on complaint be baniſhed for ever the dominions of the States; that the Dutch ſhould pay the King a million ſterling towards the charges of the war, together with ten thouſand pounds a year for permiſſion to fiſh on the Britiſh ſeas; that they ſhould ſhare the Indian trade; that the Prince of Orange and his deſcendants ſhould enjoy the ſovereignty of the United Provinces; at leaſt that they ſhould be inveſted with the dignities of Stadtholder, Admiral, and General, in as ample a manner as had ever been enjoyed by any of his anceſtors; and that the iſle of Walcheren, the city and caſtle of Sluis, together with the iſles of Cadſant, Gorée, and Vorne, ſhould be put into the King's hands, as a ſecurity for the performance of articles. It is moſt conſiſtent with candor and reaſon to ſuppoſe, that Charles had not, in his alliance with France, propoſed the utter deſtruction of the United Provinces; ſince ſuch a ſcheme is ſcarce compatible with the project of employing the French power for extending his authority at home: But as the unexpected progreſs of Lewis's arms had reduced the Hollanders to the laſt extremity, the King was deſirous of acquiring a conſiderable ſhare of that rich booty, which fortune had thrown into their hands.

30th of June.

Prince of Orange Stadtholder.

THE terms propoſed by Lewis bereaved the Republic of all ſecurity againſt any land invaſion from France: Thoſe demanded by Charles expoſed them equally to an invaſion by ſea from England: And when both were conjoined, they appeared abſolutely intolerable, and reduced the Hollanders, who ſaw no means of defence, to the utmoſt deſpair. What extremely augmented their diſtreſs, were the violent factions, with which they continued to be every where agitated. De Wit, too pertinacious in defence of his own ſyſtem of liberty, while the very being of the Commonwealth was threatened, ſtill perſevered in oppoſing the repeal of the perpetual edict, now become the object of horror to the Dutch populace. Their rage at laſt broke all bounds, and bore every thing before it. They roſe in an inſurrection at Dort, and by force conſtrained their burgo-maſters to ſign the repeal, ſo much demanded. This proved a ſignal of a general revolt thro'out all the provinces. At Amſterdam, the Hague, Middlebourg, Rotterdam, the people flew to arms, and trampling under foot the authority of their magiſtrates, obliged them to ſubmit to the Prince of Orange. They expelled from their office ſuch as diſpleaſed them: They required the Prince to appoint others in their place: And agreeable to the proceedings of the populace in all ages, provided they might wreak their vengeance on their ſuperiors, they expreſſed a great indifference for the protection of their civil liberties.

THE ſuperior talents and virtues of de Wit made him the chief object of general envy, and expoſed him to the utmoſt rage of popular prejudices. Four aſſaſſins, actuated by no other motive than miſtaken zeal, had aſſaulted him in the ſtreets; and after giving him many wounds, had left him for dead. One of them was puniſhed: The others were never queſtioned for their crime. His brother Cornelius, who had behaved with great prudence and courage on board the fleet, was obliged by ſickneſs to come aſhore, and he was now confined to his houſe at Dort. Some aſſaſſins broke in upon him; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that his family and ſervants could repell their violence. At Amſterdam, the houſe of the brave

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brave de Ruyter, the ſole reſſource of the diſtreſt Commonwealth, was ſurrounded by the enraged populace, and his wife and children were for ſome time expoſed to the moſt imminent danger.

One Tichelaer, a barber, a man noted for infamy, accuſed Cornelius de Wit of endeavoring by bribes to engage him in the deſign of poyſoning the Prince of Orange. The accuſation, tho' attended with the moſt improbable and even abſurd circumſtances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude; and Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature. The judges, either blinded by the ſame prejudices, or not daring to oppoſe the popular torrent, condemned him to ſuffer the queſtion. This man, who had bravely ſerved his country in war, and who had been inveſted with the higheſt dignities, was delivered into the hands of the executioner, and torne in pieces by the moſt inhuman torments. Amidſt the ſevere agonies, which he endured, he ſtill proteſted his innocence; and frequently repeated an ode of Horace, which contained ſentiments, ſuited to his deplorable condition.

Juſtum & tenacem propoſiti virum, &c.[*]

The judges, however, condemned him to loſe his offices, and to be baniſhed the Commonwealth. The penſionary, who had not been terrified from performing the part of a kind brother and faithful friend during this proſecution, reſolved not to deſert him on account of the unmerited infamy, which was endeavored to be thrown

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[*] Which may be thus tranſlated.

The man, whoſe mind on virtue bent,
Purſues ſome greatly good intent,
With undiverted aim,
Serene, beholds the angry crowd;
Nor can their clamors, fierce and loud,
His ſtubborn honor tame.

Nor the proud tyrant's fierceſt threat,
Nor ſtorms, that from their dark retreat
The lawleſs ſurges wake,
Nor Jove's dread bolt that ſhakes the pole,
The firmer purpoſe of his ſoul
With all its power can ſhake.

Shou'd Nature's frame in ruins fall,
And chaos o'er the ſinking ball
Reſume primæval ſway,
His courage chance and fate defies
Nor feels the wreck of earth and ſkies
Obſtruct its deſtin'd way.

Maſſacre of the De Wits.

thrown upon him. He came to his brother's priſon, determined to accompany him to the place of his exile. The ſignal was given to the populace. They roſe in arms: They broke open the doors of the priſon; they pulled out the two brothers; and a thouſand hands vied with each other, who ſhould firſt be embrued in their blood. Even their death did not ſatiate the brutal rage of the multitude. They exerciſed on the dead bodies of thoſe virtuous citizens, indignities too ſhocking to be recited; and till tired with their own fury, it was not permitted the friends of the deceaſed to approach, or to beſtow on them the honors of a funeral, ſilent and unattended.

Good conduct of the Prince.

The maſſacre of the de Wits put an end for the time to the remains of their party; and all men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in expreſſing the moſt implicite obedience to the Prince of Orange. The Republic, tho' half ſubdued by foreign force, and as yet diſmayed by its misfortunes, was firmly united under one leader, and began to collect the remains of its antient vigor. William, worthy of that heroic family from which he ſprung, adopted ſentiments becoming the head of a brave and a free people. He bent all his efforts againſt the public enemy: He ſought not againſt his country any advantages, which might be dangerous to civil liberty. Thoſe intolerable conditions, demanded by their inſolent enemies, he exhorted the States with ſcorn to reject; and by his advice they put an end to negotiations, which ſerved only to break the courage of their fellow citizens, and delay the aſſiſtance of their allies. He ſhowed them, that the numbers and riches of the people, aided by the advantages of nature, would ſtill be ſufficient, if they abandoned not themſelves to deſpair, to reſiſt, at leaſt retard, the progreſs of their enemies, and preſerve the remaining provinces, till the other nations of Europe, ſenſible of the common danger, could come to their relief. He repreſented, that as envy of their opulence and liberty had produced this mighty combination againſt them, they would in vain expect by conceſſions to ſatisfy foes, whoſe pretenſions were as little bounded by moderation as by juſtice. He exhorted them to remember the generous valor of their anceſtors, who, yet in the infancy of their State, preferred liberty to every human conſideration, and rouzing their ſpirits to an obſtinate defence, repelled all the power, riches, and military diſcipline of Spain. And he profeſſed himſelf willing to tread in the ſteps of his illuſtrious predeceſſors, and hoped, that as they had honored him with the ſame affection which their anceſtors payed the former Princes of Orange, they would ſecond his efforts with the ſame conſtancy and manly fortitude.

The ſpirit of the young Prince infuſed itſelf into all his hearers. Thoſe who lately entertained thoughts of yielding their necks to ſubjection were now bravely de-

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termined to reſiſt the haughty victor, and to defend thoſe laſt remains of their native ſoil, of which neither the irruptions of Lewis nor the inundation of waters had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground fail them on which they might combat, they were ſtill reſolved not to yield the generous ſtrife; but flying to their ſettlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in thoſe remote regions, and preſerve alive, even in the climates of ſlavery, that liberty, of which Europe was become unworthy. Already they concerted meaſures for executing this extraordinary reſolution; and found, that the veſſels, contained in their harbors, could tranſport above two hundred thouſand inhabitants to the Eaſt Indies.

THE combined Princes, finding at laſt ſome appearance of oppoſition, bent all their efforts to ſeduce the Prince of Orange, on whoſe valor and conduct the fate of the Commonwealth entirely depended. The ſovereignty of the province of Holland was offered him; and the protection of England and France, to inſure him, as well againſt the invaſion of foreign enemies, as the inſurrection of his ſubjects. All propoſals were generouſly rejected; and the Prince declared his reſolution to retire into Germany, and to paſs his life in hunting on his lands there, rather than abandon the liberty of his country, or betray the truſt repoſed in him. When Buckingham urged the inevitable deſtruction, which hung over the United Provinces, and aſked him, whether he did not ſee, that the Commonwealth was ruined; *There is one certain means*, replied the Prince, *by which I can be ſecure never to ſee my country's ruin: I will die in the laſt ditch.*

THE people in Holland had been much incited to eſpouſe the Prince's party, by the hopes, that the King of England, pleaſed with his nephew's advancement, would abandon thoſe dangerous engagements, into which he had entered, and would afford his protection to the diſtreſt Republic. But all theſe hopes were ſoon found to be fallacious. Charles ſtill perſiſted in his alliance with France; and the combined fleets approached the coaſt of Holland, with an Engliſh army on board, commanded by Count Schomberg. It is pretended, that an unuſual tyde carried them off the coaſt, and that Providence thus interpoſed in an extraordinary manner to ſave the Republic, from the imminent danger, to which it was expoſed. Very tempeſtuous weather, it is certain, prevailed all the reſt of the ſeaſon; and the combined fleets either were blown to a diſtance, or dared not to approach a ſhore, which might prove fatal to them. Lewis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no farther progreſs was likely for the preſent to attend his arms, had retired to Verſailles.

THE other nations of Europe regarded the ſubjection of Holland as the forerunner of their own ſlavery, and retained no hopes of defending themſelves, ſhould ſuch a mighty acceſſion be made to the already exorbitant power of France. The

Emperor,

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Emperor, tho' diſtant and ſlow in his undertakings, began to put himſelf in motion; Brandenburgh ſhewed a diſpoſition to take party with the States; Spain had ſent ſome forces to their aſſiſtance; and by the preſent efforts of the Prince of Orange and the proſpect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began already to appear. Groninghen was the firſt place which ſtopped the progreſs of the enemy: The biſhop of Munſter was repulſed from that town, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege with loſs and diſhonor. Naerden was attempted by the Prince of Orange; but Luxembourg, breaking in upon his entrenchments with a ſudden irruption, obliged him to abandon the enterprize.

1673. 4th of February. A Parliament.

THERE was no ally on whom the Dutch more relied for aſſiſtance than the Parliament of England, which the King's neceſſities at laſt obliged him to aſſemble. The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed on this ſeſſion, which met after prorogations continued for near two years. It was evident how much the King dreaded the aſſembling his Parliament; and the diſcontents univerſally excited by the bold meaſures entered into both in foreign and domeſtic adminiſtration, had given but too juſt foundation for his apprehenſions.

THE King, however, in his ſpeech, addreſſed them with all the appearance of cordiality and confidence. He ſaid, that he would have aſſembled them ſooner, had he not been deſirous to allow them leizure for attending their private affairs, as well as to give his people reſpite from taxes and impoſitions: That ſince their laſt meeting, he had been forced into a war, not only juſt but neceſſary, neceſſary both for the honor and intereſt of the nation: That in order to have peace at home while he had war abroad, he had iſſued his declaration of indulgence to diſſenters, and had found many good effects to reſult from that meaſure: That he heard of ſome exceptions which had been taken to this exerciſe of power; but he would tell them plainly, that he was reſolved to ſtick to his declaration, and would be much offended at any contradiction: And that tho' a rumor had been ſpred, as if the new levied army had been intended to control law and property, he regarded that jealouſy as ſo frivolous, that he was reſolved to augment his forces next ſpring; and did not doubt but they would conſider the neceſſity of them in their ſupplies. The reſt of the buſineſs he left to the chancellor.

THE chancellor enlarged on the ſame topics, and added many extraordinary poſitions of his own. He told them, that the Hollanders were the common enemies of all monarchies, eſpecially that of England, their only competitor for commerce and naval power, and the ſole obſtacle to their views of an univerſal empire as extenſive as that of ancient Rome: That even during their preſent diſtreſs and danger, they were ſo intoxicated with theſe ambitious projects, as to ſlight all treaty, nay to refuſe all ceſſation: That the King, in entering on this war, did no more than proſecute thoſe maxims, which had engaged the Parliament to adviſe and approve of the laſt; and he might therefore ſafely ſay, that *it was their war*: That the States being the eternal enemies of England, both by intereſt and inclination, the Parliament had wiſely judged it neceſſary to extirpate them, and had laid it down as an eternal maxim, that *delenda eſt Carthago*, this hoſtile government by all means is to be ſubverted: And that tho' the Dutch pretended to have aſſurances, that the Parliament would furniſh no ſupplies to the King, he was confident, that this hope, in which they extremely truſted, would ſoon fail them.

BEFORE the Commons entered upon buſineſs, there lay before them an affair, which diſcovered, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the King; and at the ſame time proved, that the houſe was not at preſent in a diſpoſition to ſubmit to them. It had been the conſtant undiſputed practice, ever ſince the the Parliament in 1604, for the houſe, in caſe of any vacancy, to iſſue out writs for new elections; and the chancellor, who, before that time, had had ſome precedents in his favor, had ever afterwards abſtained from all exerciſe of that authority. This indeed was one of the firſt ſteps, which the Commons had taken in eſtabliſhing and guarding their privileges; and nothing could be more requiſite, in order to prevent the clandeſtine iſſuing of writs, and to enſure a fair and free election. No one but ſo deſperate a miniſter as Shafteſbury, who had entered into a regular plan for reducing the people to ſubjection, could have entertained thoughts of breaking in upon a practice ſo reaſonable and ſo well eſtabliſhed, or could have hoped to ſucceed in ſo bold an enterprize. Several members had taken their ſeats upon irregular writs iſſued by the chancellor; but the houſe was no ſooner aſſembled, and the ſpeaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made againſt them; and the members themſelves had the modeſty to withdraw. Their election was declared null; and new writs, in the uſual form, were iſſued by the ſpeaker.

The next ſtep taken by the Commons had the appearance of ſome more complaiſance; but in reality proceeded from the ſame ſpirit of liberty and independence. They reſolved, in order to ſupply his Majeſty's extraordinary occaſions, for that was the expreſſion they uſed, to grant eighteen months aſſeſſment, at the rate of 70,000 pounds a month, amounting in the whole to 1,260,000 pounds. Tho' unwilling to make a violent breach with the King, they would not expreſs the leaſt approbation of the war; and they gave him the proſpect of this ſupply, only that they might have permiſſion to proceed peaceably in the redreſs of ſome other grievances, of which they had ſuch reaſon to complain.

No grievance was more alarming, both on account of the ſecret views from which it proceeded, and the conſequences which might attend it, than the declaration of indulgence. A remonſtrance was immediately formed againſt that exerciſe of prerogative. The King defended his meaſure. The Commons inſiſted; and repreſented, that ſuch a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free courſe of the laws, and alter the legiſlative power, which had always been acknowleged to reſide in the King and the two houſes. All the world was in expectation, with regard to the iſſue of this extraordinary affair. The King ſeemed engaged in honor to ſupport his meaſure; and in order to obviate all oppoſition, he had poſitively declared, that he would ſupport it. The Commons were obliged to perſevere, not only becauſe it was diſhonorable to be foiled, where they could plead ſuch ſtrong reaſons, but alſo becauſe, if the King prevailed in his pretenſions, an end ſeemed to be put to all the legal limitations of the conſtitution.

It is evident, that the King was now come to that delicate criſis, which he ought at firſt to have foreſeen, when he embraced thoſe deſperate councils; and his reſolutions, in ſuch an event, ought long ago to have been entirely fixed and determined. Beſides his uſual guards, he had an army encamped at Blackheath under the command of Schomberg, a foreigner; and many of the officers were of the Catholic religion. His ally, the French king, he might expect, would ſecond him, if violence became requiſite for reſtraining his diſcontented ſubjects, and ſupporting the meaſures, which by common conſent they had agreed to purſue. But Charles was ſtartled, when he approached ſo dangerous a precipice, as that which lay before him. Were violence once offered, there could be no return, he ſaw, of mutual confidence and truſt with his people; the perils attending foreign ſuccors, eſpecially from ſo mighty a prince, were ſufficiently apparent; and the ſucceſs which his own arms had met with in the war was not ſo great, as to encreaſe his authority, or terrify the malecontents from oppoſition. The deſire of power likewiſe, which had engaged Charles in theſe pernicious meaſures, had leſs proceeded, we may obſerve, from ambition than from love of eaſe. Strict limitations of the conſtitution rendered the government complicated and troubleſome; and it was impoſſible for him, without much contrivance and intrigue, to procure the money requiſite for his pleaſures, or even for the regular ſupport of the government. When the proſpect, therefore, of ſuch dangerous oppoſition preſented itſelf, the ſame love of eaſe inclined him to retract what it ſeemed ſo difficult to maintain; and his turn of mind, naturally pliant and careleſs, made him find little objection to a meaſure, which a more haughty prince would have embraced with the utmoſt reluctance. That he might yield with the better grace, he aſked the opinion of the Houſe of Peers, who adviſed him to comply with the Commons. And accordingly the King ſent for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the ſeals. The Commons expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction with this meaſure, and the moſt entire duty to his Majeſty. The King aſſured them, that he would

Declaration of indulgence recalled.

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willingly paſs any law, offered him, which might tend to give them ſatisfaction in all their juſt grievances.

Shaftesbury, when he ſaw the King recede at once from ſo capital a point, which he had publicly declared his reſolution to maintain, concluded, that all the ſchemes for enlarging royal authority were vaniſhed, and that Charles was utterly incapable of purſuing ſuch difficult and ſuch dangerous meaſures. The Parliament, he foreſaw, might puſh their enquiries into thoſe councils, which were ſo generally odious; and the King, from the ſame facility of diſpoſition, might abandon his miniſters to their vengeance. He was reſolved, therefore, to make his peace in time with that party, which was likely to predominate; and to attone for all his violences in favor of monarchy, by like violences in oppoſition to it. Never turn was more ſudden, or leſs calculated to ſave appearances. Immediately he entered into all the cabals of the country party; and diſcovered to them, perhaps magnified, the arbitrary councils of the court, in which he himſelf had had ſo deep a ſhare. He was received with open arms by that party, who ſtood in need of ſo able a leader; and no queſtions were aſked with regard to his late apoſtacy. The various factions, into which the nation had been divided, and the many ſudden revolutions to which the public had been expoſed, had tended much to debauch the minds of men, and to deſtroy the ſenſe of honor and decorum in their public conduct.

But the parliament, though ſatisfied with the King's compliance, had not loſt all thoſe apprehenſions, to which the meaſures of the court had given ſo much foundation. A law paſſed for impoſing a *teſt* on all who ſhould enjoy any public office. Beſides taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and receiving the ſacrament in the eſtabliſhed church; they were obliged to abjure all belief in the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. As the Diſſenters had ſeconded the efforts of the Commons againſt the King's declaration of indulgence, and ſeemed reſolute to accept of no toleration in an illegal manner, they had acquired great favor with the Parliament, and a project was adopted to unite the whole Proteſtant intereſt againſt the common enemy, who began now to appear formidable. A bill paſſed the Commons for the eaſe and relief of the Proteſtant nonconformiſts; but met with ſome difficulties, at leaſt delays, in the Houſe of Peers.

The reſolution for ſupply was carried into a law; as a recompence to the King for his conceſſions. A general pardon likewiſe and indemnity was paſſed, which ſcreened the miniſters from all farther enquiry. The Parliament probably thought that the beſt method of reclaiming the criminals, was to ſhew them, that their caſe was not deſperate. Even the remonſtrance, which the Commons voted of their grievances, may be regarded as a proof, that their anger was, for the time, appeaſed. None of the capital points are touched on; the breach of the triple league, the French alliance, the ſhutting up the exchequer. The ſole grievances mentioned are an arbitrary impoſition on coals for providing convoys, the exerciſe of military law, the quartering and preſſing of ſoldiers; and they prayed, that, after the concluſion of the war, the whole army ſhould be diſbanded. The King gave them a gracious, tho' evaſive anſwer. When buſineſs was finiſhed, the two Houſes adjourned themſelves.

29th of March.

Tho' the King had, for the time, receded from his declaration of indulgence, and thereby had tacitly relinquiſhed the ſuſpending power, he was ſtill reſolved, notwithſtanding his bad ſucceſs both at home and abroad, to perſevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and conſequently in all thoſe ſecret views, whatever they were, which depended on thoſe fatal meaſures. The money, granted by Parliament, ſufficed to equip a fleet, of which Prince Rupert was declared admiral: For the Duke was ſet aſide by the teſt. Sir Edward Sprague and the earl of Oſſory commanded under the Prince. The French ſquadron joined them, commanded by d'Etreés. The combined fleets ſet ſail towards the coaſt of Holland, and found the enemy, lying at anchor, within the ſands at Schonvelt. There is a natural confuſion attending ſea fights, even beyond other military tranſactions; derived from the precarious operations of winds and tydes, as well as from the ſmoke and darkneſs, in which every thing is there involved. No wonder, therefore, that relations of theſe battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; eſpecially when compoſed by writers of the hoſtile nations, who take pleaſure in exalting their own advantages, and ſuppreſſing thoſe of the enemy. All we can ſay with certainty of this battle, is, that both ſides boaſted of the victory; and we may thence infer, that the action was not deciſive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their own harbors. In a week, they were refitted, and preſented themſelves again to the combined fleets. A new action enſued, not more deciſive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great obſtinacy on either ſide; but whether the Dutch or the allies firſt retired ſeems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loſs in the former of theſe actions fell chiefly on the French, whom the Engliſh, diffident of their intentions, took care to place, many of them, under their own ſquadrons; and they thereby expoſed them to all the fire of the enemy. There ſeems not to have been a ſhip loſt on either ſide in the ſecond engagement.

28th of May, Sea fight.

4th of June. Another ſea fight.

It was ſufficient glory to de Ruyter, that with a fleet much inferior to the combined ſquadrons of France and England, he could fight without any notable diſadvantage; and it was ſufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of a deſcent in Zealand, which, had it taken place, had been able, joined to ſo many other calamities, totally to have overturned the Dutch Commonwealth. Prince Rupert alſo was ſuſpected not to favor the King's projects of ſubduing Holland, or enlarging

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his authority at home; and from theſe motives, he was thought not to have preſſed ſo hard on the enemy, as his well-known valor might naturally have prompted him. It is indeed remarkable, that, during this war, tho' the Engliſh with their allies much over-matched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, tho' often over-borne by numbers, they ſtill exerted themſelves with the moſt heroic courage, and always acquired great renown, ſometimes even ſignal victories. But they were diſguſted with the preſent meaſures, which they eſteemed pernicious to their country; they were not ſatisfy'd in the juſtice of the quarrel; and they entertained a perpetual jealouſy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would with much more pleaſure have deſtroyed than even the enemy themſelves.

If Prince Rupert was not favorable to the deſigns of the court, he enjoyed as little favor from the court, at leaſt from the Duke, who, tho' he could no longer command the fleet, ſtill poſſeſſed the chief authority in the Admiralty. The Prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, ſhot, proviſions, beer, and even water; and he went into harbor, that he might repair the fleet, and ſupply its numerous neceſſities. After ſome weeks, he was refitted; and he again put to ſea. The hoſtile fleets met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the laſt battle, which, during a courſe of ſo many years, theſe neighbouring maritime powers have diſputed with each other. De Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former: For the Prince of Orange had reconciled theſe two gallant rivals; and they retained nothing of their former animoſity, except that emulation, which made them exert themſelves with more diſtinguiſhed bravery againſt the enemies of their country. Brankert was oppoſed to D' Etreés, de Ruyter to Prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague. It is remarkable, that in all actions theſe brave admirals laſt mentioned had ſtill ſelected each other, as the only antagoniſts worthy each others valor; and no deciſive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle, as if there were no mean betwixt death and victory.

11th of Auguſt. Another ſea fight.

D' Etrees and all the French ſquadron, except rear admiral Martel, kept at a diſtance; and Brankert, inſtead of preſſing on them, bore down to the aſſiſtance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with Prince Rupert. On no occaſion did the Prince acquire more deſerved honor: His conduct, as well as valor, ſhone out with ſignal luſtre. Having diſengaged his ſquadron from the numerous enemies, with which he was every where ſurrounded, and having joined Sir John Chichely, his rear admiral, who had been ſeparated from him, he made haſte to the relief of Sprague, who was very hard preſſed by Tromp's ſquadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague firſt engaged, was ſo diſabled, that he was obliged to hoiſt his flag on board the St. George; while Tromp was for a like reaſon obliged to quit his ſhip, the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmoſt fury by theſe valorous rivals, and by the rear admirals, their ſeconds. Oſſory, rear admiral to Sprague, was preparing to board Tromp, when he ſaw the St. George terribly torne, and in a manner diſabled. Sprague was leaving it in order to hoiſt his flag on board a third ſhip, and return to the charge; when a ſhot, which had paſſed thro' the St. George, took his boat, and ſunk her. The admiral was drown'd, to the great regret of Tromp himſelf, who beſtowed on his valor the deſerved praiſes.

Prince Rupert found affairs in this dangerous ſituation, and ſaw moſt of the ſhips in Sprague's ſquadron diſabled from fight. The engagement was renewed, and became very cloſe and bloody. The Prince threw the enemy into great diſorder. To encreaſe it, he ſent among them two fire ſhips; and at the ſame time made a ſignal to the French to bear down, which if they had done, a total victory muſt have enſued. But the Prince, when he ſaw that they neglected his ſignal, and obſerved that moſt of his ſhips were in no condition to keep the ſea long, wiſely provided for their ſafety by making eaſy ſail towards the Engliſh coaſt. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all the actions fought during the preſent war.

The turn, which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land was more favorable. The prince of Orange beſieged and took Naerden; and from this ſucceſs gave his country reaſon to hope for ſtill more proſperous enterprizes. Montecuculi, who commanded the Imperialiſts on the upper Rhine, deceived, by the moſt artful conduct, the vigilance and penetration of Turenne, and making a ſudden march ſat down before Bonne. The Prince of Orange's conduct was no leſs maſterly; while he eluded all the French generals, and leaving them behind him, joined his army to the Imperialiſts. Bonne was taken in a few days: Several other places of the electorate of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies: And the communication being thus cut off between France and the United Provinces, Lewis was obliged to recall his forces, and to abandon all his conqueſts with greater rapidity than he had at firſt made them. The taking Maeſtricht was the only advantage, which he gained this campaign.

Congreſs of Cologne.

A congress was opened at Cologne under the mediation of Sweden; but with ſmall hopes of ſucceſs. The demands of the two Kings were ſuch as muſt have reduced the Hollanders to perpetual ſervitude. In proportion as the affairs of the States roſe, the Kings ſunk in their demands; but the States ſtill ſunk lower in their offers; and it was impoſſible for the parties ever to agree on any conditions. After the French evacuated Holland, the congreſs broke up; and the ſeizure of

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Prince William of Furſtenburg by the Imperialiſts afforded the French and Engliſh a good pretext for leaving Cologne. The Dutch ambaſſadors in their memorials expreſſed all the haughtineſs and diſdain, ſo natural to a free State, which had met with ſuch unmerited ill uſage.

20th of October. A Parliament.

THE Parliament of England was now aſſembled, and diſcovered much greater ſymptoms of ill humor, than had appeared in their laſt meeting. They had ſeen for ſome time a negotiation of marriage carried on between the Duke of Yorke, and the Archducheſs of Inſpruc, a catholic of the Auſtrian family; and they had made no oppoſition. But when that intention failed, and the Duke applied to a Princeſs of the houſe of Modena, then in cloſe conjunction with France; this circumſtance, joined to ſo many other grounds of diſcontent, raiſed the Commons into a flame; and they remonſtrated with the greateſt zeal againſt the intended marriage. The King told them, that their remonſtrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The Commons ſtill inſiſted; and proceeding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the ſtanding army to be a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more ſupply, unleſs it appeared, that the Dutch were ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all reaſonable conditions. To cut ſhort theſe diſagreeable attacks, the King reſolved to prorogue the Parliament; and with that intention he came unexpectedly to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent the uſher to ſummon the Commons. It happened, that the ſpeaker and the uſher nearly met at the door of the Houſe; but the ſpeaker being within, ſome of the members ſuddenly ſhut the door, and cried, *To the chair, to the chair*: While others cried, *The black-rod is at the door*. The ſpeaker was hurried to the chair; and the following motions were inſtantly made: That the alliance with France is a grievance; that the evil counſellors about the King are a grievance; that the Duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be truſted or employed. There was a general cry, *To the queſtion, to the queſtion*: But the uſher knocking violently at the door, the ſpeaker leapt from the chair, and the Houſe roſe in great confuſion.

4th of November.

DURING the interval, Shafteſbury, whoſe intrigues with the malecontent party were now become notorious, was diſmiſſed from the office of chancellor; and the ſeals were given to Sir Heneage Finch, under the title of lord keeper. The teſt had incapacitated Clifford; and the white ſtaff was conferred on Sir Thomas Oſborne, ſoon after created Earl of Danby, a miniſter of ability, who had riſen by his parliamentary talents. Clifford retired into the country, and ſoon after died.

1674. 7th of February.

THE Parliament had been prorogued, in order to give the Duke leiſure to conſummate his marriage; but the King's neceſſities ſoon obliged him again to aſſemble them; and by ſome popular acts he paved the way for the ſeſſions. But all his efforts were vain: The diſguſt of the Commons was fixed on foundations too deep to be eaſily removed. They began with applications for a general faſt; by which they intimated, that the nation was in a very calamitous condition: They addreſſed againſt the King's guards, which they repreſented as dangerous to liberty, and even as illegal, ſince they had never yet received the ſanction of Parliament: They took ſome ſteps towards eſtabliſhing a new and more rigorous teſt againſt popery: And what chiefly alarmed the court, they made an attack on the members of the cabal, to whoſe pernicious councils they juſtly imputed all their preſent grievances. Clifford was dead: Shafteſbury had made his peace with the country party, and was become their leader: Buckingham was endeavoring to imitate Shafteſbury; but his intentions were as yet known to very few. A motion was therefore made in the Houſe of Commons for his impeachment: He deſired to be heard at the bar; but expreſſed himſelf in ſo confuſed and ambiguous a manner as gave little ſatisfaction. He was required to anſwer preciſely to certain queries, which they propoſed to him. Theſe queries regarded all the articles of miſconduct abovementioned: and among the reſt, the following one ſeems remarkable. "By whoſe advice was the army brought up to awe the debates and reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons?" This ſhews to what length the ſuſpicions of the Houſe were at that time carried. Buckingham in all his anſwers endeavoured to exculpate himſelf, and to load Arlington. He ſucceeded not in the former intention: The Commons voted an addreſs for his removal. But Arlington, who was on many accounts obnoxious to the Houſe, was attacked. Articles were drawn up againſt him; tho' the impeachment was never proſecuted.

THE King plainly ſaw, that he could expect no ſupply from the Commons for carrying on a war, which was ſo odious to them. He reſolved therefore to make a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had propoſed, thro' the canal of the Spaniſh ambaſſador. With a cordiality, which, in the preſent diſpoſition on both ſides, was probably but affected, but which was obliging, he aſked advice of the Parliament. The Parliament unanimouſly concurred, both in thanks for this gracious condeſcenſion, and in their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded. The honor of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the moſt extenſive terms: A regulation of trade was agreed to: All poſſeſſions were reſtored to the ſame condition as before the war: The Engliſh planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleaſure: And the States agreed to pay to the King the ſum of 800,000 patacoons, near 300,000 pounds. Four days after, the Parliament was prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people. Spain had declared, that ſhe could no longer ſtand neuter, if hoſtilities were continued againſt Holland; and a great decay of trade was foreſeen, in caſe a rupture ſhould

Peace with Holland.

28th of February.

enſue with that nation. The proſpect of this loſs contributed very much to encreaſe the national averſion to the preſent war, and to enliven the general joy for its concluſion.

There was in the French ſervice a large body of Engliſh to the number of 10,000 men, which had acquired great honor in every action, and had contributed greatly to the ſucceſſes of Lewis. Theſe troops, Charles ſaid he was bound by treaty not to recall; but he obliged himſelf to the States by a ſecret article not to allow them to be recruited. His partiality to France prevented a ſtrict execution of this article.

CHAP. IV.

Prepoſterous ſchemes of the cabal.——Remonſtrances of Sir William Temple.——Campaign of 1674.——A Parliament.——Paſſive obedience.——A Parliament.——Campaign of 1675.——Congreſs of Nimeguen.——Campaign of 1676.——Uncertain conduct of the King.——A Parliament.——Campaign of 1677.——Parliament's diſtruſt of the King.——Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary.——Plan of peace.——Negotiations.——Campaign of 1678.——Negotiations.——Peace of Nimeguen.——State of affairs in Scotland.

1674.
Prepoſterous ſchemes of the cabal.

IF we conſider the projects of the famous Cabal, it will be hard to determine, whether the end, which they propoſed, was more blameable and pernicious, or the means, by which they were to effect it, more impolitic and imprudent. Tho' they might talk only of recovering or fixing the King's authority; their intention could be no other than that of making him wholly abſolute: Since it was not poſſible to regain or maintain, in oppoſition to the people, any of thoſe powers of the crown, aboliſhed by late law or cuſtom, without ſubduing the people, and rendering the royal prerogative entirely uncontroleable. Againſt ſuch a ſcheme, they might foreſee, that every party of the nation would declare themſelves, not only the old parliamentary party, which, tho' they kept not in a body, were ſtill very numerous; but even the greateſt Royaliſts, who were indeed attached to Monarchy, but deſired to ſee it limited and reſtrained by law. It had appeared, that the preſent Parliament, tho' elected during the greateſt prevalence of the royal party, were yet very tenacious of popular privileges, and retained a conſiderable jealouſy of the

Crown, even before they had received any juſt ground of ſuſpicion. The guards, therefore, together with a ſmall army, new levied, and undiſciplined, and compoſed too of Engliſhmen, were almoſt the only domeſtic reſource, which the King could depend on in the proſecution of theſe dangerous councils.

The aſſiſtance of France was, no doubt, eſteemed by the Cabal a conſiderable wheel in the political engine, which they were framing: But it is not eaſily conceived, that they could imagine themſelves capable of managing and conducting it. They ought juſtly to have ſuſpected, that it would be Lewis's ſole intention, as it evidently was his intereſt, to raiſe incurable jealouſies between the King and his people; and that he ſaw how much a ſteddy uniform government in this iſland, whether free or abſolute, would form invincible barriers to his ambition. Should his aſſiſtance be demanded; if he ſent a ſmall ſupply, it would ſerve only to enrage the people, and render the breach altogether irreparable; if he furniſhed a great force, ſufficient to ſubdue the nation, there was little reaſon to truſt his generoſity, with regard to the uſe, which he would make of this advantage.

In all its other parts, the ſcheme of the Cabal, it muſt be confeſſed, appears equally abſurd and incongruous. If the war with Holland was attended with great ſucceſs, ſuch an acceſſion of force muſt fall to Lewis, not to Charles: And what hopes afterwards of reſiſting by the greateſt unanimity ſo mighty a monarch? How dangerous, or rather how ruinous to depend upon his aſſiſtance againſt domeſtic diſcontents? If the Dutch, by their own vigor, and the aſſiſtance of allies, were able to defend themſelves, and could bring the war to an equality; the French arms would be ſo employed abroad, that no conſiderable re-inforcement could thence be expected to ſecond the King's enterprizes in England. And might not the project of over-awing or ſubduing the people be eſteemed, of itſelf, ſufficiently odious, without the aggravation of ſacrificing that State, which they regarded as their beſt ally, and with which, on many accounts, they were deſirous of maintaining the greateſt concord and ſtricteſt confederacy?

Whatever views likewiſe might be entertained of promoting by theſe meaſures the catholic religion; they could tend only to render all the other ſchemes abortive, and make them fall with inevitable ruin upon the projectors. The catholic religion, indeed, where it is eſtabliſhed, is more proper than the proteſtant for ſupporting an abſolute Monarchy; but would any man have thought of it as the means of acquiring arbitrary authority in England, where it was more deteſted than ſlavery itſelf?

It muſt be allowed, that the difficulties and even inconſiſtencies, attending the ſchemes of the Cabal, are ſo numerous and obvious, that one feels at firſt an inclination to deny the reality of thoſe ſchemes, and to ſuppoſe them entirely the chimeras of calumny and faction. But the utter impoſſibility of accounting by any other hypotheſis for thoſe ſtrange meaſures embraced by the court, as well as for the numerous circumſtances, which accompanied them, obliges us to acknowlege (tho' there remains no direct evidence of it *) that a formal plan was laid for ſubverting the conſtitution, and that the King and the Miniſtry were in reality conſpirators againſt the people. What is moſt probable in human affairs is not always true; and a very minute circumſtance, over-looked in our ſpeculations, ſerves often to explain events, which may ſeem the moſt ſurprizing and unaccountable. Tho' the King poſſeſſed penetration and a ſound judgement, his capacity was chiefly fitted for ſmaller matters †, and the ordinary occurrences of life; nor had he application enough to carry his view to diſtant conſequences, or to digeſt and adjuſt any plan of political operations. As he ſcarce ever thought twice on any one ſubject, every appearance of advantage was apt to ſeduce him; and when he found his way obſtructed by unlooked-for difficulties, he readily turned aſide into the firſt path, where he expected more to gratify the natural indolence of his diſpoſition. To this verſatility or pliancy of genius, he himſelf was inclined to truſt; and he thought, that, after trying an experiment for enlarging his authority, he could eaſily, if it failed, return into the ordinary channel of government. But the ſuſpicions of the people, tho' they burſt not forth at once, were by this attempt rendered altogether incurable; and the more they reflected on the circumſtances, attending it, the more reſentment and jealouſy were they apt to entertain. They obſerved, that the King never had any favorite; that he was never governed by his miniſters, ſcarce even by his miſtreſſes; and that he himſelf was the chief ſpring of all public councils. Whatever appearance, therefore, of a change might be pretended, they ſtill ſuſpected, that the ſame project was ſecretly in agitation; and no precaution they deemed too great to ſecure them againſt the pernicious conſequences of ſuch councils.

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* No treaty to this purpoſe with France ever appeared; and indeed, it is probable for the reaſons mentioned above, that no ſuch treaty was ever formally entered into: The King thought it ſufficient, that he conjoined his intereſt with that of the French Monarch, and he believed that this circumſtance alone would enable him to depend on that Prince's aſſiſtance in caſe of neceſſity. The abbot Primi indeed publiſhed at Paris the terms of a treaty to this purpoſe: But there are ſo many difficulties attending his narration, that it can have little weight with us: He ſpoke only by conjecture, or if he was ſupplied by the French Miniſters with materials, it was ſo much the intereſt of that court to embroil the King with his ſubjects, that their account is very much to be ſuſpected. He ſays too, that it was expreſsly agreed to divide the United Provinces, to give the inland Provinces to Lewis, Zealand to Charles, Holland to the Prince of Orange. But this is very improbable on many accounts, particularly becauſe there is no appearance of ſuch a ſcheme in the French propoſals at Utrecht. We ſee plainly by them, that there was no concerted plan betwixt the two Kings, and that they governed themſelves entirely by events. Father Orleans, who, it is ſaid, wrote from materials given him by K. James, is the moſt authentic teſtimony of the arbitrary deſigns of the court; and there is no doubt of the truth of his narration in this particular. But his hiſtory in other reſpects is ſo falſe and ſuperficial, that were it not ſupported by other arguments, it would in this narration have ſmall weight with us. But after all, the diſcourſe of Sir William Temple to the King after-mentioned, which that Monarch does not oppoſe, is, next to the evidence of facts, the beſt proof of the King's intentions.

† Duke of Buckingham's character of K. Charles II.

THE King, ſenſible of this jealouſy, was inclined thenceforth not to truſt altogether to his people; and tho' obliged to make a ſeparate peace, he ſtill kept up connexions with the French monarch. He apologized for deſerting his ally, by repreſenting to him all the real undiſſembled difficulties, under which he labored; and Lewis, with the greateſt complaiſance and good humor, admitted the validity of his excuſes. The Duke likewiſe, conſcious that his principles and conduct had rendered him ſtill more obnoxious to the people, maintained on his own account a ſeparate correſpondence with the French court, and entered into particular connexions with Lewis, which theſe Princes dignified with the name of friendſhip. The Duke had only in view the ſecuring his ſucceſſion, and favoring the Catholics; and it muſt be acknowleged to his praiſe, that, tho' his ſchemes were dangerous to the people, they gave the King no juſt ground of jealouſy. A dutiful ſubject, and an affectionate brother, he knew no other rule of conduct but obedience; and the ſame unlimited ſubmiſſion, which he afterwards, when King, exacted of his people, he was ever willing, before he aſcended the throne, to pay to his Sovereign.

Remonſtrances of Sir W. Temple.

As the King was at peace with all the world, and almoſt the only Prince in Europe who was placed in that agreeable ſituation, he thought proper to offer his mediation to the contending powers, in order to compoſe all their differences. France, willing to negotiate under ſo favorable a mediator, very readily accepted Charles's offer; but, it was apprehended, that, for a like reaſon, the allies would be induced to refuſe it. In order to give a ſanction to his new councils, the King invited Temple from his retreat, and appointed him ambaſſador to the States. That wiſe miniſter, reflecting on the unhappy iſſue of his former undertakings, and the fatal turn of councils, which had occaſioned it, reſolved, before he embarked a-new, to acquaint himſelf, as far as poſſible, with the real intentions of the King, in thoſe popular meaſures, which he ſeemed to have again adopted. After blaming the dangerous ſchemes of the Cabal, which the King was deſirous to excuſe, he told his Majeſty very plainly, that he would find it extremely difficult, if not abſolutely impoſſible, to erect in England the ſame ſyſtem of government and religion, which was eſtabliſhed in France: That the univerſal bent of the nation was againſt both; and it required ages to change the genius and ſentiments of a people: That many, who were at bottom indifferent in matters of religion, would yet oppoſe all alterations on that head; becauſe they conſidered, that nothing but force of arms could ſubdue the reluctance of the people againſt popery; after which, they knew, there could be no ſecurity for civil liberty: That in France every circumſtance had long been adjuſted to that ſyſtem of government, and tended to its eſtabliſhment and ſupport: That the commonalty, being poor and diſpirited, were of no account; the nobility, engaged by the proſpect or poſſeſſion of numerous offices, civil and military, were entirely attached to the court; the eccleſiaſtics, retained by like motives, added the ſanction of religion to the principles of civil policy: That in England a great part of the landed property belonged to the yeomanry or middling gentry; the King had few offices to beſtow; and could not himſelf even ſubſiſt, much leſs maintain an army, except by the voluntary ſupplies of his Parliament: That if he had an army on foot, yet, if compoſed of Engliſh, they would never be prevailed on to promote ends, which the people ſo much feared and hated: That the Roman Catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland, not the two hundredth; and it ſeemed againſt all common ſenſe to hope, by one part, to govern ninety nine, who were of contrary ſentiments and diſpoſitions: And that foreign troops, if few, would tend only to inflame hatred and diſcontent; and how to raiſe and bring over at once, or to maintain many, it was very difficult to imagine. To theſe reaſonings Temple added the ſentiments of Gourville, a Frenchman, for whom, he knew, the King had entertained a great eſteem. "A King of England," ſaid Gourville, "who will be *the man of his people*, is the greateſt King in "the world: But if he will be any thing more, he is nothing at all." The King heard at firſt this diſcourſe with ſome impatience; but being a very dextrous diſſembler, he ſeemed moved at laſt, and laying his hand on Temple's, ſaid with an appearing cordiality, "And I will be the man of my people."

Temple when he went abroad, ſoon found, that the ſcheme of mediating a peace was likely to prove quite abortive. The allies, beſides their jealouſy of the King's mediation, were extremely bent upon the continuance of the war. Spain had ſtipulated with Holland never to come to an accommodation, till all things in Flanders were reſtored to the condition, in which they had been left by the Pyrenean treaty. The Emperor had very high pretenſions in Alſace; and as the greateſt part of the empire joined in the alliance, it was hoped, that France, by ſuch an over-match of force, would ſoon be obliged to ſubmit to the terms demanded of her. The States indeed, oppreſſed by exorbitant taxes, as well as checked in their commerce, were deſirous of peace, and had few or no claims of their own to retard it: But they could not in gratitude, nor even in good policy, abandon allies, to whoſe protection they had been ſo lately indebted for their ſafety. The Prince of Orange likewiſe, who had great influence on their councils, was all on fire for military fame,

and

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and was pleaſed to be at the head of armies, from which ſuch mighty ſucceſſes were expected. Under various pretexts, he eluded, during the whole campaign, the meeting with Temple; and after the troops were ſent into winter-quarters, he told that miniſter, in his firſt conference, that till greater impreſſion was made on France, reaſonable terms could not be hoped for; and it was therefore vain to negotiate.

Campaign of 1674.

The ſucceſs of the campaign had not anſwered expectation. The prince of Orange, with a ſuperior army, was oppoſed in Flanders to the prince of Condé, and had hoped to penetrate into France by that quarter, where the frontier was then very feeble. After long endeavoring, tho' in vain, to bring Condé to a battle, he raſhly expoſed, at Seneſſe, a wing of his army; and that active prince failed not at once to ſee and ſeize the advantage. But this imprudence of the prince of Orange was amply compenſated by his behavior in that obſtinate and bloody action which enſued. He rallied his diſmayed troops; he led them to the charge; he puſhed the veteran and martial troops of France; and he obliged the prince of Condé, notwithſtanding his age and character, to exert greater efforts, and to riſque his perſon more, than in any action, where, even during the heat of youth, he had ever commanded. After ſun-ſet, the action was continued by the light of the moon; and it was darkneſs at laſt, not the wearineſs of the combatants, which put an end to the conteſt, and left the victory undecided. "The prince of Orange," ſaid Condé, with great candor and generoſity, "has acted in every thing like an old "captain, except venturing his life too like a young ſoldier." Oudenarde was afterwards inveſted by the prince of Orange; but he was obliged by the Imperial and Spaniſh generals to raiſe the ſiege on the approach of the enemy. He afterwards beſieged and took Grave; and at the beginning of winter, the armies broke up, with great diſcontents and complaints on all ſides.

The allies were not more ſucceſsful in other places. Lewis in a few weeks reconquered Franchecomté. In Alſace, Turenne diſplayed againſt a much ſuperior enemy, all that military ſkill, which, by long experience, profound reflection, and great genius, he had been able to acquire. By a ſudden and forced march, he attacked and beat at Sintzheim the duke of Lorrain and Caprara, general of the Imperialiſts. Seventy thouſand Germans pour into Alſace, and take up their quarters in that province. Turenne, who had retired into Lorrain, returns unexpectedly upon them. He attacks and defeats a body of the enemy at Mulhauſen. He chaſes from Colmar the elector of Brandenburgh, who commanded the German troops. He gains a new advantage at Turkheim. And having diſlodged all the allies, he obliges them to repaſs the Rhine; full of ſhame for their multiplied defeats, and ſtill more, of anger and complaints againſt each other.

Chap. IV. 1674. IN England, all theſe events were conſidered by the people with great anxiety and concern; tho' the King and his miniſters affected great indifference with regard to them. Conſiderable alterations were about this time made in the Engliſh miniſtry. Buckingham was diſgraced, who had long, by his wit and entertaining humor, poſſeſſed the King's favor. The chief miniſters were Arlington, now lord chamberlain, and Danby the treaſurer. Great hatred and jealouſy took place between theſe miniſters; and the King's affairs were ſomewhat diſturbed by their quarrels. But Danby gained ground every day with the King, and Arlington declined in the ſame proportion. Danby was a frugal miniſter; and by his application and induſtry, he brought the revenue into tolerable order. He endeavored ſo to conduct himſelf as to give offence to no party; and the conſequence was, that he was able entirely to pleaſe none. He was always a declared enemy to the French intereſt; but never poſſeſſed authority enough to overcome the attachments of the King and the Duke. It muſt be aſcribed to the prevalence of that intereſt, that the Parliament was aſſembled ſo late this year; leſt they ſhould attempt to engage the King in meaſures againſt France, during the enſuing campaign. They met not till the approach of ſummer. 1675. 13th of April.

A Parliament. EVERY ſtep taken by the Commons diſcovered that ill humor and jealouſy, to which the late open meaſures of the King, and his preſent ſecret attachments gave ſuch juſt foundation. They drew up a new bill againſt popery, and reſolved to inſert in it many ſevere clauſes for the detection and proſecution of prieſts: They addreſſed a ſecond time againſt Lauderdale; and when the King's anſwer was not ſatisfactory, they ſeemed ſtill determined to perſevere in their applications: An accuſation was moved againſt Danby; but upon examining the ſeveral articles, it was not found to contain any juſt reaſons of a proſecution; and was therefore dropped: They applied to the King for recalling his troops from the French ſervice; and as he only promiſed, that they ſhould not be recruited, they appeared to be much diſſatisfied with his anſwer: A bill was brought in, making it treaſon to levy money without authority of Parliament: Another vacating the ſeats of ſuch members as accepted of offices: Another to ſecure the perſonal liberty of the ſubject, and prevent the ſending men priſoners beyond ſea.

THAT the court party might not be idle, during theſe attacks, a bill for a new teſt was introduced into the Houſe of Peers by the earl of Lindeſey. All members of either houſe, and all who poſſeſſed any office, were by this bill required to ſwear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretext whatſoever, to take arms againſt the King; that they abhorred that traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe commiſſioned by him; and that they will not at any time endeavor the alteration of the proteſtant religion or of the eſtabliſhed government either in church or ſtate. Paſſive obedience.

Furious oppoſition was made to this bill; as might be expected from the preſent diſpoſition of the public. During ſeventeen days, the debates were carried on with great zeal; and all the reaſon and learning of both parties were diſplayed on this memorable occaſion. The queſtion, indeed, with regard to reſiſtance, was a point, which entered into the controverſies of the old parties, cavalier and roundhead; as it made an eſſential part of the preſent diſputes betwixt court and country. Few neutrals were found in the nation: But among ſuch as could maintain a calm indifference, there prevailed ſentiments very wide of thoſe adopted by either party. Such perſons thought, that all public declarations of the legiſlature, either for or againſt reſiſtance, were equally impolitic, and could ſerve to no other purpoſe, than to ſignalize in their turn the triumph of one faction over another: That the ſimplicity retained in the antient laws of England, as well as in the laws of every other nation, ought ſtill to be ſupported, and was beſt calculated to prevent the extremes on either ſide: That the abſolute excluſion of reſiſtance, in all poſſible caſes, was founded on *falſe* principles; its expreſs admiſſion might be attended with *dangerous* conſequences; and that there was no neceſſity of expoſing the public to either inconvenience: That if a choice muſt neceſſarily be made in the caſe, the preference of utility to truth in public inſtitutions was apparent; nor could the ſuppoſition of reſiſtance, beforehand and in general terms, be ſafely admitted in any government: That even in mixt monarchies, where that ſuppoſition ſeemed moſt requiſite, it was yet entirely ſuperfluous; ſince no man, on the approach of extraordinary neceſſity, could be at a loſs, tho' not directed by legal declarations, to find the proper remedy: That even thoſe, who might, at a diſtance and in ſcholaſtic reaſoning, exclude all reſiſtance, would yet hearken to the voice of nature; when evident ruin, both to themſelves and to the public, muſt attend a ſtrict adherence to their pretended principles: That the queſtion, as it ought thus to be entirely excluded from all determinations of the legiſlature, was, even among private reaſoners, little better than a diſpute of words: That the one party could not pretend, that reſiſtance ought ever to become a familiar practice; the other would ſurely have recourſe to it in great extremities: And thus the difference could only turn on the degrees of danger or oppreſſion, which could warrant this irregular remedy; a difference, which, in a general queſtion, it was impoſſible, by any language, preciſely to fix or determine.

There were many other abſurdities in this teſt, particularly that of ſwearing not to alter the government either in church or ſtate; ſince all human inſtitutions are liable to abuſe, and require continual amendments, which are, in reality, ſo many alterations. It is not indeed poſſible to make a law, which does not innovate, more or leſs, in the government. Theſe difficulties produced ſuch obſtructions to the bill, that it was carried only by two voices in the Houſe of Peers. All the popiſh Lords, headed by the earl of Briſtol, voted againſt it. It was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, where it was likely to meet with a ſcrutiny ſtill more ſevere.

But a quarrel, which enſued betwixt the two Houſes, prevented the paſſing all the bills, projected during the preſent ſeſſion. One Dr. Shirley, being caſt in Chancery in a law-ſuit againſt Sir John Fag, a member of the Houſe of Commons, preferred a petition of appeal before the Houſe of Peers. The Lords received it, and ſummoned Fag to appear before them. He complains to the lower Houſe, who eſpouſe his cauſe. They not only maintain, that no member of their Houſe can be ſummoned before the Peers; and for this claim they could plead precedent: They alſo aſſert, that the upper Houſe can receive no appeals from any court of equity; a pretenſion, which extremely retrenched the juriſdiction of the Peers, and which was contrary to the practice that had prevailed during this whole century. The Commons ſend Shirley to priſon: The Lords aſſert their powers. Conferences are tried; but no accommodation enſues. Four lawyers are ſent to the Tower by the Commons, for tranſgreſſing the order of the Houſe, and pleading in this cauſe before the Peers. The Peers denominate this arbitrary commitment a breach of the great charter, and order the lieutenant of the Tower to releaſe the priſoners: He refuſes obedience: They apply to the King, and deſire him to puniſh the lieutenant for his contempt. The King ſummons both Houſes; exhorts them to unanimity; and informs them, that the preſent quarrel had ariſen from the contrivance of his and their enemies, who propoſed by that means to force a diſſolution of the Parliament. His advice has no effect: The Commons continue as violent as ever; and the King, finding that no buſineſs could be finiſhed, at laſt prorogued the Parliament.

8th of June.

13th of October.
A Parliament.

When the Parliament were again aſſembled, there appeared not in any reſpect a change of the diſpoſitions of either houſe. The King deſired ſupplies, as well for the building of ſhips as for taking off anticipations, which lay upon his revenue. He even confeſſed, that he had not been altogether ſo frugal as he might have been, and as he reſolved to be for the future: Tho' he aſſerted, that to his great ſatisfaction he had found his expences by no means ſo exorbitant as ſome had repreſented them. The Commons took into conſideration the ſubject of ſupply. They voted 300,000 pounds for the building of ſhips; but they appropriated the ſum by very ſtrict clauſes. They paſſed a reſolution not to grant any ſupply for taking off the anticipations of the revenue [*]. This vote was carried in a very full houſe, by a majority of four only: So nearly were the parties balanced. The quarrel was revived, to which Dr. Shirley's cauſe had given occaſion. The proceedings of the Commons diſcovered equal violence as during laſt ſeſſion. A motion was made in the Houſe of Peers, but rejected, for addreſſing the King to diſſolve the preſent Parliament. The King contented himſelf with proroguing them to a very long term. Whether theſe quarrels between the Houſes aroſe from contrivance or accident was never certainly known. Each party might, according to their different views, eſteem themſelves either gainers or loſers by them. The Court might deſire to obſtruct all attacks from the Commons, by giving them other employment. The country party might deſire the diſſolution of a Parliament, which, notwithſtanding all diſguſts, ſtill contained too many royaliſts, ever to ſerve all the purpoſes of the malecontents.

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[*] Several hiſtorians have affirmed, that the Commons found, this ſeſſion, upon enquiry, that the King's revenue was 1,600,000 pounds a year, and that the neceſſary expence was but 700,000 pounds; and have appealed to the Journals for a proof. But there is not the leaſt appearance of this in the Journals; and the fact is impoſſible.

22d of November.

Soon after the prorogation, there paſſed a tranſaction, which in itſelf is trivial, but tends ſtrongly to mark the genius of the Engliſh government and of Charles's adminiſtration during this period. The liberty of the conſtitution, and the variety as well as violence of the parties, had begot a propenſity for political converſation; and as the coffee-houſes in particular were the ſcenes, where the conduct of the King and the miniſtry was canvaſſed with great freedom, a proclamation was iſſued to ſuppreſs theſe places of rendezvous, for which the Engliſh have long retained a mighty fondneſs. Such an act of power, during former reigns, would have been grounded entirely on the prerogative; and before the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, no ſcruple would have been entertained with regard to that exerciſe of authority. But Charles, finding doubts to ariſe upon his proclamation, had recourſe to the judges, who ſupplied him with a chicane of law, and that too a very frivolous one, by which he might juſtify his proceedings. The act, which ſettled the exciſe, gave the King a power to refuſe licences for retailing liquors to ſuch as could not find ſecurity for payment of the duties. But coffee was not a liquor liable to exciſe; and even this power of refuſing licences was very limited, and could not reaſonably be extended beyond the intention of the act. The King, therefore, obſerving the people to be much diſſatisfied, yielded to a petition of the coffee-men, who promiſed for the future to reſtrain all ſeditious diſcourſe in their houſes; and the proclamation was recalled.

Campaign of 1675.

This campaign proved more fortunate to the confederates than any other during this whole war. The French took the field in Flanders with a very numerous army; and the King himſelf ſerved as a volunteer under the prince of Condé. But notwithſtanding his mighty preparations, he could gain no advantages but the taking of Huy and Limbourg, places of no great conſequence. The prince of Orange with a conſiderable army oppoſed him in all his motions; and neither party was willing, without a viſible advantage, to hazard a general battle, which might be attended either with the entire loſs of Flanders on the one hand, or the invaſion of France on the other. Lewis tired of ſo unactive a campaign, returned to Verſailles; and the whole ſummer paſſed in Flanders without any memorable event.

TURENNE commanded on the upper Rhine, in oppoſition to his great rival, Montecuculi, general of the Imperialiſts. The object of the latter was to paſs the Rhine, to penetrate into Alſace, Lorraine, or Burgundy, and to fix his quarters in theſe provinces: The aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and to diſappoint all the ſchemes of his enemy. The moſt conſummate ſkill was diſplayed on both ſides; and if any ſuperiority appeared in Turenne's conduct, it was aſcribed chiefly to his greater vigor of body, by which he was enabled to inſpect all the poſts in perſon, and could on the ſpot take the juſteſt meaſures for the execution of his deſigns. By poſting himſelf on the German ſide of the Rhine, he not only kept Montecuculi from paſſing that river: He had alſo laid his plan in ſo maſterly a manner, that in a few days he muſt have obliged the Germans to decamp, and have gained a conſiderable advantage over them; when a period was put to his illuſtrious life, by a random ſhot, which ſtruck him on the breaſt, as he was taking a view of the enemy. The news excited ſorrow in King, court, and people, equalled by nothing which we meet with in hiſtory, but the lamentations of the Roman people for the death of Germanicus. The conſternation of the army was inexpreſſible. The French troops, who, a moment before, were aſſured of victory, now conſidered themſelves as totally vanquiſhed; and the Germans, who would have been glad to compound for a ſafe retreat, expected no leſs than the total deſtruction of the enemy. But de Lorges, nephew to Turenne, ſucceeded him in the command, and poſſeſſed a great ſhare of the genius and capacity of his predeceſſor. By his ſkilful operations, the French were enabled to repaſs the Rhine, without conſiderable loſs; and this retreat was eſteemed equally glorious with the greateſt victory. The deſperate valor of the Engliſh troops, who were placed in the rear, contributed greatly to ſave the French army. They had been ſeized with equal paſſion as the native troops of France, for their brave general, and fought with ardor to revenge his death on the Germans. The duke of Marlborough, then captain Churchill, here learned the rudiments of that art, which he afterwards practiſed with ſuch fatal ſucceſs againſt France.

THE prince of Condé left the army in Flanders under the command of Luxembourg; and carrying with him a conſiderable re-inforcement, ſucceeded to Turenne's command. He defended Alſace from the Germans, who had paſſed the Rhine, and invaded that province. He obliged them firſt to raiſe the ſiege of Hagenau, then that of Saberne. He eluded all their attempts to bring him to a battle. And having dextrouſly kept them from eſtabliſhing themſelves in Alſace, he forced them, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority of number, to repaſs the Rhine, and take up their winter quarters in their own country.

Chap. IV. 1675.

After the death of Turenne, a detachment of the German army was ſent to the ſiege of Treves: An enterprize, in which the Imperialiſts, the Spaniards, the Palatine, the duke of Lorraine, and many other princes paſſionately concurred. The project was well concerted, and executed with vigor. Mareſchal Crequi, on the other hand, collected an army, and advanced with a view of forcing the Germans to raiſe the ſiege. They left a detachment to guard their lines, and under the command of the dukes of Zell and Oſnabrugh, marched in queſt of the enemy. At Conſarbric, they fell unexpectedly, and with ſuperior numbers on Crequi, and put him to rout. He eſcaped with four attendants only; and throwing himſelf into Treves, reſolved by a vigorous defence to make amends for his former error or misfortune. The garriſon was brave, but not abandoned to that total deſpair, by which their governor was actuated. They mutinied againſt his obſtinacy; capitulated for themſelves; and becauſe he refuſed to ſign the capitulation, they delivered him a priſoner into the hands of the enemy.

'Tis remarkable, that this rout of Crequi is almoſt the only land battle loſt by the French from Rocroi to Bleinheim, during the courſe of above ſixty years; and theſe too, full of bloody wars againſt potent and martial enemies: Their victories equal almoſt the number of years during that period. Such was the vigor and good conduct of that Monarchy! And ſuch too were the reſources and good policy of the Europæan nations, by which they were enabled to repair their loſſes, and ſtill to confine that mighty power nearly within its antient limits! A fifth part of theſe victories would have ſufficed in another period to have given to France the empire of Europe.

The Swedes had been engaged, by the payment of large ſubſidies, to take part with the French monarch, and invade the territories of the elector of Brandenburgh in Pomerania. That elector, joined by ſome Imperialiſts from Sileſia, fell upon them with great bravery and ſucceſs. He ſoon beat them out of his part of that country, and purſued them into their own. He had an interview with the King of Denmark, who was now entered into the intereſts of the confederates, and reſolved to declare war againſt Sweden. Theſe princes concerted meaſures for puſhing the victory.

To all theſe misfortunes againſt foreign enemies were united ſome domeſtic inſurrections of the common people in Guienne and Brittany. Tho' ſoon ſuppreſſed, they divided the force and attention of Lewis. The only advantage, gained by the French, was at ſea. Meſſina in Sicily had revolted; and a fleet under the duke de Vivonne was diſpatched to ſupport the rebels. The Dutch had ſent a ſquadron to aſſiſt the Spaniards. A battle enſued, where de Ruyter was killed. This event alone was thought equivalent to a victory.

The French, who, twelve years before, had ſcarce a ſhip of war in any of their harbours, had raiſed themſelves, by force of perſeverance and policy, to be, in their preſent force, tho' not in their reſources, the firſt maritime power in Europe. The Dutch, while in alliance with them againſt England, had ſupplied them with ſeveral veſſels, and had taught them the rudiments of the difficult art of ſhip-building. The Engliſh next, when in alliance with them againſt Holland, inſtructed them in the method of fighting their ſhips, and of preſerving order in naval engagements. Lewis availed himſelf of every opportunity to aggrandize his people, while Charles, ſunk in indolence and pleaſure, neglected all the noble arts of government; or if, at any time, he rouſed himſelf from his lethargy, his induſtry, by reaſon of the unhappy projects which he embraced, was often more pernicious to the public than his inactivity itſelf. He was as anxious to promote the naval power of France as if the ſafety of his crown had depended on it; and many of the plans executed in that kingdom, were firſt, 'tis ſaid *, digeſted and corrected by him.

1676.

The ſucceſſes of the allies had been conſiderable the laſt campaign; but the Spaniards and Imperialiſts well knew, that France was not yet ſufficiently broke to ſubmit to ſuch terms as they reſolved to impoſe upon her. Tho' they could not refuſe the King's mediation, and Nimeguen, after many difficulties, was at laſt fixed on as the place of congreſs; yet under one pretext or other, they ſtill delayed ſending their ambaſſadors, and no progreſs was made in the negotiations. Lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Lionel Jenkins, were the Engliſh ambaſſadors at Nimeguen. The Dutch, who were impatient for peace, ſoon appeared: Lewis, who hoped to divide the allies, and who knew, that he himſelf could neither be ſeduced nor forced into a diſadvantageous peace, ſent ambaſſadors: The Swedes, who hoped to recover by treaty, what they had loſt by arms, were alſo forward to negotiate. But as theſe powers could not proceed of themſelves to ſettle terms, the congreſs, as yet, ſerved merely as an amuſement to the public.

Congreſs of Nimeguen.

Campaign of 1676.

It was by the events of the campaign, not the conferences of negotiators, that the articles of peace were to be determined. The Spaniſh towns, ill fortified and worſe defended, made but a feeble reſiſtance to Lewis, who, by laying up magazines during the winter, was able to take the field early in the ſpring, before the horſes could find forage in the open country. In the month of April he laid ſiege to Condé, and took it by ſtorm in four days. Having ſent the duke of Orleans to beſiege Bouchaine, a ſmall but important fortreſs, he poſted himſelf ſo advantage-

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* Welwood, Burnet, Coke.

ouſly with his main army, as to hinder the confederates from relieving it, or fighting without diſadvantage. The Prince, in ſpite of all the difficulties of the ſeaſon, and the want of proviſions, came in ſight of the French army; but his induſtry ſerved to no other purpoſe than to render him a ſpectator of the ſurrender of Bouchaine. Both armies ſtood in awe of each other, and were unwilling to hazard an action, which might be attended with the moſt important conſequences. Lewis, tho' he wanted not perſonal courage, was very little enterprizing in the field; and being reſolved this campaign to reſt contented with the advantages, which he had ſo early acquired, he thought proper to entruſt his army to Mareſchal Schomberg, and retired himſelf to Verſailles. After his departure, the Prince of Orange laid ſeige to Maſtricht; but meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance, he was obliged, on the approach of Schomberg, who in the mean time had taken Aire, to raiſe the ſiege. He was incapable of yielding to adverſity or bending under misfortunes: But he began to foreſee, that, by the negligence and errors of his allies, the war in Flanders muſt neceſſarily have a very unfortunate iſſue.

On the upper Rhine, Philipſbourg was taken by the Imperialiſts. In Pomerania, the Swedes were ſo unſucceſsful againſt the Danes and Brandenburgers, that they ſeemed to be loſing apace all thoſe poſſeſſions, which, with ſo much valor and good fortune, they had acquired in Germany.

About the beginning of winter, the congreſs of Nimeguen was pretty full, and the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and Spain, two powers ſtrictly conjoined by blood and alliance, at laſt appeared. The Dutch had threatened, if they delayed longer, to proceed to a ſeparate treaty with France. In the conferences and negotiations, the diſpoſitions of the parties became every day more apparent.

1677.

The Hollanders, loaded with debts, and harraſſed with taxes, were deſirous of putting an end to a war; where, beſides the inconveniencies attending all leagues, the weakneſs of the Spaniards, the diviſions and delays of the Germans, prognoſticated nothing but diſgrace and misfortune. Their commerce languiſhed; and what gave them ſtill greater anxiety, the commerce of England, by reaſon of her neutrality, flouriſhed extremely; and they were apprehenſive, leſt advantages, once loſt, would never thorowly be regained. They had themſelves no farther motive for continuing the war, except to ſecure a good frontier to Flanders; but gratitude to their allies ſtill engaged them to try, whether another campaign might procure a peace, which would give general ſatisfaction. The Prince of Orange, urged by motives of honor, of ambition, and of animoſity againſt France, endeavored to keep them ſteddy to this reſolution.

The Spaniards, not to mention the other incurable weakneſſes, into which their monarchy was fallen, were diſtracted with domeſtic diſſenſions betwixt the parties of the Queen Regent and of Don John, natural brother to their young ſovereign. Tho' unable of themſelves to defend Flanders, they were reſolute not to conclude a peace, which would leave it expoſed to every aſſault or inroad; and while they made the moſt magnificent promiſes to the States, their real truſt was in the protection of England. They ſaw, that, if that ſmall but important territory was once ſubdued by France, the Hollanders, expoſed to ſo terrible a power, would fall into dependance, and would endeavor, by ſubmiſſions, to ward off that deſtruction, to which a war in the heart of their State muſt neceſſarily expoſe them. They believed, that Lewis, ſenſible how much greater advantages he would reap from the alliance than from the ſubjection of the Republic, which muſt ſcatter its people and commerce, would be contented with very moderate conditions, and would turn his enterprizes againſt his other neighbors. They thought it impoſſible but the people and Parliament of England, foreſeeing theſe obvious conſequences, muſt at laſt force the King to take part in the affairs of the continent, in which their intereſts were ſo deeply concerned. And they truſted, that even the King himſelf, on the approach of ſo great a danger, muſt open his eyes, and ſacrifice his prejudices, in favor of France, to the ſafety of his own kingdoms.

Uncertain conduct of the King;

But Charles here found himſelf entangled in ſuch oppoſite motives and engagements, as he had not reſolution enough to break, nor patience to unravel. On the one hand, he always regarded his alliance with France as a ſure reſſource in caſe of any commotions among his own ſubjects; and whatever ſchemes he might have formed for enlarging his authority, or altering the eſtabliſhed religion, it was from that quarter alone he could expect aſſiſtance. He had actually in ſecret ſold his neutrality to France, and he received remittances of a million of livres a year, which was afterwards encreaſed to two millions; a conſiderable ſupply in the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of his revenue. And he dreaded, leſt the Parliament ſhould treat him as they had formerly done his father; and after they had engaged him in a war on the continent, ſhould take advantage of his neceſſities, and make him purchaſe ſupplies by ſacrificing his prerogative, and abandoning his miniſters.

On the other hand, the cries of his people and Parliament, ſeconded by Danby, Arlington, and moſt of his miniſters, incited him to take part with the allies, and to correct the unequal ballance of power in Europe. He might apprehend danger from oppoſing ſuch earneſt deſires: He might hope for large ſupplies, if he concurred with them: And however inglorious and indolent his diſpoſition, the renown of acting as arbiter of Europe, would probably at intervals rouze him from his lethargy, and move him to ſupport the high character, with which he was inveſted.

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It is worthy obſervation, that, during this period, the King was, by every one, abroad and at home, by France and by the allies, allowed the undiſputed arbiter of Europe; and no terms of peace, which he would have preſcribed, could have been refuſed by either party. Tho' France afterwards found means to reſiſt the ſame alliance, conjoined with England; yet was ſhe then obliged to make ſuch violent efforts as quite exhauſted her; and it was the utmoſt neceſſity, which puſhed her to find reſſources, far ſurpaſſing her own expectations. Charles was ſenſible, that, ſo long as the war continued abroad, he would never enjoy eaſe at home, from the impatience and importunity of his ſubjects; yet could he never reſolve to impoſe a peace by openly conjoining himſelf with either party. Terms advantageous to the allies muſt loſe him the friendſhip of France: The contrary would enrage his Parliament. Between theſe views, he perpetually floated; and from his conduct, it is obſervable, that a careleſs, remiſs diſpoſition, agitated by oppoſite motives, is capable of as great inconſiſtencies as is incident even to the greateſt imbecillity and folly.

15th of February.
A Parliament.

The Parliament was aſſembled; and the King made them a very plauſible ſpeech, where he warned them againſt all differences among themſelves; expreſſed a reſolution to do his part for bringing their conſultations to a happy iſſue; and offered his conſent to any laws for the farther ſecurity of their religion, liberty, and property. He then told them of the decayed condition of the navy; and aſked money for repairing it: He informed them, that part of his revenue, the additional exciſe, was ſoon to expire: And he added theſe words, "You may at any time ſee the yearly eſtabliſhed expence of the government, by which it will appear, that the conſtant and unavoidable charge being paid, there will remain no overplus towards anſwering thoſe contingencies, which may happen in all kingdoms, and which have been a conſiderable burthen on me this laſt year."

Before the Parliament entered upon buſineſs, they were ſtopped by a doubt, which was ſtarted concerning the legality of their meeting. It had been enacted by an old law of Edward the third, "That Parliaments ſhould be held once every year, or oftner, if need be." The laſt prorogation had been longer than a year; and being ſuppoſed on that account illegal, it was pretended to be equivalent to a diſſolution. The conſequence ſeems by no means juſt; and beſides, a latter act, that which repealed the triennial law, had determined, that it was neceſſary to hold Parliaments only once in three years. Such weight, however, was put on this cavil, that Buckingham, Shafteſbury, Saliſbury, and Wharton, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly in the Houſe of Peers on the invalidity of the Parliament, and the nullity of all its future acts. For ſuch dangerous poſitions, they were ſent to the Tower, there to remain during the pleaſure of his Majeſty and the Houſe. Buckingham, Saliſbury, and

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Wharton made ſubmiſſions, and were ſoon after releaſed. But Shafteſbury, more obſtinate in his temper, and deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his adherence to liberty, ſought the remedy of law; and being rejected by the judges, he was at laſt, after a twelvemonth's impriſonment, obliged to make the ſame ſubmiſſions; upon which, he was alſo releaſed.

THE Commons at firſt ſeemed to proceed with temper. They granted the ſum of 586,000 pounds, for building thirty ſhips; tho' they ſtrictly appropriated the money to that ſervice. Eſtimates were given in of the expence; but it was afterwards found that they fell ſhort near 100,000 pounds. They alſo voted, agreeably to the King's requeſt, the continuance of the additional exciſe for three years. This exciſe had been granted for nine years in 1668. Every thing ſeemed to promiſe a peaceable and an eaſy ſeſſion.

Campaign of 1677.

BUT the Parliament was ſoon rouzed from this tranquillity by the news received from abroad. The French King had taken the field in the middle of February, and laid ſiege to Valenciennes, which he carried in a few days by ſtorm. He next inveſted both Cambray and St. Omer. The prince of Orange, alarmed with this progreſs, haſtily aſſembled an army, and marched to the relief of St. Omer. He was encountered by the French, under the duke of Orleans and marſhal Luxembourg. The prince poſſeſſed great talents for war; courage, activity, vigilance, patience; but ſtill he was inferior in genius to thoſe conſummate generals, oppoſed to him by Lewis; and tho' he always found means to repair his loſſes, and to make head in a little time againſt the victors, he was during his whole life unſucceſsful. By a maſterly movement of Luxembourg, he was here beat, and obliged to retreat to Ypres. During the battle, he made the utmoſt efforts, by exhortation and example, to rally his diſmayed ſoldiers: One of the runaways he ſtruck with his ſword croſs the face, "Raſcal," ſaid he, "I will ſet a mark on you at "preſent, that I may hang you afterwards." Cambray and St. Omer were ſoon ſurrendered to Lewis.

THIS ſucceſs, derived from ſuch exorbitant power and ſuch wiſe conduct, ſtruck a juſt terror into the Engliſh Parliament. They addreſſed the King, repreſenting the danger to which the kingdom was expoſed from the greatneſs of France, and deſiring, that his Majeſty, by ſuch alliances as he ſhould think fit, would both ſecure his own dominions and the Spaniſh Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The King, deſirous of eluding this application, which he conſidered as a kind of attack on his meaſures, replied in general terms, that he would uſe all means for the preſervation of Flanders, conſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of his kingdoms. This anſwer was an evaſion, or rather a real denial. The Commons, therefore, thought proper to be more particular. They entreated him not to defer the entering into ſuch alliances as might attain that great end: And in caſe war with the French King ſhould be the reſult of his meaſures, they promiſed to grant him all the aids and ſupplies, which would enable him to ſupport the honor and intereſt of the nation. The King was alſo more particular in his reply. He told them, that the only way to prevent danger, was to put him in a condition to make preparations for their ſecurity. This meſſage was underſtood to be a demand of money. The Parliament accordingly empowered the King to borrow on the additional exciſe 200,000 pounds, at ſeven per cent: A very ſmall ſum indeed; but which they deemed ſufficient, with the ordinary revenue, to equip a good ſquadron, and thereby put the nation in ſecurity, till farther reſolutions were taken.

But this conceſſion fell far ſhort of the King's expectations. He therefore informed them, that unleſs they granted him the ſum of 600,000 pounds upon new funds, it would not be poſſible for him, without expoſing the nation to manifeſt danger, to ſpeak or act thoſe things, which would anſwer the end of their ſeveral addreſſes. After the interpoſal of an adjournment, the Houſe took this meſſage into conſideration: But before they came to any reſolution, the King ſent for them to Whitehall, where he told them, upon the word of a King, that they ſhould not repent any truſt, which they would repoſe in him for the ſafety of his kingdoms; that he would not for any conſideration break credit with them, or employ their money to other uſes, than thoſe for which they intended it; but that he would not hazard, either his own ſafety or theirs, by taking any vigorous meaſures, or forming new alliances, till he was in a better condition, both to defend his ſubjects and offend his enemies. This ſpeech brought affairs to a ſhort iſſue. The King required them to truſt him with a large ſum: He pawned his royal word for their ſecurity: They muſt either run the riſque of loſing their money, or endanger thoſe alliances they had projected, and at the ſame time declare to all the world the higheſt diſtruſt of their Sovereign.

Parliament's diſtruſt of the King.

But there were many reaſons, which determined the Houſe of Commons to put no truſt in his Majeſty. They conſidered, that the pretext of danger was obviouſly groundleſs; while the French were oppoſed by ſuch powerful alliances on the continent, while the King was maſter of a good fleet at ſea, and while all his ſubjects were ſo heartily united in oppoſition to them. That the only juſtifiable reaſon, therefore, of the King's backwardneſs, was not the apprehenſion of danger from abroad, but a diffidence, which he might perhaps have entertained of his Parliament; leſt, after engaging him in foreign alliances for carrying on a war, they ſhould take advantage of his neceſſities, and extort from him conceſſions dangerous to his royal dignity. That this Parliament, by their paſt conduct, had given no foundation for ſuch ſuſpicions, and were ſo far from purſuing any ſiniſter ends, that they had granted ſupplies for the firſt Dutch war; for maintaining the triple league, tho' concluded without their advice; even for carrying on the ſecond Dutch war, which was entered into contrary to their opinion, and contrary to the manifeſt intereſts of the nation. That on the other hand, the King had, by former meaſures, engendered very reaſonable jealouſies in his people, and did with a bad grace require at preſent their truſt and confidence. That he had not ſcrupled to demand ſupplies for maintaining the triple league, at the very moment he was concerting meaſures for breaking it, and had accordingly employed to that pernicious purpoſe the ſupplies, which he had obtained by thoſe deluſive pretenſions. That his union with France, during the war againſt Holland, muſt have been founded on projects the moſt dangerous to his people; and as the ſame union was ſtill ſecretly maintained, it might juſtly be feared, that the ſame projects were not as yet entirely abandoned. That the King could not ſeriouſly intend to proſecute vigorous meaſures againſt France; ſince he had ſo long remained entirely unconcerned during ſuch obvious dangers, and had delayed, till prompted by his Parliament, whoſe proper buſineſs it was not to take the lead in thoſe parts of adminiſtration. That if he ſeriouſly intended to enter into a cordial union with his people, he would have taken the firſt ſtep, and have endeavored, by putting truſt in them, to reſtore that confidence, which he himſelf, by his raſh councils, had firſt violated. That it was vain to aſk ſo ſmall a ſum as 600,000 pounds, in order to ſecure him againſt the future attempts of the Parliament; ſince that ſum muſt ſoon be exhauſted by a war with France, and he muſt again fall into that dependance, which was become in ſome degree eſſential to the conſtitution. That if he would form the neceſſary alliances, that ſum or a greater would immediately be voted; nor could there be any reaſon to dread, that the parliament would immediately deſert meaſures, in which they were engaged by their honor, their inclination, and their intereſt. That the real ground, therefore, of the King's refuſal was neither apprehenſion of danger from foreign enemies, nor jealouſy of parliamentary encroachments; but a deſire of obtaining the money, which he intended, notwithſtanding his royal word, to employ to other purpoſes. And that by uſing ſuch diſhonorable means to ſo ignoble an end, he rendered himſelf ſtill more unworthy the confidence of his people.

THE Houſe of Commons were now regularly divided into two parties, the court and the country. Of the court party, ſome were engaged by offices, nay a few by bribes ſecretly given them; a ſcandalous practice firſt begun by Clifford, a pernicious miniſter: But great numbers were attached merely by inclination; ſo far as they eſteemed the meaſures of the Court agreeable to the intereſts of the nation. Private views and faction had likewiſe drawn many into the country party: But there were alſo many, who had no other object than the public good. Theſe diſintereſted members on both ſides fluctuated betwixt the parties; and gave the ſuperiority ſometimes to the court, ſometimes to the oppoſition*. In the preſent emergence, a general diſtruſt of the King prevailed; and the Parliament reſolved not to hazard their money, in expectation of alliances, which, they believed, were never intended to be formed. Inſtead of granting the ſupply, they voted an addreſs, wherein "they beſought his majeſty to enter into a "league, offenſive and defenſive, with the States General of the United Pro"vinces, againſt the growth and power of the French King, and for the pre"ſervation of the Spaniſh Netherlands; and to make ſuch other alliances with the "confederates as ſhould appear fit and uſeful to that end." They ſupported their advice with reaſons; and promiſed ſpeedy and plentiful ſupplies, for preſerving his Majeſty's honor and the ſafety of the public. The King pretended the higheſt anger at this addreſs, which he repreſented as a dangerous encroachment upon his prerogative. He reproved the Commons in very ſevere terms; and ordered them immediately to be adjourned. 8th of May.

It is certain, that this was the critical moment, when the King both might with eaſe have preſerved the ballance of power in Europe, which it has ſince coſt this iſland an infinite profuſion of blood and treaſure to reſtore, and might by perſeverance have at laſt regained, in ſome tolerable meaſure, after all paſt errors, the confidence of his people. This opportunity being neglected, the wound became incurable; and notwithſtanding *his* momentary appearances of vigor againſt France and popery, and *their* momentary inclinations to rely on his faith; *he* was ſtill believed to be at bottom engaged in the ſame intereſt, and *they* ſoon relapſed into diſtruſt and jealouſy. The ſecret memoirs of that reign, which have ſince been publiſhed †, prove beyond a doubt, that the King had at this time concerted meaſures with France, and had no intention to enter into a war in favor of the allies. He had entertained no view, therefore, even when he pawned his ROYAL WORD to his people, than to procure a grant of money; and he truſted, that, while he eluded their expectations, he could not afterwards want pretexts for palliating his conduct.

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* Temple's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 458.

† Such as the letters, which paſſed betwixt Danby and Montague, the King's ambaſſador at Paris; Temple's Memoirs, and his Letters. In theſe laſt, we ſee that the King never made any propoſals of terms but what were advantageous to France, and the prince of Orange believed them to have been always concerted with the French embaſſador. Vol. i. p. 439.

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Negotiations meanwhile were carried on between France and Holland, and an eventual treaty was concluded; that is, all their differences were adjuſted, provided they could afterwards ſatisfy their allies on both ſides. But this work, tho' in appearance difficult, ſeemed extremely to be forwarded, by farther bad ſucceſſes on the ſide of the confederates, and by the great impatience of the Hollanders; when a new event happened, which promiſed a more proſperous iſſue to the quarrel with France, and revived extremely the hopes of all the Engliſh, who underſtood the intereſts of their country.

The King ſaw, with regret, the violent diſcontents, which prevailed in the nation, and which ſeemed every day to augment upon him. Strongly deſirous by his natural temper to be eaſy himſelf, and to make every body elſe eaſy, he ſought expedients to appeaſe thoſe complaints, which, as they were very diſagreeable for the preſent, might in their conſequences prove extremely dangerous. He knew, that, during the late war with Holland, the malecontents at home had made applications to the prince of Orange; and if he continued ſtill to neglect the prince's intereſts, and to thwart the inclinations of his people, he apprehended leſt their common grievances ſhould cement a laſting union between them. He ſaw, that the religion of the Duke inſpired the nation with very diſmal apprehenſions; and tho' he had obliged his brother to allow the young princeſſes to be educated in the proteſtant faith, ſomething farther, he thought, was requiſite, in order to ſatisfy the nation. He entertained therefore propoſals for marrying the prince to the lady Mary, the eldeſt princeſs, and heir apparent to the crown (for the Duke had no male iſſue). And he hoped, by ſo tempting an offer, to engage him entirely in his intereſts. A peace he propoſed to make; ſuch as would ſatisfy France, and ſtill preſerve his connections with that crown: And he intended to ſanctify it by the approbation of the prince, whom he found to be extremely revered in England, and reſpected thro'out all Europe. All the reaſons for this alliance were ſeconded by the ſollicitations of Danby, and alſo of Temple, who was at this time in England: And Charles at laſt granted permiſſion to the prince, when the campaign ſhould be over, to pay him a viſit.

20th of October.

The King very graciouſly received his nephew at Newmarket. He would have entered immediately upon buſineſs; but the prince deſired firſt to be acquainted with the lady Mary: And he declared, that, contrary to the uſual ſentiments of perſons of his rank, he placed a great part of happineſs in domeſtic ſatisfaction, and would not, upon any conſideration of intereſt or politics, match himſelf with a perſon diſagreeable to him. He was introduced to the princeſs, whom he found in the bloom of youth, and extremely amiable both in her perſon and her humor. The King now thought, that he had a double tye upon him, and might ſafely make account of his compliance with every propoſal: He was ſurprized to find the prince decline all diſcourſe of buſineſs, and refuſe to concert any terms for the general peace, till his marriage ſhould be finiſhed. He well foreſaw, he ſaid, from the ſituation of affairs, that his allies were likely to have hard terms; and he never would expoſe himſelf to the reproach of having ſacrificed their intereſts to promote his own purpoſes. Charles ſtill believed, notwithſtanding the cold, ſevere manner of the prince, that he would abate of this rigid punctilio of honor; and he protracted the time, hoping by his own inſinuation and addreſs, as well as by the allurements of love and ambition, to win him to compliance. One day, Temple found the prince in very bad humor, repenting that he had ever come to England, and reſolute in a few days to leave it: But before he went, the King, he ſaid, muſt chuſe the terms, on which they ſhould hereafter live together: He was ſure it muſt be like the greateſt friends or the greateſt enemies: And he deſired Temple to inform his Maſter next morning of theſe intentions. Charles was ſtruck with this menace, and foreſaw how the prince's departure would be interpreted by the people. He reſolved, therefore, immediately to yield with a good grace; and having paid a compliment to his nephew's honeſty, he told Temple, that the marriage was concluded, and deſired him to inform the Duke of it, as of an affair already reſolved on. The Duke ſeemed ſurprized; but yielded a prompt obedience: Which, he ſaid, was his conſtant maxim to whatever he found to be the King's pleaſure. No meaſure during this reign gave ſuch general ſatisfaction. All parties ſtrove who ſhould moſt applaud it. And even Arlington, who had been kept out of the ſecret, told the prince, "That ſome things, good in themſelves, "were ſpoiled by the manner of doing them, as ſome things bad were mended "by it; but he would confeſs, that this was a thing ſo good in itſelf, that the "manner of doing it could not ſpoil it."

23d of October. Marriage of the prince of Orange with the lady Mary.

THIS marriage was a great ſurprize to Lewis, who, being accuſtomed to govern every thing in the Engliſh Court, now found ſo important a ſtep taken, not only without his conſent, but without his knowlege or participation. A conjunction of England with the allies, and a vigorous war in oppoſition to French ambition, were the conſequences immediately foreſeen, both abroad and at home: But to check theſe ſanguine expectations, the King, a few days after the marriage, prolonged the adjournment of the Parliament from the third of December to the fourth of April. This term was too late for granting ſupplies, or making preparations for war; and could be choſen by the King for no other reaſon, but as an atonement to France for his conſent to the marriage.

Plan of peace.

THE King, however, entered into conſultations with the prince, together with Danby and Temple, concerning the terms which it would be proper to require of France.

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France. After ſome debate, it was agreed, that France ſhould reſtore Lorrain to the Duke; with Tournay, Valenciennes, Condé, Aeth, Charleroi, Courtray, Oudenarde, and Binche to Spain, in order to form a good frontier for Flanders. The prince inſiſted much, that Franchecomté ſhould likewiſe be reſtored; and Charles thought, that, becauſe he had patrimonial eſtates of great value in that province, and eſteemed his property more ſecure in the hands of Spain, he was engaged by ſuch views to be obſtinate in that point: But the prince very generouſly declared, that to procure but one good town to the Spaniards in Flanders, he would willingly abandon all thoſe poſſeſſions. As the King ſtill inſiſted on the impoſſibility of wreſting Franchecomté from Lewis, the prince was obliged to ſubmit.

NOTWITHSTANDING this conceſſion to France, the projected peace was favorable to the allies; and it was a ſufficient indication of vigor in the King, that he had given his aſſent to it. He farther agreed to ſend over a miniſter inſtantly to Paris, in order to propoſe theſe terms. This miniſter was to enter into no treaty: Two days alone he was to allow for the acceptance or refuſal of the terms: Upon the expiration of that ſhort period, he was immediately to return: And in caſe of refuſal, the King promiſed immediately to enter into the confederacy. To carry ſo imperious a meſſage, and ſo unexpected from the Engliſh Court, Temple was the perſon pitched on, whoſe declared averſion to the French intereſt was not likely to make him fail of vigor and promptitude in the execution of his commiſſion.

BUT Charles next day felt a relenting in this aſſumed vigor. Inſtead of Temple, he diſpatched the earl of Feverſham, a creature of the Duke's, and a Frenchman by birth: And he ſaid, that the meſſage being harſh in itſelf, it was needleſs to aggravate it by a diſagreeable meſſenger. The prince left London; and the King, at his departure, aſſured him, that he never would abate in the leaſt point of the ſcheme concerted, and would enter into war with Lewis, if he refuſed it.

Negotiations.

LEWIS received the meſſage with ſeeming gentleneſs and complacency. He told Feverſham, that the King of England well knew, that he might always be maſter of the peace; but ſome of the towns in Flanders, it ſeemed very hard to demand, eſpecially Tournay, upon whoſe fortifications ſuch immenſe ſums had been expended: He would therefore take ſome ſhort time to conſider of an anſwer. Feverſham ſaid, that he was limited to two days ſtay: But when that time was elapſed, he was prevailed with to ſtay ſome few days longer; and he came away at laſt without any poſitive anſwer. Lewis ſaid, that he hoped his brother would not break with him for one or two towns: And with regard to them too, he would ſend orders to his ambaſſador at London, to treat with the King himſelf.

Charles was ſoftened by the ſoftneſs of France; and the blow was thus artfully eluded. The French ambaſſador, Barillon, owned at laſt, that he had orders to yield all except Tournay, and even to treat about ſome equivalent for that fortreſs, if the King abſolutely inſiſted upon it. The prince was gone, who had ſpirited the whole reſolution; and the negotiation began to draw out into meſſages and returns from Paris.

By intervals, however, the King could rouze himſelf, and ſhow ſtill ſome firmneſs and reſolution. Finding that affairs were not likely to come to any concluſion with France, the adjournment of Parliament was anticipated to the fifteenth of January; a very unuſual meaſure, and capable of giving alarm to the French Court. Temple was ſent for to the council, and the King told him, that he intended he ſhould go to Holland, in order to form a treaty of alliance with the States; and that the purpoſes of it ſhould be, like the triple league, to force both France and Spain to accept of the terms propoſed. Temple was ſorry to find this act of vigor qualified by ſuch a regard to France, and by ſuch an appearance of indifference and neutrality between the parties. He told the King, that the reſolution agreed on, was to begin the war in conjunction with all the confederates, in caſe of no direct and immediate anſwer from France: That this meaſure would ſatisfy the prince, the allies, and the people of England; advantages which could not be expected from ſuch an alliance with Holland alone: That France would be diſobliged, and Spain likewiſe; nor would the Dutch be ſatisfied with ſuch a faint imitation of the triple league, a meaſure concerted when they were equally at peace with both parties. For theſe reaſons, Temple declined the employment; and Laurence Hyde, ſecond ſon to chancellor Clarendon, was ſent in his place.

The prince of Orange was ſurprized to obſerve ſuch ſymptoms of weakneſs and vigor conjoined in the Engliſh councils. He was reſolved, however, to make the beſt of a meaſure, which he did not approve; and as Spain ſecretly conſented, that her ally ſhould form a league, which was ſeemingly directed againſt her as well as France, but which was to fall only on the latter, the States concluded the treaty in the terms propoſed by the King. 1678. 6th of January.

Meanwhile, the Engliſh Parliament met, after ſome new delays; and the King was aſtoniſhed, that, notwithſtanding all the reſolute meaſures, which, he thought, he had taken, great diſtruſt and jealouſy and diſcontent were apt, at intervals, ſtill to prevail among the members. Tho' in his ſpeech he had allowed, that a good peace could no longer be expected from negotiation, and aſſured them, that he was reſolved to enter into war for that purpoſe; the Com- 28th of January.

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mons did not forbear to inſert in their reply ſeveral very harſh and even unreaſonable clauſes. Upon his reproving them, they ſeemed penitent, and voted, that they would aſſiſt his Majeſty in the proſecution of the war. A fleet of ninety ſail, an army of thirty thouſand men, and a million of money were alſo voted. Great difficulties were made by the Commons with regard to the army, which the Houſe, judging by paſt meaſures, believed to be intended more againſt the liberties of England than againſt the progreſs of the French Monarch. To this perilous ſituation had the King reduced both himſelf and the nation. In all debates, ſevere ſpeeches were made, and were received with a ſeeming approbation: The Duke and the treaſurer began to be apprehenſive of impeachments: Many motions againſt the King's miniſters were loſt by a very ſmall majority: The Commons appointed a day to conſider the ſtate of the kingdom with regard to popery: And they even went ſo far as to vote, that, how urgent ſoever the occaſion, they would lay no farther charge on the people, till ſecured againſt the prevalence of the catholic party. In ſhort, the Parliament were impatient for war whenever the King ſeemed averſe to it; but grew ſuſpicious of ſome ſiniſter deſign ſo ſoon as he complied with their requeſts, and ſeemed to enter into their meaſures.

THE King was enraged at this laſt vote: He reproached Temple with his popular notions, as he termed them; and aſked him how he thought the Houſe of Commons could be truſted for carrying on the war, ſhould it be entered on, when in the very outſet they made ſuch declarations. The uncertainties indeed of Charles's conduct were ſo multiplied, and the jealouſies on both ſides ſo incurable, that even thoſe who approached neareſt the ſcene of action could not determine, whether the King ever ſeriouſly meant to enter into war, or whether, if he did, the Houſe of Commons would not have taken advantage of his neceſſities, and made him purchaſe ſupplies by a great ſacrifice of his authority *.

THE King of France knew how to avail himſelf of all the advantages, which theſe diſtractions afforded him. By his emiſſaries, he repreſented to the Dutch the uncertainty of their dependance on England; where an indolent King, averſe to all war, eſpecially with France, and irreſolute in his meaſures, was actuated only by the uncertain breath of a factious Parliament. To the ariſtocratic faction, he remarked the danger of the Prince's alliance with the Royal Family of England, and revived their apprehenſions, leſt, in imitation of his father, who had been honored with the ſame alliance, he ſhould violently attempt to enlarge his authority, and enſlave his native country. In order to ſecond theſe motives with ſome farther terrors, he himſelf took the field very early in the ſpring; and after threatening Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, he ſat down ſuddenly before Ghent and Ypres, and in a few

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* Temple, vol. i. p. 461.

a few weeks made himſelf maſter of both places. This ſucceſs gave great alarm to the Hollanders, who were no way ſatisfied with the conduct of England, or with the ambiguous treaty lately concluded; and it quickened all their paces towards an accommodation.

IMMEDIATELY after the Parliament had voted the ſupply, the King began to inliſt forces; and ſuch was the ardor of the Engliſh for a war with France, that an army of above 20,000 men, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, were in a few weeks compleated. Three thouſand men, under the duke of Monmouth, were ſent over to ſecure Oſtend: Some regiments were recalled from the French ſervice: A fleet was fitted out with great diligence: And a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the Emperor.

BUT theſe vigorous meaſures received a ſudden damp from a paſſionate addreſs of the lower Houſe; where they juſtified all their paſt proceedings, which had given diſguſt to the King; deſired to be acquainted with the meaſures taken by him; prayed him to diſmiſs evil counſellors; and named in particular the duke of Lauderdale, on whoſe removal they ſtrenuouſly inſiſted. The King told them, that their addreſs was ſo extravagant, that he was not willing ſpeedily to give it the anſwer, which it deſerved. And he began again to lend an ear to the propoſals of France, who offered him great ſums of money, if he would conſent to their making an advantageous peace with the allies.

Negotiations.

TEMPLE, tho' preſſed by the King, refuſed to have any concern in ſo diſhonorable a negotiation: But he informs us, that the King ſaid, there was one article propoſed, which ſo incenſed him, that, as long as he lived, he never would forget it. Sir William goes no farther; but the editor of his works, the famous Dr. Swift, ſays, that the French, before they would agree to any payment, required as a preliminary, that the King ſhould engage never to keep above 8000 regular troops in his three kingdoms. Charles broke into a paſſion. "Cod's-fiſh," ſaid he, his uſual oath, "Does my brother of France think to ſerve me thus? Are all his promiſes to "make me abſolute maſter of my people come to this? Or does he think *that* a "thing to be done with eight thouſand men?"

VAN BEVERNING was the Dutch ambaſſador at Nimeguen, a man of great authority with the States. He was very eager for peace, and was perſwaded, that the reluctance of the King and the jealouſies of the Parliament would for ever diſappoint the allies in their hopes of ſuccor from England. Orders were ſent him to go to the French King at Ghent, and concert the terms of a general treaty, as well as procure a preſent truce for ſix weeks. The terms agreed on were much worſe for the Spaniards, than thoſe planned by the King and the Prince of Orange. Six towns, ſome of them of no great conſequence, were to be reſtored to them: But

Chap. IV. 1678. Ypres, Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournay, in which conſiſted the chief ſtrength of their frontier, were to remain with France.

GREAT murmurs aroſe in England, when it was known, that Flanders was to be left in ſo defenceleſs a condition. The chief complaints were levelled againſt the King, who, by his concurrence at firſt, by his favor afterwards, and by his delays at laſt, had foſtered up the power of France to ſuch an enormous height, that it threatened the general liberties of Europe. Charles, uneaſy under theſe imputations, dreading the conſequence of loſing the affections of his ſubjects, and perhaps diſguſted with the ſecret article propoſed by France, began to wiſh heartily for war, which, he hoped, would have reſtored him to his antient popularity.

AN opportunity very unexpectedly offered itſelf for his diſplaying theſe new diſpoſitions. While the ambaſſadors at Nimeguen were concerting the terms of a general treaty, the marquis de Balbaces, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, aſked the ambaſſadors of France, at what time France intended to reſtore the ſix towns in Flanders. They made no difficulty of declaring, that the King, their maſter, being obliged to ſee an entire reſtitution made to the Swedes of all they had loſt in the war, could not evacuate theſe towns, till that Crown had received ſatisfaction; and that this detention of places was the only means to induce the Princes of the North to accept of the peace.

THE States immediately gave the King intelligence of a pretenſion, which might be attended with ſuch dangerous conſequences. The King was both ſurprized and angry. He immediately diſpatched Temple to concert with the States vigorous
16th of July. meaſures for oppoſing France. Temple in ſix days concluded a treaty, by which Lewis was obliged to declare within ſixteen after the date, that he would preſently evacuate the towns: And in caſe of his refuſal, Holland was engaged to continue the war, and England immediately to declare againſt France, in conjunction with the whole confederacy.

ALL theſe warlike meaſures were ſo little ſeconded by the Parliament, where even the French miniſters were ſuſpected of carrying on ſome intrigues, that the Commons renewed their former jealouſies againſt the King, and voted the army immediately to be diſbanded. The King by a meſſage repreſented the danger of diſarming before peace was concluded; and he recommended to their conſideration, whether he could honorably recall his forces from thoſe towns in Flanders, which had put themſelves under his protection, and which had at preſent no other means of ſafety. The Commons agreed to prolong the term with regard to theſe forces. Every thing indeed in Europe wore the appearance of war. France had poſitively declared, that ſhe would not evacuate the towns before the requiſite ceſſion was

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made to Sweden; and her honor ſeemed now engaged to ſupport that declaration. Spain and the Empire, extremely diſguſted with the terms of peace, impoſed by Holland, ſaw with pleaſure the proſpect of a powerful ſupport from the new reſolutions of Charles. Holland itſelf, encouraged by the Prince of Orange and his party, was not diſpleaſed to find that the war would be renewed on more equal terms. The allied army under that Prince was approaching towards Mons, then blockaded by France. A conſiderable body of Engliſh forces under the duke of Monmouth, were ready to join him.

CHARLES uſually paſſed a great part of his time in the women's apartments, particularly thoſe of the ducheſs of Portſmouth; where, among other gay company, he often met with Barillon, the French ambaſſador, a man of polite converſation, who was admitted into all the amuſements of that inglorious, but agreeable, monarch. It was the charms of this ſauntering eaſy life, as much as any force of paſſion or appetite for pleaſure, which, during the latter part of his life, attached Charles to his miſtreſſes. By the inſinuations of Barillon and the ducheſs of Portſmouth, an order was, in an unguarded hour, procured, which inſtantly changed the face of affairs in Europe. One du Cros, a French fugitive monk, was ſent to Temple, directing him to apply to the Swediſh ambaſſador, and perſwade him not to inſiſt on the conditions required by France, but to ſacrifice to general peace thoſe intereſts of Sweden. Du Cros, who had ſecretly received inſtructions from Barillon, publiſhed every where in Holland the commiſſion, with which he was intruſted; and all men took the alarm. It was concluded, that Charles's ſudden alacrity for war was as ſuddenly extinguiſhed, and that no ſteddy meaſures could ever be taken with England. The King afterwards, when he ſaw Temple, treated this important matter in raillery; and ſaid laughing, that the rogue du Cros had outwitted them all.

THE negotiations however at Nimeguen ſtill continued; and the French ambaſſadors ſpun out the time, till the morning of the fatal day, which, by the late treaty between England and Holland, was to determine, whether a ſudden peace or a long war was to have place in Chriſtendom. The French ambaſſadors came then to Van Beverning, and told him, that they had received orders to conſent to the evacuation of the towns, and immediately to conclude and ſign the peace. Van Beverning might have refuſed compliance, becauſe it was now impoſſible to procure the conſent and concurrence of Spain; but he had entertained ſo juſt an idea of the fluctuations in the Engliſh councils, and was ſo much alarmed by the late commiſſion given to du Cros, that he deemed it fortunate for the Republic to conclude on any terms a dangerous war, where they were likely to be very ill ſupported. The papers were inſtantly drawn up, and ſigned by the miniſters of France and Holland be-

1ſt of Auguſt.

between eleven and twelve a clock at night. By this treaty, France ſecured the poſſeſſion of Franchecomté, together with Cambray, Aire, St. Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Caſſel, &c. and reſtored to Spain only Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Athe, Ghent, and Limbourg.

NEXT day Temple received an expreſs from England, which brought the ratifications of the treaty lately concluded with the States, with orders immediately to proceed to the exchange of them. Charles was now returned to his former inclinations for war with France.

VAN BEVERNING was loudly exclaimed againſt by the ambaſſadors of the allies at Nimeguen, eſpecially thoſe of Brandenburgh and Denmark, whoſe maſters were obliged by the treaty to reſtore all their acquiſitions. The miniſters of Spain and the Emperor were ſullen and diſguſted; and all men hoped, that the States, importuned and encouraged by continual ſollicitations from England, would diſavow their ambaſſador, and renew the war. The Prince of Orange even took a very extraordinary ſtep, in order to engage them to that meaſure; or perhaps to give vent to his own ſpleen and reſentment. The day after ſigning the peace at Nimeguen, he attacked the French army at St. Dennis near Mons; and gained ſome advantage over Luxembourg, who reſted ſecure on the faith of the treaty, and concluded the war to be finiſhed. The Prince knew, at leaſt had reaſon to believe, that the peace was ſigned, tho' it had not been formally notified to him; and he here ſacrificed wantonly, without a proper motive, the lives of many brave men on both ſides, who fell in this ſharp and well conteſted action.

HYDE was ſent over with a view of perſwading the States to diſavow Van Beverning; and the King promiſed, that England, if ſhe might depend on Holland, would immediately declare war, and would purſue it, till France was reduced to reaſonable conditions. Charles at preſent went farther than words. He hurried on the embarkation of his army for Flanders, and all his preparations wore a hoſtile appearance. But the States had been too often deceived to truſt him any longer. They ratified the treaty ſigned at Nimeguen; and all the other Powers of Europe were at laſt, after much clamor and many diſguſts, obliged to accept of the terms preſcribed to them.

Peace of Nimeguen.

LEWIS had now reached the height of that glory, which ambition can afford. His miniſters and negotiators appeared as much ſuperior to thoſe of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals and armies had been experienced in the field. A ſucceſsful war had been carried on againſt an alliance, compoſed of the greateſt Potentates in Europe. Conſiderable conqueſts had been made, and his territories enlarged on every ſide. An advantageous peace was at laſt concluded, where he had given the law. The allies were ſo enraged againſt each other, that they were not likely to cement ſoon in any new confederacy. And thus he had, during ſome years, a real and near proſpect of attaining the Monarchy of Europe, and of exceeding the Empire of Charlemagne, perhaps equalling that of antient Rome. Had England continued much longer in the ſame condition and under the ſame government, it is not eaſy to conceive, that he could have failed of his purpoſe.

IN proportion as theſe circumſtances exalted the French, they excited indignation amongſt the Engliſh, whoſe animoſity, rouzed by terror, mounted to a great height againſt that rival nation. Inſtead of taking the lead in the affairs of Europe, Charles, they thought, had, contrary to his own honor and intereſt, acted a part entirely ſubſervient to the common enemy, and in all his meaſures had either no project at all, or ſuch as was highly criminal and pernicious. While Spain, Holland, the Emperor, the Princes of Germany called aloud on England to lead them to victory and to liberty, and conſpired to raiſe her to a ſtation more glorious than ſhe had ever before attained; her King, from mean pecuniary views, had ſecretly ſold his alliance to Lewis, and was bribed into an intereſt contrary to that of his people. His active ſchemes in conjunction with France were highly pernicious; his neutrality was equally ignominious; and the jealous, refractory behavior of the Parliament, tho' in itſelf dangerous, was the only remedy for ſo many greater ills, with which the public, from the miſguided councils of the King, was ſo nearly threatened. Such were the diſpoſitions of men's minds at the concluſion of the peace of Nimeguen: And theſe diſpoſitions very naturally prepared the way for the events which followed.

State of affairs in Scotland.

WE muſt now return to the affairs of Scotland, which we left in ſome diſorder, after the ſuppreſſion of the inſurrection in *1666*. The King, who at that time endeavored to render himſelf popular in England, adopted like meaſures in Scotland, and entruſted the government chiefly into the hands of Tweddale, and Sir Robert Murray, men of prudence and moderation. Theſe miniſters made it their principal occupation to compoſe the religious differences, which ran very high, and for which ſcarce any modern nation, but the Dutch, had as yet found out the proper remedy. As rigor and reſtraint had failed in Scotland, a ſcheme of *comprehenſion* was tried; by which it was propoſed to diminiſh greatly the authority of biſhops, to aboliſh their negative voice in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of precedency among the preſbyters. But the zealots entertained great jealouſy againſt this ſcheme. They remembered, that it was by ſuch gradual ſteps, that King James endeavored to introduce epiſcopacy. Should the ears and eyes of men be once reconciled to the name and habit of biſhops, the whole power of the function, they dreaded, would ſoon follow: The leaſt communication with unlawful and antichriſtian inſtitutions they eſteemed dangerous and criminal: *Touch not, taſte not,*

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handle not; this cry went out amongſt them: And the King's miniſters at laſt perceived, that they would proſtitute the dignity of government, by making advances, to which the malecontents were determined not to correſpond.

THE next project adopted was that of *indulgence*. The moſt popular of the expelled preachers, without requiring any terms of ſubmiſſion to the eſtabliſhed religion, were ſettled in vacant churches; and ſmall ſallaries of about twenty pounds a year were offered to the reſt, till they ſhould otherwiſe be provided for. Theſe laſt refuſed the King's bounty, which they conſidered as the wages of a criminal ſilence. Even the former ſoon repented their compliance. The people, who had been accuſtomed to hear them rail againſt their ſuperiors, and preach to the times, as they called it, deemed their ſermons languid and ſpiritleſs, when deprived of theſe ornaments. Their uſual gifts, they thought, had left them, on account of their ſubmiſſion, which was ſtigmatized as eraſtianiſm. They gave them the appellation, not of miniſters of Chriſt, but of *the King's curates*; as the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church were commonly denominated the *biſhop's curates*. The preachers themſelves returned in a little time to their former practices, by which they hoped to regain their former dominion over the minds of men; a ſuperiority, which no-one, who has ever poſſeſſed it, will willingly, by any conſideration, be prevailed on to relinquiſh. The conventicles multiplied daily in the Weſt: The clergy of the eſtabliſhed church were inſulted: The laws were neglected: The Covenanters even met daily in arms at their places of worſhip: And tho' they uſually diſperſed themſelves after religious ſervice, yet the government took a juſt alarm at ſeeing men, who were ſo entirely governed by their ſeditious teachers, dare to ſet authority at defiance, and during a time of full peace, to put themſelves in a military poſture.

THERE was here, it is apparent, in the political body, a diſeaſe very dangerous and inveterate; and the government had tried every remedy, but the true one, to allay and correct it. An unlimited toleration, after ſects have diffuſed themſelves and are ſtrongly rooted, is the only expedient, which can allay their fervor, and make the civil union acquire a ſuperiority above religious diſtinctions. But as the operations of this regimen are commonly very gradual, and at firſt imperceptible, vulgar politicians are apt, for that reaſon, to have recourſe to more haſty and more dangerous remedies. It is obſervable too, that theſe non-conformiſts in Scotland neither offered nor demanded toleration; but laid claim to an entire ſuperiority, and to the exerciſe of extreme rigor againſt their adverſaries. The Covenant, which they idolized, was a perſecuting, as well as a ſeditious band of confederacy: And the government, inſtead of treating them like madmen, who ſhould be ſoothed, and flattered, and deceived into tranquillity, thought themſelves intitled to a rigid obedience,

dience, and were too apt, from a miſtaken policy, to retaliate upon the diſſenters, who had erred from the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm.

Amidst theſe diſturbances, a new Parliament was aſſembled at Edinburgh*; and Lauderdale was ſent down commiſſioner. Zealous preſbyterians, who chiefly were poſſeſſed with the love of liberty, were too obnoxious to reſiſt the meaſures of the government; and the tyde ſtill ran ſtrong in favor of Monarchy. The commiſſioner had ſuch influence as to get two acts paſſed, which were of the utmoſt conſequence to the civil and eccleſiaſtical liberties of the kingdom. By the one, it was declared, that the ſettling all things with regard to the external government of the church was a right of the Crown: That whatever related to eccleſiaſtical meetings, matters, and perſons, was to be ordered, according to ſuch directions as the King ſhould ſend to his Privy Council: And that theſe, being publiſhed by them, ſhould have the force of laws. The other act regarded the militia, which the King by his own authority had two years before eſtabliſhed, in place of the army which was broke. By this act, the militia was ſettled to the number of 22000 men, who were to be conſtantly armed, and regularly diſciplined. And it was farther enacted, that theſe troops ſhould be held in readineſs to march into England, Ireland, or any part of the King's dominions, for any cauſe in which his Majeſty's authority, power, or greatneſs was concerned; on receiving orders, not from the King, but the Privy Council of Scotland.

Lauderdale boaſted extremely of his ſervices in procuring theſe two laws: The King by the former was rendered abſolute maſter of the church, and might legally, even by an edict, re eſtabliſh, if he thought proper, the Catholic religion in Scotland: By the latter, he ſaw a powerful force ready at his call: He had even the advantage of being able to diſguiſe his orders under the name of the Privy Council; and in caſe of failure in his enterprizes, could, by ſuch a pretext, apologize for his conduct to the Engliſh Parliament. But in proportion as theſe laws were agreeable to the King, they gave alarm to the Engliſh Commons, and were the chief cauſe of thoſe redoubled attacks, which they made upon Lauderdale. Theſe attacks, however, ſerved only to fortify his intereſt with the King; and tho' it is probable, that the Scotch militia, during the divided ſtate of that kingdom, would, if matters had come to extremity, have been of very little ſervice againſt England; yet did Charles eſteem the credit of it a conſiderable ſupport to his authority: And Lauderdale, by degrees, became the prime or rather ſole miniſter for Scotland. The natural indolence of the King diſpoſed him to give entire confidence to a man, who had ſo far extended the royal Prerogative, and who was ſtill diſpoſed to render it abſolutely uncontroleable.

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* 19th of October, 1669.

Chap. IV. 1678.

In a ſubſequent ſeſſion of the ſame Parliament *, a ſevere law was enacted againſt conventicles. Ruinous fines were impoſed both on the preachers and hearers, even if the meetings had been in houſes; but upon field conventicles, the penalty of death and confiſcation of goods was impoſed: Four hundred marks Scotch were offered as a reward to any who ſhould ſeize theſe criminals; and they were indemnified for any ſlaughter, which they ſhould commit in the execution of ſuch an undertaking. And as it was found difficult to get evidence againſt theſe conventicles, however numerous, it was enacted by another law, that, whoever, being required by the Council, refuſed to give information upon oath, ſhould be puniſhed by arbitrary fines, by impriſonment, or by baniſhment to the plantations. Thus all perſecution naturally, or rather neceſſarily, adopts the iniquities, as well as rigors, of the inquiſition. What a conſiderable part of the ſociety conſider as their duty and honor, and the others are apt to regard with compaſſion and indulgence, can by no other expedient be ſubjected to ſuch ſevere penalties as the natural ſentiments of mankind appropriate only to the blackeſt crimes.

Tho' Lauderdale found this ready compliance in the Parliament, a party was formed againſt him, of which duke Hamilton was the head. Next ſeſſion †, this party had become conſiderable: And many were diſguſted, as well with Lauderdale's inſolence, as with the grievances, under which the public labored. The firſt Parliament of this reign had acknowleged, that the regulation of all foreign trade was an inherent branch of royal prerogative. In conſequence of this important conceſſion, the King, by an act of council, had prohibited the importation of brandy and all ſpirits; and the execution of this edict was committed to lord Elphinſtone, a relation of Lauderdale's. Elphinſtone made no other uſe of this power than to ſell licences to the merchants, by which expedient he gained great ſums to himſelf, tho' to the loſs of the revenue, as well as of the kingdom. A monopoly of ſalt had alſo been granted to lord Kincardine; and a new impoſition on tobacco had been beſtowed in gift upon Sir John Nicolſon, for the benefit of himſelf and ſome friends of Lauderdale's. When theſe grievances were complained of, the commiſſioner, who was deſirous to prevent all parliamentary enquiry, choſe rather to redreſs them in council; and he accordingly cancelled the three patents complained of. But as farther grievances were mentioned, and a general repreſentation of the ſtate of the kingdom was propoſed to be made by Parliament; Lauderdale oppoſed, as a barrier, the Lords of Articles, without whoſe conſent, he ſaid, no motion could be received. Men were now convinced of their imprudence in reſtoring that inſtitution, which rendered all national aſſemblies in a manner uſeleſs for the redreſs of grievances.

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* 28th of July, 1670. † 11th of June, 1673.

HAMILTON, Tweddale, and others went to London, and applied to the King, who was alone able to correct the abuſes of Lauderdale's adminiſtration. But even their complaints to him might be dangerous; and all approaches of truth to the Throne were barred by the ridiculous law againſt leaſing-making; a law, which ſeems to have been extorted by the antient nobles, in order to protect their own tyranny, oppreſſion, and injuſtice. Great precautions, therefore, were uſed by the Scotch malecontents in their repreſentations to the king; but no redreſs was obtained. Charles loaded them with careſſes, and continued Lauderdale in his authority.

A VERY bad, at leaſt a ſevere uſe was made of this authority. The Privy Council diſpoſſeſſed twelve gentlemen or noblemen of their houſes *; and by an act, which would have been deemed extremely arbitrary in any part of Europe, and even tyrannical in Aſia, theſe houſes were converted into ſo many garriſons, eſtabliſhed for the ſuppreſſion of conventicles. The nation, it was pretended, was really, on account of theſe religious aſſemblies, in a ſtate of war; and by an antient law, the King, in ſuch an emergence, was empowered to place a garriſon in any houſe, where he ſhould judge it expedient.

IT were endleſs to recount every act of violence and arbitrary authority exerciſed during Lauderdale's adminiſtration. All the lawyers were put from the bar, nay baniſhed by the King's order twelve miles from Edinburgh, and by that means the whole juſtice of the kingdom was ſuſpended for a year; till theſe lawyers were brought to declare it as their opinion, that all appeals to Parliament were illegal. A letter was procured from the King, for turning out twelve of the chief magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and declaring them incapable of all public office; tho' their only crime had been want of compliance with Lauderdale. The burroughs of Scotland have a privilege of meeting once a year by their deputies, in order to conſider the ſtate of trade, and make bye-laws for its regulation: In this convention, a petition was voted, complaining of ſome late laws, which obſtructed commerce, and praying the King, that he would impower his commiſſioner, in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, to give his aſſent to the repealing them. For this preſumption, as it was called, ſeveral of the members were fined and impriſoned. One More, a member of Parliament, having moved in the Houſe, that, in imitation of the Engliſh Parliament, no bill ſhould paſs except after three readings, he was for this pretended offence immediately ſent to priſon by the commiſſioner.

THE private deportment of Lauderdale was as inſolent and provoking as his public adminiſtration was violent and tyrannical. Juſtice likewiſe was univerſally per-

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* In 1675.

perverted by faction and intereſt: And from the great rapacity of that duke, and ſtill more of his ducheſs, all offices and favors were openly put to ſale. No-one was allowed to approach the Throne who was not dependant on him; and no remedy could be hoped for or obtained againſt his manifold oppreſſions. The caſe of Mitchel ſhows, that this miniſter was as much devoid of truth and honor as of lenity and juſtice.

THIS unhappy man, Mitchel, was a deſperate fanatic, and had entertained a reſolution of aſſaſſinating Sharpe, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who, by his former apoſtacy and ſubſequent rigor, had rendered himſelf extremely odious to all men, eſpecially to the Covenanters. In the year 1668, Mitchel fired a piſtol at the primate, as he was ſitting in his coach; but the biſhop of Orkney, ſtepping into the coach, happened to ſtretch out his arm, which intercepted the ball, and was much ſhattered by it. This happened in the principal ſtreet of the city; but ſo generally was the archbiſhop deteſted, that the aſſaſſin was allowed peaceably to walk off; and having turned a ſtreet or two, and thrown off a wig, which diſguiſed him, he immediately appeared in public, and remained altogether unſuſpected. Some years afterwards, Sharpe remarked a man, who ſeemed to eye him very eagerly; and being ſtill anxious, leſt an attempt of aſſaſſination ſhould be renewed, he ordered him to be ſeized and examined. Two piſtols were found upon him very deep loaded; and as he was now concluded to be the author of the former attempt, Sharpe promiſed, that, if he would confeſs his guilt, he ſhould be diſmiſſed without any puniſhment. Mitchel was ſo credulous as to believe him; but was immediately produced before the council by the faithleſs primate. The council, having no proof againſt him, but hoping to involve the whole body of Covenanters in this odious crime, very ſolemnly renewed the promiſe of pardon, if he would make a full diſcovery; and it was a great diſappointment to them, when they found, upon his confeſſion, that only one perſon, who was now dead, had been acquainted with his bloody reſolutions. Mitchel was next cited before a court of judicature, and required to renew his confeſſion; but being apprehenſive, that, tho' a pardon for life had been promiſed him, other corporal puniſhments might ſtill be inflicted, he refuſed compliance; and was ſent back to priſon. He was next examined before the council, under pretext of his being concerned in the inſurrection at Pentland; and tho' no proof appeared againſt him, he was put to the queſtion, and contrary to the moſt obvious principles of equity, was urged to accuſe himſelf. He endured the torture with ſingular reſolution, and continued obſtinate in the denial of a crime, of which, it is believed, he really was not guilty. Inſtead of obtaining his liberty, he was ſent to the Baſs, a very high rock, ſurrounded by the ſea; at this time converted into a ſtate priſon, and full of the unhappy

Covenanters. He there remained in great miſery, loaded with irons; till the year 1677, when it was reſolved by ſome new examples to ſtrike a freſh terror into the perſecuted, but ſtill obſtinate enthuſiaſts. Mitchel was then brought before a court of judicature, and put upon his trial, for an attempt to aſſaſſinate an archbiſhop and a privy counſellor. His former confeſſion was pleaded againſt him, and was proved by the teſtimony of the duke of Lauderdale, lord commiſſioner, lord Hatton his brother, deputy treaſurer, the earl of Rothes, chancellor, and the primate himſelf. Mitchel, beſides maintaining that the Privy Council was no court of judicature, and that a confeſſion before them was not judicial, aſſerted, that he had been engaged to make that confeſſion by a ſolemn promiſe of pardon which had been given him. The four privy counſellors denied upon oath, that any ſuch promiſe had ever been given. The priſoner then deſired, that the council books might be produced in court; and even offered a copy of that day's proceedings to be red; but the Privy Counſellors maintained, that, after they had made oath, no farther proof could be admitted, and that the books of Privy Council contained the King's ſecrets, which were on no account to be divulged. They were not probably aware, when they ſwore, that the clerk having engroſſed the promiſe of pardon in the narrative of Mitchel's confeſſion, the whole minute had been ſigned by the chancellor, and that the proofs of their perjury were by that means committed to record. Tho' the priſoner was condemned, Lauderdale was ſtill inclined to pardon him; but the unrelenting primate rigorouſly inſiſted upon his execution, and ſaid, that, if aſſaſſins remained unpuniſhed, his life muſt be expoſed to perpetual danger. Mitchel was accordingly executed at Edinburgh in January 1678. Such a complication of cruelty and treachery ſhews the character of thoſe miniſters, to whom the King had entruſted the government of Scotland.

LAUDERDALE's adminiſtration, beſides the iniquities ariſing from the extreme violence of his temper, and the ſtill greater iniquities inſeparable from all projects of perſecution, was attended with other circumſtances, which engaged him into ſevere and arbitrary meaſures. An abſolute government was to be introduced, which on its commencement is often moſt rigorous; and tyranny was ſtill obliged, for want of military power, to cover itſelf under an appearance of law; a ſituation which rendered it extremely awkard in its movements, and by provoking oppoſition, extended the fury of its oppreſſions.

THE rigors, exerciſed againſt conventicles, inſtead of breaking the ſpirit of the fanatics, had tended only, as is uſual, to render them more obſtinate in their errors, to increaſe the fervor of their zeal, to link them more cloſely with each other, and to enflame them againſt the eſtabliſhed hierarchy. The Commonalty, almoſt every where in the South, particularly in the Weſtern counties, frequented conventicles without reſerve; and the gentry, tho' they themſelves commonly abſtained from theſe illegal places of worſhip, connived at this irregularity in their inferiors. In order to engage the former on the ſide of the perſecutors, a bond or contract was by order of the Privy Council tendered to the landlords in the Weſt, by which they were to engage for the good behavior of their tenants; and in caſe any tenant frequented a conventicle, they were to ſubject themſelves to the ſame fine as could by law be exacted from the delinquent. It was ridiculous to give ſanction to laws by voluntary contracts: It was iniquous to make one man anſwerable for another's conduct: It was illegal to impoſe ſuch hard conditions upon men, who had no way offended. For theſe reaſons, the greateſt part of the gentry refuſed to ſign thoſe bonds; and Lauderdale, enraged at this oppoſition, endeavored to break their ſpirit by expedients, which were ſtill more unuſual and more arbitrary.

Tte law enacted againſt conventicles, had called them ſeminaries of rebellion. This expreſſion, which was nothing but a flouriſh of rhetoric, Lauderdale and the Privy Council were willing to underſtand in a literal ſenſe; and becauſe the weſtern counties abounded in conventicles, tho' otherwiſe in the moſt profound peace, they pretended, that theſe counties were in a ſtate of actual war and rebellion. They made therefore an agreement with ſome highland chieftains to call out their clans to the number of 8000 men: To theſe they joined the guards, and the militia of Angus: And ſent the whole to live on free quarter upon the lands of ſuch as had refuſed the illegal bonds required of them. The obnoxious counties were the moſt populous and moſt induſtrious in Scotland: The highlanders were the people the moſt diſorderly and leaſt civilized. It is eaſy to imagine the havoc and deſtruction, which enſued. A multitude, not accuſtomed to military diſcipline, averſe to the reſtraint of laws, trained up in rapine and violence, were let looſe amidſt thoſe whom they were taught to regard as enemies to their Prince and to their religion. Nothing eſcaped their ravenous hands: By hardſhips, and ſometimes by tortures, men were obliged to diſcover their concealed wealth. Neither age, nor ſex, nor innocence afforded protection: And the gentry, finding that even thoſe who had been moſt compliant, and who had ſubſcribed the bonds, were alike expoſed to the rapacity of thoſe barbarians, confirmed themſelves ſtill more in the obſtinate reſolution of refuſing them. The voice of the nation was raiſed againſt this enormous outrage; and after two months free quarter, the highlanders were at laſt ſent back to their hills, loaded with the ſpoils and execrations of the Weſt.

Those who had been engaged to ſubſcribe the bonds could find no ſecurity but by turning out ſuch tenants as they ſuſpected of an inclination to conventicles, and thereby depopulating their eſtates. To encreaſe the miſery of theſe unhappy tenants the council enacted, that none ſhould be received any where, or allowed a habitation,

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1678.

who brought not a certificate of his conformity from the pariſh miniſter. That the obſtinate and refractory might not eſcape farther perſecution, a new device was fallen upon. By the law of Scotland, any man, who ſhould go before a magiſtrate, and ſwear that he thought himſelf in danger from another, might obtain a writ of *law-burrows*, as it was called; by which the latter was bound, under the penalty of impriſonment and outlawry, to find ſecurity for his good behavior. Lauderdale entertained the abſurd notion of making the King ſue for writs of law-burrows againſt his ſubjects. On this pretext, the refuſers of the bonds were ſummoned to appear before the council, and were required to bind themſelves, under the penalty of two years rent, neither to frequent conventicles themſelves, nor allow their family and tenants to be preſent at thoſe unlawful aſſemblies. Thus chicanery was joined to tyranny; and the Majeſty of the King, inſtead of being exalted, was in reality proſtituted; as if he were obliged to ſeek the ſame ſecurity, which one neighbor might require of another.

It was an old law, but ſeldom executed, that a man, who was accuſed of any crime, and did not appear, in order to take his trial, might be *intercommuned*, that is, he might be publicly outlawed; and whoever afterwards, either on account of buſineſs, relation, nay charity, had the leaſt intercourſe with him, was ſubjected to the ſame penalties as could by law be inflicted on the criminal himſelf. A great many writs of intercommuning were now iſſued againſt the hearers and preachers in conventicles; and by this ſevere and even abſurd law, crimes and guilt went on multiplying in a geometrical proportion. Where laws themſelves are ſo violent, it is no wonder that an adminiſtration ſhould be tyrannical.

Lest the cry of an oppreſſed people ſhould reach the Throne, the council forbad, under high penalties, every nobleman or gentleman of landed property to leave the kingdom. A ſevere edict, eſpecially where the Sovereign himſelf reſided in a foreign country. Notwithſtanding this act of council, Caſſilis firſt, afterwards Hamilton and Tweddale, went to London, and laid their complaints before the King. Theſe violent proceedings of Lauderdale were very oppoſite to the natural temper of Charles; and he immediately iſſued orders for diſcontinuing the bonds and the writs of law-burrows. But as he was commonly little touched with what lay at a diſtance, he entertained not the proper indignation againſt thoſe who had abuſed his authority. Even while he retracted theſe oppreſſive meaſures, he was prevailed with to avow and praiſe them in a letter, which he wrote to the privy council. This proof of confidence might fortify the hands of the miniſtry, but the King ran a manifeſt hazard of loſing the affections of his ſubjects, by not permitting even thoſe who were deſirous of it, to diſtinguiſh between him and their oppreſſors.

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1678.

It is reported [*], that Charles, after a full hearing of the debates concerning Scotch affairs, ſaid, "I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things "againſt the people of Scotland; but I cannot find, that he has acted any thing "contrary to my intereſt." A ſentiment moſt unworthy of a Sovereign!

During the abſence of Hamilton and the other diſcontented Lords, the King allowed Lauderdale to ſummon a convention of eſtates at Edinburgh. This convention, beſides granting ſome money, beſtowed applauſes on all Lauderdale's adminiſtration, and in their addreſſes to the King, expreſſed the higheſt contentment and ſatisfaction. But theſe inſtances of complaiſance had the contrary effect in England from what was expected by the contrivers of them. All men there concluded that in Scotland the very voice of liberty was totally ſuppreſſed; and that, by the prevalence of tyranny, grievances were ſo rivetted, that it was become dangerous even to mention them, or complain to the Prince, who alone was capable of redreſſing them. From the ſlavery of the neighboring kingdom, they inferred the arbitrary diſpoſitions of the King; and from the violence, with which ſovereign power was there exerciſed, they apprehended the miſeries, which might enſue to themſelves, upon their loſs of liberty. If perſecutions by a proteſtant church could be carried to ſuch extremities, what might be dreaded from the prevalence of popery, which had ever, in all ages, made open profeſſion of exterminating by fire and ſword every oppoſite ſect or communion? And if the firſt approaches towards unlimited authority were ſo tyrannical, how diſmal its final eſtabliſhment; when all dread of oppoſition ſhall at laſt be removed by mercenary armies, and all ſenſe of ſhame by long and inveterate habit?

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[*] Burnet.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The popiſh plot.——Oates's Narrative.——And character.——Coleman's letters.——Godfrey's murder.——General conſternation.——The Parliament.——Zeal of the Parliament.——Bedloe's narrative.——Accuſation of Danby.——His impeachment.——Diſſolution of the long Parliament.——Its character.——Trial of Coleman.——Of Ireland.——New elections.——Duke of Monmouth.——Duke of York retires to Bruſſels.——New Parliament.——Danby's impeachment.——Popiſh plot.——New council.——Limitations on a popiſh ſucceſſor.——Bill of excluſion.——Habeas corpus bill.——Prorogation and diſſolution of the Parliament.——Trial and execution of the five jeſuits.——And of Langhorne.——Wakeman acquitted.——State of affairs in Scotland.——Battle of Bothwel bridge.

1678.

THE Engliſh nation, ever ſince the fatal league with France, had foſtered violent jealouſies againſt the Court; and the ſubſequent meaſures, adopted by the King, had tended more to encreaſe than cure the general prejudices. Some myſterious deſign was ſtill ſuſpected in every enterprize and profeſſion: Arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the ſcope of all projects: Each breath or rumor made the people ſtart with anxiety: Their enemies, they thought, were in their very boſom, and had got poſſeſſion of their Sovereign's confidence. While in this timorous, jealous diſpoſition, the cry of a *plot* all on a ſudden ſtruck their ears: They were wakened from their ſlumber; and like men affrighted and in the dark, took every ſhadow for a ſpecter. The terror of each man became the ſource of terror to another. And an univerſal panic being diffuſed, reaſon and argument and common ſenſe and common humanity loſt all influence over them. From this diſpoſition of men's minds we are to account for the progreſs and credit of the POPISH PLOT; an event, which would otherwiſe appear prodigious and altogether inexplicable.

The popiſh plot.

ON the twelfth of Auguſt, one Kirby, a chemiſt, accoſted the King, as he was walking in the Park: "Sir," ſaid he, "keep within the company: Your ene-

Chap. V. 1678. "mies have a deſign upon your life; and you may be ſhot in this very walk." Being aſked the reaſon of theſe ſtrange ſpeeches, he ſaid, that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to ſhoot the King, and Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's phyſician, to poyſon him. This intelligence, he added, had been communicated to him by doctor Tongue; whom, if permitted, he would introduce to his Majeſty. Tongue was a divine of the church of England; a man active, reſtleſs, full of projects, devoid of underſtanding. He brought papers to the King, which contained information of a plot, and were digeſted into forty-three articles. The King not having leiſure to peruſe them, ſent them to the lord treaſurer, Danby, and ordered the two informers to lay the buſineſs before that miniſter. Tongue confeſſed to Danby, that he himſelf had not drawn the papers, that they had ſecretly been thruſt under his door, and that, tho' he ſuſpected, he did not certainly know who was the author. After a few days, he returned, and told the treaſurer, that his ſuſpicions, he found, were juſt; that the author of the intelligence, whom he had met twice or thrice in the ſtreet, had acknowleged the whole matter, and had given him a more particular account of the conſpiracy; but deſired, that his name might be concealed, being apprehenſive leſt the papiſts ſhould murder him.

THE information was renewed with regard to Grove's and Pickering's intentions of ſhooting the King; and Tongue even pretended, that, at a particular time, they were to ſet out for Windſor with that intention. Orders were given for arreſting them, ſo ſoon as they ſhould appear in that place: But tho' this alarm was more than once renewed, ſome frivolous reaſons were ſtill found by Tongue for their delaying the journey. And the King concluded, both from theſe evaſions, and from the myſterious, artificial manner of communicating the intelligence, that the whole was a fiction.

TONGUE came next to the treaſurer, and told him, that a pacquet of letters, wrote by jeſuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the poſt-houſe for Windſor, directed to Bedingfield, a jeſuit, confeſſor to the Duke. When this intelligence was conveyed to the King, he replied, that the pacquet mentioned had a few hours before been brought to the Duke by Bedingfield; who ſaid, that he ſuſpected ſome bad deſign upon him, that the letters ſeemed to contain matters of a dangerous import, and that he knew them not to be the hand-writing of the perſons whoſe names were ſubſcribed to them. This incident ſtill farther confirmed the King in his incredulity.

THE matter had probably ſlept in this poſture for ever, had it not been the anxiety of the Duke, who, hearing that prieſts and jeſuits and even his own confeſſor had been accuſed, was deſirous, that a thorow enquiry ſhould be made by the council into the pretended conſpiracy. Kirby and Tongue were enquired after, and were now found to be living in cloſe conjunction with Titus Oates, the perſon who was ſaid to have conveyed the firſt intelligence to Tongue. Oates affirmed, that he had fallen under ſuſpicion with the jeſuits; that he had received three blows with a ſtick and a box on the ear from the provincial of that order, for revealing their conſpiracy; and that over-hearing them ſpeak of their intentions to puniſh him more ſeverely, he had withdrawn, and concealed himſelf. This man, in whoſe breaſt was lodged a ſecret, involving the fate of Kings and kingdoms, was allowed to remain in ſuch neceſſity, that Kirby was obliged to ſupply him with daily bread; and it was a joyful ſurprize to him, when he heard, that the council were at laſt diſpoſed to take ſome notice of his intelligence. But as he expected more encouragement from the public, than from the King or his miniſters, he thought proper, before he was preſented to the council, to go with his two companions to Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey, a noted and active juſtice of peace, and to give evidence before him of all the articles of the conſpiracy.

Oates's narrative.

THE wonderful intelligence, which Oates conveyed both to Godfrey and the council, and afterwards to the Parliament, was to this purpoſe*. The Pope, he ſaid, on examining the matter in the congregation *de propaganda fide*, had found himſelf entitled to the poſſeſſion of England and Ireland on account of the hereſy of Prince and people, and had accordingly aſſumed the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms. This ſupreme power he had thought proper to delegate to the ſociety of jeſuits; and de Oliva, general of that order, in conſequence of the papal grant, had exerted every act of regal authority, and particularly had ſupplied, by commiſſions under the ſeal of the ſociety, all the chief offices, both civil and military. Lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treaſurer, Sir William Godolphin privy ſeal, Coleman ſecretary of ſtate, Langhorne attorney general, lord Bellaſis general of the papal army, lord Peters lieutenant general, lord Stafford pay-maſter; and inferior commiſſions, ſigned by the provincial of the jeſuits, were alſo diſtributed to men of all ranks. All the dignities of the church were filled, and many of them with Spaniards and other foreigners. The provincial had held a conſult of the jeſuits under his authority; where the King, whom they opprobriouſly called the Black Baſtard, was ſolemnly tried and condemned as a heretic; and a reſolution taken to put him to death. Father le Shee (for ſo this great plotter and informer called father la Chaiſe, confeſſor to the French King, a man of probity and humanity) had conſigned in London ten thouſand pounds to be paid to any man, who ſhould merit it by this aſſaſſination. A Spaniſh provincial had expreſſed like liberality: The prior of the Benedictines was willing to go the length of ſix thouſand pounds: The Dominicans approved of the action; but pleaded poverty. Ten thouſand pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's phyſician, who demanded fifteen thouſand, as a reward for ſo great a ſervice: His demand was complied with; and five thouſand had been paid him by advance. Leſt this means ſhould fail, four Iriſh ruffians had been employed by the jeſuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a piece, to ſtab the King at Windſor; and Coleman, lately ſecretary to the Ducheſs of York, had given the meſſenger, who carried them orders, a guinea to quicken his diligence. Grove and Pickering were alſo employed to ſhoot the King with ſilver bullets: The former was to receive the ſum of fifteen hundred pounds; the latter, being a pious man, was to be rewarded with thirty thouſand maſſes, which, eſtimating maſſes at a ſhilling a piece, amounted to a like value. Pickering had executed his purpoſe, had not the flint one time dropt out of his piſtol, another time the priming. Coniers, the jeſuit, had bought a knife at the price of ten ſhillings, which, he thought, was not dear, conſidering the purpoſe for which he intended it, to wit, ſtabbing the King. Letters of ſubſcription were circulated among the catholics all over England to raiſe a ſum for the ſame purpoſe. No leſs than fifty jeſuits had met in May laſt, at the White-horſe tavern, where it was unanimouſly agreed to put the King to death. This ſynod did afterwards, for more convenience, divide themſelves into many leſs cabals or companies; and Oates was employed to carry notes and letters from one to another, all tending to the ſame end of murthering the King. He even carried about a paper, in which they formally expreſſed their reſolution of executing that deed; and it was regularly ſubſcribed by all of them. A wager of an hundred pounds was laid, and ſtakes made, that the King ſhould eat no more Chriſtmas pyes. In ſhort, it was determined, to uſe the expreſſion of a jeſuit, that if he would not become R. C. (Roman catholic) he ſhould no longer be C. R. (Charles rex). The great fire of London had been the work of the jeſuits, who had employed eighty or eighty-ſix perſons for that purpoſe, and had expended ſeven hundred fire-balls; but they had a good return for their charges; for they had been able to pilfer goods from the fire to the value of fourteen thouſand pounds: The jeſuits had alſo raiſed another fire on St. Margaret's Hill, whence they had ſtolen goods to the value of two thouſand pounds: Another at Southwark: and it was determined in like manner to burn all the chief cities in England. A paper model was already framed for the firing of London; the ſtations were regularly marked out, where the ſeveral fires were to commence; and the whole plan of operations was ſo concerted, that precautions were taken by the jeſuits to vary their meaſures, according to the variations of the winds. Fire-balls were familiarly called among them Teuxbury muſtard pil's; and were ſaid to contain a notable biting ſauce. In the great fire, it had been determined to murther the King; but he had diſcovered ſuch diligence and humanity in extinguiſhing the flames, that even the jeſuits relented, and ſpared his life. Beſides theſe aſſaſſinations and fires; inſurrections, rebellions, and maſſacres were projected by that religious order in all the three kingdoms. There were twenty thouſand Catholics in London, who would riſe in four and twenty hours or leſs; and Jenniſon, a jeſuit, ſaid, that they might eaſily cut the throats of an hundred thouſand Proteſtants. Eight thouſand Catholics had agreed to take arms in Scotland. Ormond was to be murthered by four jeſuits; a general maſſacre of the Iriſh Proteſtants was concerted; and forty thouſand black bills were already provided for that purpoſe. Coleman had remitted two hundred thouſand pounds to promote the rebellion in Ireland; and the French King was to land a great army in that iſland. Poole, who wrote the Synopſis, was particularly marked out for aſſaſſination; as was alſo, Dr. Stillingfleet, a controverſial writer againſt the Papiſts. Burnet tells us, that Oates paid him the ſame compliment. After all this havoc, the crown was to be offered to the Duke, but on the following conditions; that he receive it as a gift from the Pope; that he confirm all the papal commiſſions for offices and employments; that he ratify all paſt tranſactions, by pardoning the incendiaries, and the murderers of his brother and of the people; and that he conſent to the utter extirpation of the proteſtant religion. If he refuſe theſe conditions, he himſelf was immediately to be poiſoned or aſſaſſinated. *To pot James muſt go*; according to the expreſſion aſcribed by Oates to the jeſuits.

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* Oates's Narrative.

And character.

OATES, the informer of this dreadful plot, was himſelf the moſt infamous of mankind. He was the ſon of an anabaptiſt preacher, chaplain to colonel Pride; but having taken orders in the church, he had been provided in a ſmall living by the duke of Norfolk. He had been indicted for perjury; and by ſome means had eſcaped. He was afterwards a chaplain on board the fleet; whence he had been diſmiſſed on complaint of ſome unnatural practices, not fit to be named. He then became a convert to the Catholics; but he afterwards boaſted, that his converſion was a mere pretext, in order to get into their ſecrets, and to betray them *: He was ſent over to the jeſuit's college at St. Omer, and tho' above thirty years of age, he there lived ſome time among the ſtudents. He was diſpatched on an errand to Spain; and thence returned to St. Omers; where the jeſuits, heartily tired of their convert, at laſt diſmiſſed him from their ſeminary. It is likely, that, from reſent-

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* Burnet, Echard, North, L'Eſtrange, &c.

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ment of this uſage, he was induced, in combination with Tongue, to contrive that plot, of which he accuſed the Catholics.

THIS abandoned man, when examined before the council, betrayed his impoſtures in ſuch a manner, as would have utterly diſcredited the moſt conſiſtent ſtory, and the moſt reputable evidence. While in Spain, he had been carried, he ſaid, to Don John, who promiſed great aſſiſtance to the execution of the catholic deſigns. The King aſked him, what ſort of man Don John was: He anſwered, a tall, lean man; directly contrary to truth, as the King well knew*. He totally miſtook the ſituation of the jeſuits' college at Paris†. Tho' he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, he knew him not, when placed very near him; and had no other excuſe than that his ſight was bad in candle-light‡. He fell into like miſtakes with regard to Wakeman.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe objections, great attention was paid to Oates's evidence, and the plot became very ſoon the ſubject of converſation, and even the object of terror to the people. The violent animoſity, which had been foſtered againſt the Catholics in general, made the public ſwallow the groſſeſt abſurdities, when they accompanied an accuſation of thoſe religioniſts: And the more diabolical any contrivance appeared, the better it ſuited the tremendous idea entertained of a jeſuit. Danby likewiſe, who ſtood in oppoſition to the French and catholic intereſt at court, was willing to encourage every ſtory, which might ſerve to diſcredit that party. By his ſuggeſtion, when a warrant was ſigned for arreſting Coleman, there was inſerted a clauſe for ſeizing his papers; a circumſtance attended with the moſt important conſequences.

Coleman's letters.

COLEMAN, partly on his own account, partly by orders from the Duke, had been engaged in a correſpondence with father la Chaiſe, with the Pope's nuncio at Bruſſels, and with other Catholics abroad; and being himſelf a fiery zealot, buſy and ſanguine, the expreſſions in his letters often betrayed great violence and indiſcretion. His correſpondence during the years 1674, 1675, and part of 1676, was ſeized, and contained many extraordinary paſſages. In particular, he ſaid to la Chaiſe, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no leſs than the con-
" verſion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter ſubduing of a peſtilent
" hereſy, which has a long time domineered over a great part of this northern
" world. There were never ſuch hopes of ſucceſs, ſince the days of Queen Mary,
" as now in our days. God has given us a Prince," meaning the Duke, "who
" is become (may I ſay a miracle) zealous of being the author and inſtrument of
" ſo glorious a work; but the oppoſition we are ſure to meet with is alſo like to
" be

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* Burnet, North.

† North.

‡ Burnet, North, Trials.

“ be great: So that it imports us to get all the aid and aſſiſtance we can.” In another letter he ſaid, “ I can ſcarce believe myſelf awake or the thing real, when I think of a Prince in ſuch an age as we live in, converted to ſuch a degree of zeal and piety, as not to regard any thing in the world in compariſon of God Almighty's glory, the ſalvation of his own ſoul, and the converſion of our poor kingdom.” In other paſſages, the intereſts of the Crown of England, thoſe of the French King, and thoſe of the catholic religion are ſpoke of as inſeparable. The Duke is alſo ſaid to have connected his intereſts unalterably with thoſe of Lewis. The King himſelf, he affirms, is always inclined to favor the Catholics, when he may do it without hazard. “ Money,” Coleman adds, “ cannot fail of perſwading the King to any thing. There is nothing it cannot make him do, were it ever ſo much to his prejudice. It has ſuch an abſolute power over him, that he cannot reſiſt it. Logic in our court built upon money has more powerful charms than any other ſort of argument.” For theſe reaſons, he propoſes to father la Chaiſe, that the French King ſhould remit the ſum of 300,000 pounds, on condition that the Parliament be diſſolved; a meaſure, to which, he ſays, the King was, of himſelf, ſufficiently inclined, were it not for the hopes of obtaining money from that aſſembly. The Parliament, he ſaid, had already conſtrained the King to make peace with Holland, contrary to the intereſts of the catholic religion, and of his moſt chriſtian Majeſty: And if they ſhould meet again, they would ſurely engage him farther, even to make war againſt France. It appears alſo from the ſame letters, that the aſſembling the Parliament ſo late as April in the year 1675 had been procured by the intrigues of the catholic and French party, who thereby intended to ſhow the Dutch and other confederates abroad, that they could expect no aſſiſtance from England.

When the contents of theſe letters were publickly known, they diffuſed the panic, with which the nation began already to be ſeized on account of the popiſh plot. Men reaſoned more from their fears and their paſſions than from the evidence before them. It is certain, that the active and enterprizing ſpirit of the catholic church, particularly of the jeſuits, merits attention, and is, in ſome degree, dangerous to every other communion. Such zeal of proſelytiſm actuates that ſect, that its miſſionaries have penetrated into every nation of the globe; and in one ſenſe, there is a *popiſh plot* perpetually carried on againſt all ſtates, Proteſtant, Pagan, and Mahometan. It is likewiſe very probable, that the converſion of the Duke, and the favor of the King had inſpired the catholic prieſts with new hopes of recovering in theſe iſlands their loſt dominion, and gave freſh vigor to that intemperate zeal, by which they are commonly actuated. Their firſt aim was to obtain a toleration; and ſuch was the evidence, they believed, of their theological tenets, that, could they but procure entire liberty, they muſt infallibly in time open the eyes of the people. After they had converted conſiderable numbers, they might be enabled, they hoped, to re-inſtate themſelves in full authority, and entirely to ſuppreſs that hereſy, with which the kingdom had ſo long been infected. Tho' theſe dangers to the proteſtant religion were very diſtant, it was juſtly the object of great concern to find, that the heir apparent of the crown was ſo blinded with bigotry, and ſo deeply engaged in foreign intereſts; and that the King himſelf had been prevailed with, from low intereſts, to hearken to his dangerous inſinuations. Very bad conſequences might enſue from ſuch perverſe habits and attachments; nor could the nation and Parliament guard againſt them with too anxious a precaution. But that the Roman pontiff could hope to aſſume the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms; a project, which, even during the darkneſs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, would have appeared chimerical: That he would delegate this authority to the jeſuits; that order in the Romiſh church, which was the moſt hated: That a maſſacre could be attempted of the Proteſtants, who ſurpaſſed the Catholics a hundred fold, and were inveſted with the whole authority of the ſtate: That the King himſelf was to be aſſaſſinated, and even the Duke, the only ſupport of their party: Theſe were ſuch abſurdities as no human teſtimony was ſufficient to prove; much leſs, the evidence of one man, who was noted for infamy, and who could not keep himſelf, every moment, from falling into the groſſeſt inconſiſtencies. Did ſuch intelligence deſerve even ſo much attention as to be refuted, it would appear, that Coleman's letters were ſufficient alone to deſtroy all its credit. For how could ſo long a train of correſpondence be carried on, by a man ſo much truſted by the party; and yet no traces of inſurrections, if really intended, of fires, maſſacres, aſſaſſinations, invaſions, be ever diſcovered in any ſingle paſſage of theſe letters? But all ſuch reflections, and many more equally obvious, were vainly employed againſt that general prepoſſeſſion, with which the nation was ſeized. Oates's plot and Coleman's were univerſally confounded: And the evidence of the latter being unqueſtionable, the belief of the former, aided by the paſſions of hatred and of terror, took poſſeſſion of the whole people.

17th of October.
Godfrey's murther.

THERE was danger however, leſt time might open the eyes of the public; when the murther of Godfrey compleated the general deluſion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation abſolutely incurable. This magiſtrate had been miſſing ſome days; and after much ſearch, and many ſurmizes, his body was found lying in a ditch at Primroſe-hill: The marks of ſtrangling were thought to appear about his neck, and ſome contuſions on his breaſt: His own ſword was ſticking in the body; but as no conſiderable quantity of blood enſued on drawing it, it was concluded, that it had been thruſt in after his death, and that he had not killed himſelf: He had rings on his fingers and money in his pocket: It was therefore inferred, that he had not fallen into the hands of robbers. Without farther reaſoning, the cry roſe, that he had been aſſaſſinated by the Papiſts, on account of his taking Oates's evidence. This clamor was quickly propagated, and met with univerſal belief. The panic ſpred itſelf on every ſide with infinite rapidity; and all men, aſtoniſhed with fear, and animated with rage, ſaw in Godfrey's fate all the horrible deſigns aſcribed to the Catholics; and no farther doubt remained of Oates's veracity. The voice of the whole nation united againſt that hated ſect; and notwithſtanding that the bloody conſpiracy was ſuppoſed to be now diſcovered, men could ſcarce be perſwaded, that their lives were yet in ſafety. Each hour teemed with new rumors and ſurmizes. Invaſions from abroad, inſurrections at home, even private murthers and poyſonings were apprehended. To deny the reality of the plot was to be an accomplice: To heſitate was criminal: Royaliſt, Republican; Churchman, Sectary; Courtier, Patriot; all parties concurred in the illuſion. The city prepared for defence, as if the enemy were at its gates: The chains and poſts were put up: And it was a noted ſaying at that time of Sir Thomas Player, the chamberlain, that were it not for theſe precautions the whole citizens might riſe next morning with their throats cut *.

General conſternation.

In order to propagate the popular frenzy, ſeveral artifices were employed. The dead body of Godfrey was carried into the city, attended by vaſt multitudes. It was publickly expoſed in the ſtreets, and viewed by all ranks of men; and every one, who ſaw it, went away inflamed, as well by the mutual contagion of ſentiments as by the diſmal ſpectacle itſelf. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great parade. It was conducted thro' the chief ſtreets of the city: Seventy two clergymen marched before: Above a thouſand perſons of diſtinction followed after: And at the funeral ſermon, two able-bodied divines mounted the pulpit, and ſtood on each ſide of the preacher; leſt, in paying the laſt offices to this unhappy magiſtrate, he ſhould, before the whole people, be murthered by the Papiſts †.

In this diſpoſition of the nation, reaſon could no more be heard than a whiſper in the midſt of the moſt violent hurricane. Even at preſent, Godfrey's murther cannot upon any ſyſtem be rationally accounted for. That he was aſſaſſinated by the Papiſts ſeems utterly improbable. Theſe religioniſts could not be engaged to commit that crime from *policy*, in order to deter other magiſtrates from acting againſt them. Godfrey's fate was no way capable of producing that effect, unleſs it were publickly known, that the Catholics were his murtherers; an opinion, which, it was eaſy to forſee, muſt prove the ruin of their party. Beſides, how many magiſtrates, during more than a century, had acted in the moſt violent manner againſt them, without its being ever ſuſpected, that any one had been cut off by aſſaſſination? Such jealous times as the preſent were ſurely ill fitted for beginning theſe dangerous experiments. Shall we therefore ſay, that the Catholics were puſhed on, not by policy, but by blind *revenge* againſt Godfrey? But Godfrey had given them little or no occaſion of offence in taking Oates's evidence. His part was merely an act of form, belonging to his office; nor could he, or any man in his ſtation, poſſibly refuſe it. In the reſt of his conduct, he lived on good terms with the Catholics, and was far from diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his ſeverity againſt that ſect. It is even certain, that he had contracted an intimacy with Coleman, and took care to inform his friend of the danger, to which, by reaſon of Oates's evidence, he was at preſent expoſed.

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* North, p. 206.

† North, p. 205.

THERE are ſome writers, who, finding it impoſſible to account for Godfrey's murther by the machinations of the Catholics, have recourſe to the oppoſite ſuppoſition. They lay hold of that common preſumption, that thoſe commit the crime who reap profit by it; and they affirm that it was Shafteſbury and the heads of the popular party, who perpetrated that deed, in order to throw the odium of it on the Papiſts. But if this ſuppoſition be received, it muſt alſo be admitted, that the whole plot was the contrivance of thoſe politicians; and that Oates acted altogether under their direction. But it appears, that Oates, dreading probably the oppoſition of powerful enemies, had very anxiouſly acquitted the Duke, Danby, Ormond, and all the miniſtry; perſons who were certainly the moſt obnoxious to the popular leaders. Beſides, the whole texture of the plot contains ſuch low abſurdity, that it is impoſſible to have been the invention of any man of ſenſe or education. It is true, the more monſtrous and horrible the conſpiracy, the better was it fitted to terrify, and thence to convince the populace: But this effect, we may ſafely ſay, no-one could beforehand have ſafely promiſed upon; and a fool was in this caſe more likely to ſucceed than a wiſe man. Had Shafteſbury laid the plan of a popiſh conſpiracy, he had probably rendered it moderate, conſiſtent, credible; and on that very account had never met with the prodigious ſucceſs, with which Oates's tremendous fictions were attended.

WE muſt, therefore, be contented to remain for ever ignorant of the actors in Godfrey's murther; and only pronounce in general, that that event, in all likelihood, had no connexion, one way or other, with the popiſh plot. Any man, eſpecially ſo active a magiſtrate as Godfrey, might, in ſuch a city as London, have many enemies, of whom his friends and family had no ſuſpicion. He was a melancholy man; and there is ſome reaſon, notwithſtanding all the pretended appearances to the contrary, to ſuſpect that he fell by his own hands. The affair was never examined with tranquillity, or even common ſenſe, during the time; and it is impoſſible for us, at this diſtance, certainly to account for it.

NO-ONE doubted but the papiſts had aſſaſſinated Godfrey: But ſtill the particular actors were unknown. A proclamation was iſſued by the King, offering a pardon and five hundred pounds reward to any one who would diſcover them. As it was afterwards ſurmized, that the terror of a like aſſaſſination would prevent diſcovery, a new proclamation was iſſued, promiſing abſolute protection to any one who would reveal the ſecret. Thus were indemnity, money, and ſecurity offered to the faireſt bidder: And no one needed fear, during the preſent fury of the people, that his evidence would undergo too ſevere a ſcrutiny.

21ſt of October. The Parliament.

WHILE the nation was in this ferment, the Parliament was aſſembled. In his ſpeech the King told them, that tho' they had given money for diſbanding the army *, he had found Flanders ſo expoſed, that he had thought it neceſſary ſtill to keep them on foot, and doubted not but this meaſure would meet with their approbation. He informed them, that his revenue lay under great anticipations, and at beſt was never equal to the conſtant and neceſſary expence of the government; as would appear from the ſtate of it, which he intended to lay before them. He alſo mentioned the plot, carried on againſt his life by jeſuits; but ſaid, that he would forbear delivering any opinion of the matter, leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſay too much or too little; and that he would leave the ſcrutiny of it entirely to the law.

THE King was anxious to keep the queſtion of the popiſh plot from the Parliament, where, he ſuſpected, many deſigning people would very much abuſe the preſent credulity of the nation: But Danby, who hated the catholics, and courted popularity, and perhaps hoped, that the King, if his life was believed to be in danger from the jeſuits, would be more cordially loved by the nation, had entertained oppoſite deſigns; and the very firſt day of the ſeſſion, he opened the matter in the Houſe of Peers. The King was extremely diſpleaſed with this temerity, and told his miniſter, "Tho' you do not believe it, you will " find, that you have given the Parliament a handle to ruin yourſelf, as well as " to diſturb all my affairs; and you will ſurely live to repent it." Danby had afterwards ſufficient reaſon to applaud the King's ſagacity.

Zeal of the Parliament.

THE cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one Houſe to the other. The verdict of Parliament gave ſanction to that fury, with which the people were already agitated. An addreſs was voted for a ſolemn faſt: A form of prayer was contrived for that ſervice; and becauſe the popiſh plot had been omitted in the firſt

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* They had granted him 600,000 pounds for diſbanding the army, for re-imburſing the charges of his naval armament, and for paying the Princeſs of Orange's portion.

firſt draught, it was carefully ordered to be inſerted; leſt omniſcience ſhould want intelligence, to uſe the words of an hiſtorian [*].

In order to continue and propagate the alarm, addreſſes were voted for ſuch papers as might diſcover the horrible conſpiracy; for the removal of popiſh recuſants from London; for adminiſtering every where the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy; for denying acceſs at court to all unknown and ſuſpicious perſons; and for appointing the train-bands of London and Weſtminſter to be in readineſs. The lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellaſis were committed to the Tower, and were ſoon after impeached for high treaſon. And both Houſes, after hearing Oates's evidence, voted, "That the Lords and Commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and ſtill is, a damnable and helliſh plot, contrived and carried on by the popiſh recuſants, for aſſaſſinating and murdering the King, for ſubverting the government, and for rooting out and deſtroying the proteſtant religion."

So vehement were the Houſes, that they ſat every day, forenoon and afternoon, on the ſubject of the plot: For no other buſineſs could be admitted. A committee of Lords were appointed to examine priſoners and witneſſes: Blank warrants were put into their hands, for the commitment of ſuch as ſhould be accuſed or ſuſpected. Oates, who, tho' his evidence were true, muſt, by his own confeſſion, be eſteemed an infamous villain, was by every one applauded, careſſed, and called the ſavior of the nation. By the Parliament he was recommended to the King. He was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a penſion of 1200 pounds a year.

Bedloe's narrative.

It was not long before ſuch bountiful encouragement brought forth new witneſſes. William Bedloe, a man, if poſſible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the ſtage. He was of very low birth, had been noted for ſeveral cheats and even thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, had frequently paſſed himſelf for a man of quality, and had endeavored, by a variety of lyes and contrivances, to prey upon the ignorant and unwary. When he appeared before the council, he gave intelligence only of Godfrey's murther, which, he ſaid, had been perpetrated in Somerſet-houſe, where the Queen lived, by papiſts, ſome of them ſervants in her family. He was queſtioned about the plot; but utterly denied all knowlege of it, and alſo aſſerted, that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, when examined before the Lords' committee, he bethought himſelf better, and was ready to give an ample account of the plot, which he found ſo anxiouſly enquired into. This narrative he made to tally, as well as he could, with that of Oates, which had been publiſhed: But that he might make himſelf acceptable by new information, he added ſome other circumſtances, and thoſe, ſtill more tremendous and extraordinary. He ſaid, that ten thouſand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington Bay, and immediately to ſeize Hull: That Jerſey and Guernſey were to be ſurprized by forces from Breſt; and that a French fleet were, all laſt ſummer, hovering in the Channel for that purpoſe: That the lords Powis and Peters were to form an army in Radnorſhire, to be joined by another army, conſiſting of twenty or thirty thouſand religious men and pilgrims, who were to land at Milford Haven from St. Iago in Spain: That there were forty thouſand men ready in London; beſides thoſe, who would, on the alarm, be poſted at every alehouſe door, in order to kill the ſoldiers, as they came out of their quarters: That lord Stafford, Coleman, and father Ireland had money ſufficient to defray the expences of all theſe armaments: That he himſelf was to receive four thouſand pounds, as one that could murder a man; as alſo a commiſſion from lord Bellaſis, and a benediction from the Pope: That the King was to be aſſaſſinated; all the Proteſtants maſſacred who would not ſeriouſly be converted; the government offered to ONE, if he would conſent to hold it of the church; but if he ſhould refuſe that condition, as was ſuſpected, the authority would be left to certain lords under the nomination of the Pope. In a ſubſequent examination before the Commons, Bedloe added (for theſe men always brought out their intelligence ſucceſſively and by piece-meal) that lord Carrington was alſo in the conſpiracy for raiſing men and money againſt the government; as was likewiſe lord Brudenel. Theſe noblemen, with all the others mentioned by Bedloe, were immediately committed to cuſtody by the Parliament.

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[*] North, p. 207.

IT is remarkable, that the only reſource of Spain, in her preſent decayed condition, lay in the aſſiſtance of England; and ſo far from being in a ſituation to tranſport ten thouſand men for the invaſion of that kingdom, ſhe had ſollicited and obtained Engliſh forces to be ſent into the garriſons of Flanders, which were not otherwiſe able to defend themſelves againſt the French. The French too, we may obſerve, were, at that very time, in open war with Spain, and yet are ſuppoſed to be engaged in the ſame deſign againſt England; as if religious motives were become the ſole actuating principle among ſovereigns. But none of theſe circumſtances, however obvious, were able, when ſet in oppoſition to multiplied horrors, antipathies, and prejudices, to engage the leaſt attention of the populace: For ſuch the whole nation were at this time become. The popiſh plot paſſed for inconteſtible: And had not men ſoon expected with certainty the legal puniſhment of theſe criminals, the Catholics had been expoſed to the hazard of

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an univerſal maſſacre. The torrent indeed of national prejudices ran ſo high, that no-one, without the moſt imminent danger, durſt venture openly to oppoſe it; nay ſcarce any-one, without great force of judgment, could ſecretly entertain an opinion contrary to the prevailing ſentiments. The loud and unanimous voice of a great nation has mighty authority over weak minds; and even later hiſtorians are ſo ſwayed by the concurring judgment of ſuch multitudes, that ſome of them have eſteemed themſelves ſufficiently moderate, when they affirmed, that many circumſtances of the plot were true, tho' ſome were added, and others much magnified. But it is an obvious principle, that a witneſs, who perjures himſelf in one circumſtance, is credible in none: And the authority of the plot, even to the end of the proſecutions, ſtood entirely upon witneſſes. Tho' the Catholics had been ſuddenly and unexpectedly detected, at the very moment, when their conſpiracy was ready to be put in execution; no arms, no ammunition, no money, no commiſſions, no papers, no letters, after the moſt rigorous ſearch, ever were diſcovered, to confirm the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. Yet ſtill the nation, tho' often fruſtrated, went on in the eager purſuit and confident belief of the conſpiracy: And even the manifold inconſiſtencies and abſurdities, contained in the Narratives, inſtead of diſcouraging them, ſerved only as farther incentives to diſcover the bottom of the plot, and were conſidered as ſlight objections, which a more complete information would fully remove. In all hiſtory, it will be difficult to find ſuch another inſtance of popular frenzy and bigotted deluſion.

In order to ſupport the panic among the people, eſpecially among the citizens of London, a pamphlet was publiſhed with this title, "A narrative and impartial diſcovery of the horrid popiſh plot, carried on for burning and deſtroying "the cities of London and Weſtminſter with their ſuburbs; ſetting forth the "ſeveral conſults, orders, and reſolutions of the jeſuits, concerning the ſame: "By captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid deſign, and one of "the popiſh committee for carrying on ſuch fires." Every fire, which had happened for ſeveral years paſt, is there aſcribed to the machinations of the jeſuits, who propoſed, as Bedloe ſaid, by ſuch attempts to find an opportunity for the general maſſacre of the Proteſtants; and in the mean time, were pleaſed to enrich themſelves by pilfering goods from the fires.

The King, tho' he ſcrupled not, wherever he could uſe freedom, to throw the higheſt ridicule on the plot, and on all who believed it; yet found it neceſſary to adopt the popular opinion before the Parliament. The torrent, he ſaw, ran too ſtrong to be controled; and he could only hope, by a ſeeming compliance, to be able, after ſome time, to guide and direct and elude its fury. He made therefore a ſpeech a ſpeech to both Houſes; in which he told them, that he would take the utmoſt care of his perſon during theſe times of danger; that he was as ready as their hearts could wiſh, to join with them in all means for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant religion, not only during his own time, but for all future ages; that, provided the right of ſucceſſion was preſerved, he would conſent to any laws for reſtraining a popiſh ſucceſſor: And in concluſion, he exhorted them to think of effectual means for the conviction of popiſh recuſants; and he highly praiſed the duty and loyalty of all his ſubjects, who had diſcovered ſuch anxious concern for his ſafety.

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THESE gracious expreſſions abated nothing of the vehemence of parliamentary proceedings. A bill was introduced for a new teſt, where popery was denominated idolatry; and all members, who refuſed this teſt, were excluded from both Houſes. The bill paſſed the Commons without much oppoſition; but in the upper Houſe the Duke moved, that an exception might be admitted in his favor. With great earneſtneſs, and even with tears in his eyes, he told them, that he was now to caſt himſelf on their kindneſs, in the greateſt concern, which he could have in the world; and he proteſted, that, whatever his religion might be, it ſhould only be a private thing between God and his own ſoul, and never ſhould appear in his public conduct. Notwithſtanding this ſtrong effort, in ſo important a point, he prevailed only by two voices; a ſufficient indication of the general diſpoſition of the people. "I would not have," ſaid a noble Peer, in the debate on this bill, "ſo much as a popiſh man or a popiſh woman to remain here; not ſo much as a popiſh dog or a popiſh bitch; not ſo much as a popiſh cat to pur or mew about the King." What is more extraordinary; this ſpeech met with praiſe and approbation.

ENCOURAGED by this general fury, the witneſſes went ſtill a ſtep farther in their accuſations; and tho' both Oates and Bedloe had often declared, that there was no other perſon of diſtinction, whom they knew to be concerned in the plot, they were now ſo audacious as to accuſe even the Queen herſelf of entering into the deſign againſt her huſband's life. The Commons, in an addreſs to the King, gave countenance to this ſcandalous accuſation; but the Lords would not be prevailed with to join in the addreſs. It is here, if any where, that we may ſuſpect the ſuggeſtions of the popular leaders to have had place. The King, it was well known, bore no great affection to his conſort; and now more than ever, when his heir apparent was ſo much hated, had reaſon to be deſirous of iſſue, which might quiet the jealous fears of his people. This very hatred, which prevailed againſt the Duke, would much facilitate, he knew, any expedient that could be deviſed for the excluſion of that Prince; and nothing farther ſeemed requiſite for the King than to give way in this particular to the rage and fury of the nation. But Charles,

notwithſtanding

notwithſtanding all allurements of pleaſure or intereſt or ſafety, had the generoſity to protect his injured conſort. "They think," ſaid he, "I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that I will not ſee an innocent woman abuſed*." He immediately ordered Oates to be ſtrictly confined, ſeized his papers, and diſmiſſed his ſervants; and this daring informer was obliged to make applications to Parliament, in order to recover his liberty.

During this agitation of mens' minds, the Parliament gave new attention to the militia; a circumſtance, which, even during the times of greateſt tranquillity, can never prudently be neglected. They paſſed a bill, by which it was appointed, that a regular militia ſhould be kept in arms, during ſix weeks of the year, and a third part of them do duty every fortnight of that time. The popular leaders probably intended to make uſe of the general prejudices, and even to turn the arms of the people againſt the Prince †. But Charles refuſed his aſſent to the bill, and told the Parliament, that he would not, were it for half an hour, part ſo far with the power of the ſword: But if they would contrive any other bill for ordering the militia, and ſtill leave it in his power to aſſemble or diſmiſs them as he thought proper, he would willingly give it the royal ſanction. The Commons diſſatisfied with this negative, tho' the King had never before employed that prerogative, immediately voted that all the new-levied forces ſhould be diſmiſſed. They paſſed a bill, granting money for that ſervice; but to ſhew their extreme jealouſy of the Crown, beſides appropriating that money by the ſtricteſt clauſes, they ordered it to be paid, not into the exchequer, but into the chamber of London. The Lords demurred with regard to ſo extraordinary a clauſe, which threw a violent reflection on the King's miniſters, and even on himſelf; and by that means the act remained in ſuſpence.

Accuſation of Danby.

It was no wonder, that the preſent ferment and credulity of the nation engaged men of infamous character and indigent circumſtances to become informers; when perſons of rank and condition could be tempted to give into that ſcandalous practice. Montague, the King's ambaſſador at Paris, had procured a ſeat in the lower Houſe; and without obtaining or aſking the King's leave, he ſuddenly came over into England. Charles, ſuſpecting his intention, ordered his papers to be ſeized; but Montague, who foreſaw this meaſure, had taken care to ſecrete one paper, which he immediately laid before the Houſe of Commons. It was a letter from the treaſurer, Danby, wrote at the beginning of the year, during the negotiations at Nimeguen for the general peace. Montague was there directed to make a demand of money; or in other words, the King was willing ſecretly to ſell his good offices to France, contrary to the general intereſts of the confederates, and

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* North's Examen, p. 186.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 437.

even to thoſe of his own kingdoms. The letter, among other particulars, contains theſe words: "In caſe the conditions of peace ſhall be accepted, the King expects "to have ſix millions of livres a year for three years, from the time that this agree- "ment ſhall be ſigned between his Majaſty and the King of France; becauſe it "will probably be two or three years before the Parliament will be in humor "to give him any ſupplies after the making of any peace with France; and the "ambaſſador here has always agreed to that ſum; but not for ſo long a time." Danby was ſo unwilling to engage in this negotiation, that the King, to ſatisfy him, ſubjoined with his own hand theſe words: "This letter is writ by my or- "der, C. R."

THE Commons were inflamed with this intelligence; and carrying their ſuſpicions much farther than the truth, they concluded, that the King had all along acted in concert with the French court, and that every ſtep, which he had taken in conjunction with the allies, had been illuſory and deceitful. Deſirous of geting to the bottom of ſo important a ſecret, and being puſhed by Danby's numerous enemies, they immediately voted an impeachment of high treaſon againſt that miniſter, and ſent up ſix articles to the Houſe of Peers. Theſe articles were, That he had traiterouſly engroſſed to himſelf regal power, by giving inſtructions to his majeſty's ambaſſadors, without the participation of the ſecretaries of ſtate, or the privy council: That he had traiterouſly endeavored to ſubvert the government, and introduce arbitrary power; and to that end, had levied and continued an army, contrary to act of Parliament: That he had traiterouſly endeavored to alienate the affections of his Majeſty's ſubjects, by negotiating a diſadvantageous peace with France, and procuring money for that purpoſe: That he was popiſhly affected, and had traiterouſly concealed, after he had notice, the late horrid and bloody plot, contrived by the papiſts againſt his Majeſty's perſon and government: That he had waſted the King's treaſure: And that he had by indirect means obtained ſeveral exorbitant grants from the Crown.

His impeachment.

IT is certain, that the treaſurer, in giving inſtructions to an ambaſſador, had exceeded the bounds of his office; and as the genius of a monarchy, ſtrictly limited, requires, that the proper miniſter ſhould be anſwerable for every abuſe of power, the Commons, tho' they here advanced a new pretenſion, might juſtify themſelves by the utility and even neceſſity of it. But in other reſpects their charge againſt Danby was very ill-grounded. That miniſter made appear to the Houſe of Lords, not only that Montague, the informer againſt him, had all along promoted the money-negotiations with France, but that he himſelf was ever extremely averſe to the intereſts of that crown, which he eſteemed pernicious to his maſter, and to his country. The French nation, he ſaid, had always en-

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tertained, as he was certainly informed, the higheſt contempt, both of the King's perſon and government. His diligence, he added, in tracing and diſcovering the popiſh plot, was generally known; and if he had common ſenſe, not to ſay common honeſty, he would ſurely be anxious to preſerve the life of a maſter, by whom he was ſo much favored. He had waſted no treaſure, becauſe there was no treaſure to waſte. And tho' he had reaſon to be grateful for the King's bounty, he had made more moderate acquiſitions than were generally imagined, and than others in his office had often done, even during a ſhorter adminiſtration.

The Houſe of Peers plainly ſaw, that, allowing all the charge of the Commons to be true, Danby's crime fell not under the ſtatute of Edward the third; and tho' the words, *treaſon* and *traiterouſly*, had been carefully ſubjoined to ſeveral articles, this appellation could not alter the nature of things, or ſubject him to the penalties annexed to that crime. They refuſed, therefore, to commit Danby upon this irregular charge: The Commons inſiſted on their demand; and a great conteſt was likely to ariſe, when the King, who had already obſerved ſufficient inſtances of the ill-humor of the Parliament, thought proper to prorogue them. This prorogation was ſoon after followed by a diſſolution; a deſperate remedy in the preſent diſpoſition of the nation. But the diſeaſe, it muſt be owned, the King had reaſon to eſteem deſperate. The utmoſt rage had been diſcovered by the Commons, on account of the popiſh plot; and their fury began already to point againſt the royal family, if not againſt the Throne itſelf. The Duke had been ſtruck at in ſeveral motions: The treaſurer had been impeached: All ſupply had been refuſed, except on the moſt diſagreeable conditions: Fears, jealouſies, and antipathies were every day multiplying in Parliament: And tho' the people were ſtrongly infected with the ſame prejudices, the King hoped, by diſſolving the preſent cabals, that a ſet of men might be choſen, more moderate in their purſuits, and leſs tainted with the virulence of faction.

30th of December. Diſſolution of the long Parliament.

Thus came to a period a parliament, which had ſate during the whole courſe of this reign, one year excepted. Its concluſion was very different from its commencement. Being elected during the joy and feſtivity of the reſtoration, it conſiſted almoſt entirely of royaliſts; who were diſpoſed to ſupport the Crown by all the liberality, which the habits of that age would permit. Alarmed by the alliance with France, they gradually withdrew their confidence from the King; and finding him ſtill to perſevere in a foreign intereſt, they proceeded to diſcover ſymptoms of the moſt refractory and moſt jealous diſpoſition. The popiſh plot puſhed them beyond all bounds of moderation; and before their diſſolution they ſeemed to be treading faſt in the foot-ſteps of the laſt long Parliament, on whoſe conduct they threw at firſt ſuch violent blame. In all their variations, they had ſtill

Its character.

ſtill followed the opinions and prejudices of the nation; and ſeemed ever to be more governed by humor and party views than by public intereſt, and more by public intereſt than by any corrupt or private influence.

Trial of Coleman.

DURING the ſitting of the Parliament, and after its prorogation and diſſolution, the trials of the pretended criminals were carried on; and the courts of judicature, places, which, if poſſible, ought to be kept more pure from injuſtice than even national aſſemblies themſelves, were ſtrongly infected with the ſame party rage and bigotted prejudices. Coleman, the moſt obnoxious of the conſpirators, was firſt brought to his trial. His letters were produced againſt him. They contained, as he himſelf confeſſed, much indiſcretion: But unleſs ſo far as it is illegal to be a zealous Catholic, they ſeem to prove nothing criminal, much leſs treaſonable againſt him. Oates and Bedloe ſwore, that he had received a commiſſion, ſigned by the ſuperior of the jeſuits, to be papal ſecretary of ſtate, and had conſented to the poyſoning, ſhooting, and ſtabbing the King: He had even, according to Oates's depoſition, advanced a guinea to promote thoſe bloody purpoſes. Theſe wild ſtories were all confounded with the projects contained in his letters; and Coleman received ſentence of death. The ſentence was ſoon after executed upon him[*]. He ſuffered with calmneſs and conſtancy, and to the laſt perſiſted in the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of his innocence.

Of Ireland.

COLEMAN's execution was ſucceeded by the trial of Ireland, who, 'tis pretended, had ſigned, together with fifty jeſuits, the great reſolve of murdering the King. Grove and Pickering, who had undertaken to ſhoot him, were tried at the ſame time. The only witneſſes againſt the priſoners were ſtill Oates and Bedloe. Ireland affirmed, that he was in Staffordſhire all the month of Auguſt laſt, a time when Oates's evidence made him in London. He proved his aſſertion by good evidence, and would have proved it by undoubted; had he not, moſt iniquitouſly, been debarred, while in priſon, of all uſe of pen and ink, and denied the liberty of ſending for witneſſes. All theſe men, before they came to the bar, were condemned in the opinions of the judges, jury, and ſpectators; and to be a jeſuit, or even a Catholic, was of itſelf a ſufficient proof of guilt. The chief juſtice in particular[†] gave ſanction to all the narrow prejudices and bigotted fury of the populace. Inſtead of being council for the priſoners, as his office required, he pleaded the cauſe againſt them, brow-beat their witneſſes, and on every occaſion repreſented their guilt as certain and uncontroverted. He even went ſo far as publicly to affirm, that the Papiſts had not the ſame principles, which Proteſtants had, and therefore were not entitled to that common credence, which the principles and practices of the latter call for.

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[*] 3d of December.

[†] Sir William Scrogges.

And when the jury brought in their verdict againſt the priſoners, he ſaid; “You have done, gentlemen, like very good ſubjects, and very good Chriſtians, that is to ſay, like very good Proteſtants: And now much good may their 30,000 maſſes do them.” Alluding to the maſſes, by which Pickering was to be rewarded for murdering the King. 1679. 24th of January. All theſe unhappy men went to execution, proteſting their innocence; a circumſtance, which made no impreſſion on the ſpectators. The opinion, that the jeſuits allowed of lies and mental reſervations for the promotion of a good cauſe, was at this time ſo univerſally received, that no credit was given to teſtimony, delivered either by that order, or by any of their diſciples. It was forgot, that all the conſpirators, engaged in the gun-powder-treaſon, and Garnet, the jeſuit, among the reſt, had freely on the ſcaffold made confeſſion of their guilt.

Tho' Bedloe had given information of Godfrey's murder, he ſtill remained a ſingle evidence againſt the perſons accuſed; and all the allurements of profit and honor had not as yet tempted any one to confirm the teſtimony of that informer. At laſt, means were found to compleat the legal evidence. One Prance, a ſilverſmith, and a Catholic, had been accuſed by Bedloe of being an accomplice in that murder; and upon his denial had been thrown into priſon, loaded with heavy irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of naſtineſs. Such rigors were ſuppoſed to be exerciſed by orders from the ſecret committee of lords, particularly Shafteſbury and Buckingham; who, in examining the priſoners, uſually employed (as 'tis ſaid, and indeed ſufficiently proved) threatenings and promiſes, rigor and indulgence, and every art, under pretence of extorting the truth from them. Prance had not courage to reſiſt, but confeſſed himſelf an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. Being aſked concerning the plot, he alſo thought proper to be acquainted with it, and conveyed ſome intelligence to the council. Among other abſurd circumſtances, he ſaid, that one Le Fevre bought a ſecond-hand ſword of him; becauſe he knew not, as he ſaid, what times were at hand: And Prance, expreſſing ſome concern for poor tradeſmen, if ſuch times came; Le Fevre replied that it would be better for tradeſmen, if the catholic religion was reſtored: And particularly, that there would be more church work for ſilver-ſmiths. But all this information, with regard to the plot as well as murder, Prance ſolemnly retracted, both before the King and the ſecret committee: And being again thrown into priſon, he was induced, by new terrors and new ſufferings, to confirm his firſt information; and was now produced as a ſufficient evidence.

Hill, Green and Berry were tried for Godfrey's murder; all of them men of low ſtation. Hill was ſervant to a phyſician: The other two belonged to the popiſh chapel at Somerſet Houſe. It is needleſs to run over all the particulars of a long

February 21ſt and 28th.

long trial: It will be ſufficient to ſay, that Bedloe's evidence and Prance's were in many circumſtances totally irreconcileable; that both of them labored under unſurmountable difficulties, not to ſay, groſs abſurdities; and that they were invalidated by contrary evidence, which is altogether convincing. But all was in vain. The priſoners were condemned and executed. They all denied their guilt at their execution; and as Berry died a Proteſtant, this circumſtance was regarded as very conſiderable: But inſtead of giving ſome check to the general credulity of the people, men were only ſurprized, that a Proteſtant could be induced at his death to perſiſt in ſo manifeſt a falſhood.

New elections.

As the army could neither be kept up, nor diſbanded without money, the King, however little hopes he could entertain of more compliance, found himſelf obliged to ſummon a new Parliament. The blood, already ſhed on account of the popiſh plot, inſtead of ſatiating the people, ſerved only as an incentive to their fury; and each conviction of a criminal was hitherto regarded as a new proof of thoſe horrible deſigns, aſcribed to the Papiſts. This election is perhaps the firſt in England, which, ſince the commencement of the Monarchy, had been carried on by a violent conteſt betwixt the parties, and where the court intereſted itſelf, to a high degree, in the choice of the national repreſentatives. But all its efforts were fruitleſs, in oppoſition to the torrent of prejudices, which prevailed. Religion, liberty, property, even the lives of men were now ſuppoſed to be at ſtake; and no ſecurity, it was thought, except in a vigilant Parliament, could be found againſt the impious and bloody conſpirators. Were there any part of the nation, to which the ferment, occaſioned by the popiſh plot, had not as yet propagated itſelf; the new elections tended extremely to ſpread ſtill farther and diffuſe the general conſternation. All the zealots of the former Parliament were re-choſen: New ones were added: The Preſbyterians in particular, being tranſported with the moſt inveterate antipathy againſt popery, were very active and very ſucceſsful in the elections. That party, it is ſaid, firſt began at this time the abuſe of ſplitting their freeholds, in order to multiply the votes of electors. By accounts, which came from every part of England, it was concluded, that the new repreſentatives would, if poſſible, exceed the old in their refractory oppoſition to the court, and furious perſecution of the Catholics.

THE King was alarmed, when he ſaw ſo dreadful a tempeſt ariſe from ſuch ſmall and unaccountable beginnings. His life, if Oates and Bedloe's information was true, had been aimed at by the Catholics: Even the Duke's was in danger: The higher, therefore, the rage mounted againſt popery, the more ſhould the nation have been reconciled to theſe two princes, in whom, it appeared, the church of Rome repoſed no confidence. But there is a ſophyſtry, which attends all the paſſions; eſpecially thoſe into which the populace enter. Men gave credit to the informers, Chap. V. 1679.

formers, ſo far as concerned the guilt of the Catholics: But they ſtill retained their old ſuſpicions, that theſe religioniſts were ſecretly favoured by the King, and had obtained the moſt entire aſcendant over his brother. Charles had too much penetration not to ſee the danger, to which the ſucceſſion, and even his own crown and dignity, now ſtood expoſed. A numerous party, he found, was formed againſt him; on the one hand, compoſed of a populace, ſo credulous from prejudice, ſo blinded with religious antipathy, as implicitly to believe the moſt palpable abſurdities; and conducted, on the other hand, by leaders ſo little ſcrupulous, as to endeavor, by encouraging perjury, ſubornation, lyes, impoſtures, and even by ſhedding innocent blood, to gratify their own furious ambition, and ſubvert all legal authority. Rouzed from his lethargy by ſo imminent a peril, he began to exert that vigor of mind, of which on great occaſions he was not deſtitute; and without quitting in appearance his uſual facility of temper, he collected an induſtry, firmneſs, vigilance, of which he was believed altogether incapable. Theſe qualities, joined to dexterity and judgment, conducted him happily thro' the many ſhoals, which ſurrounded him; and he was at laſt able to make the ſtorm fall on the heads of thoſe who had blindly raiſed, or artificially conducted it.

One chief ſtep, which the King took, towards gratifying and appeaſing his people and Parliament, was, deſiring the Duke to withdraw beyond ſea, that no farther ſuſpicion might remain of the influence of popiſh councils. The Duke readily complied; but firſt required an order for that purpoſe, ſigned by the King; leſt his abſence ſhould be interpreted as a proof of fear or of guilt. He alſo deſired, that his brother ſhould ſatisfy him, as well as the public, by a public declaration of the illegitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth.

Duke of Monmouth.

James Duke of Monmouth was the King's natural ſon by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the reſtoration. He poſſeſſed all the qualities, which could engage the affections of the populace; a diſtinguiſhed valor, an affable addreſs, a thoughtleſs generoſity, a graceful perſon. He roſe ſtill higher in the public favor, by reaſon of the univerſal hatred, to which the Duke, on account of his religion, was expoſed. Monmouth's capacity was mean; his temper pliant: So that, notwithſtanding his great popularity, he had never been dangerous, had he not implicitly reſigned himſelf over to the guidance of Shafteſbury, a man of ſuch reſtleſs temper, ſuch ſubtle wit, and ſuch abandoned principles. That daring politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of ſucceeding to the crown. The ſtory of a contract of marriage, paſſed betwixt the King and Monmouth's mother, and ſecretly kept in a *black box*, had been induſtriouſly ſpred abroad, and was greedily received by the multitude. As the horrors of popery ſtill preſſed harder on them, they might be induced, either to adopt that fiction, as they had already

done

done many others more incredible, or to commit open violation on the right of ſucceſſion. And it would not be difficult, it was hoped, to perſwade the King, who was extremely fond of his ſon, to give him the preference above a brother, who, by his imprudent bigotry, had involved him in ſuch inextricable difficulties. But Charles, in order to cut off all ſuch expectations, as well as to remove the Duke's apprehenſions, took care, in full council, to declare Monmouth's illegitimacy, and to deny all promiſe of marriage to his mother. The Duke, being gratify'd in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, willingly complied with the King's deſire, and retired to Bruſſels.

Duke of Yorke retires to Bruſſels.

6th of March.

New Parliament.

But the King ſoon found, that, notwithſtanding this precaution, notwithſtanding his concurrence in the proſecution of the popiſh plot, notwithſtanding the zeal, which he expreſſed, and even at this time exerciſed againſt the Catholics; he had no way obtained the confidence of his Parliament. The refractory humor of the Commons appeared in the firſt ſtep, which they took upon their aſſembling. It had ever been uſual for the Commons, in the election of their ſpeaker, to conſult the inclinations of the Sovereign; and even the long Parliament in 1641 had not thought proper to depart from ſo eſtabliſhed a cuſtom. The King now deſired, that the choice ſhould fall on Sir Thomas Meres: But Seymour, ſpeaker to the laſt Parliament, was inſtantly called to the chair, by a vote which ſeemed unanimous. The King, when Seymour was preſented to him for his approbation, rejected him, and ordered the Commons to proceed to a new choice. A great flame was excited. The Commons maintained, that the King's approbation was merely a form, and that he could not, without giving a reaſon, reject the ſpeaker choſen: The King, that, ſince he had the power of rejecting, he might, if he pleaſed, keep the reaſon in his own breaſt. As the queſtion had never before been ſtarted, it was not eaſy to find principles, upon which it could be decided. By way of compromiſe, it was agreed to ſet aſide both candidates. Gregory, a lawyer, was choſen; and the election was ratified by the King. It has ever ſince been underſtood, that the choice of the ſpeaker lies in the Houſe alone; which, tho' a point of no great conſequence, may yet be regarded as an acquiſition made by this Parliament.

Seymour was deemed a great enemy to Danby; and it was the influence of that nobleman, as commonly ſuppoſed, which had engaged the King to enter into this ill-timed controverſy with the Commons. The impeachment, therefore, of Danby was on that account the ſooner revived; and it was maintained by the Commons, that, notwithſtanding the intervening diſſolution, every part of that procedure ſtood in the ſame condition in which it had been left by the laſt Parliament: A pretenſion, which, tho' unuſual, ſeems tacitly to have been yielded them. The King

Danby's impeachment.

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had had before hand the precaution to grant a pardon to Danby; and in order to ſcreen the chancellor from all attacks by the Commons, he had taken the ſeal into his own hand, and had himſelf affixed it to the parchment. He told the Parliament, that as Danby had acted in every thing by his orders, he was no way criminal; that his pardon, however, he would inſiſt upon; and if it ſhould be found any way defective in form, he would renew it again and again, till it ſhould be rendered entirely compleat: But that he was reſolved to deprive him of all employments, and to remove him from court.

THE Commons were no way ſatisfied with this conceſſion. They pretended, that no pardon of the Crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the Commons. The prerogative of mercy had been hitherto underſtood to be altogether unlimited in the King; and this pretenſion of the Commons, it muſt be confeſſed, was entirely new. It was however very ſuitable to the genius of a Monarchy, ſtrictly limited; where the King's miniſters are ſuppoſed to be for ever accountable to national aſſemblies, even for ſuch abuſes of power as they may commit by orders from their maſter. The preſent emergence, while the nation was ſo highly inflamed, was the proper time for puſhing ſuch popular claims; and the Commons failed not to avail themſelves of this advantage. They ſtill inſiſted on the impeachment of Danby. The Peers, in compliance with them, departed from their former ſcruples, and ordered Danby to be taken into cuſtody. Danby withdrew. The Commons paſſed a bill, appointing him to ſurrender himſelf before a certain day, or, in default of it, attainting him. A bill had paſſed the upper Houſe, mitigating the penalty to baniſhment; but after ſome conferences, the Peers thought proper to yield to the violence of the Commons; and the bill of attainder was carried. Rather than undergo ſuch ſevere penalties, Danby appeared, and was immediately ſent to the Tower.

Popiſh plot.

WHILE a proteſtant nobleman met with ſuch ſevere proſecution, it is not likely that the Catholics would be over-looked by the zealous Commons. The credit of the popiſh plot ſtill ſtood upon the oaths of a few infamous witneſſes. Tho' ſuch immenſe preparations were ſuppoſed to have been made in the very bowels of the kingdom, no traces of them, after the moſt rigorous enquiry, had as yet appeared. Tho' ſo many thouſands, both abroad and at home, had been engaged in the dreadful ſecret; neither hope, nor fear, nor remorſe, nor levity, nor ſuſpicions, nor private reſentment had engaged any-one to confirm the evidence. Tho' the Catholics, particularly the jeſuits, were repreſented as guilty of the utmoſt indiſcretion, inſomuch that they talked of the King's murder as common news, and wrote of it in plain terms by the common poſt; yet, among the great number of letters ſeized, no-one contained any part of ſo complicated a conſpiracy. Tho' the informers pretended, that, even after they had reſolved to betray the ſecret, many treaſonable commiſſions and papers had paſſed thro' their hands; they had not had the precaution to keep any one of them, in order to fortify their evidence. But all theſe difficulties and a thouſand more, were not found too hard of digeſtion by the nation and Parliament. The proſecution and farther diſcovery of the plot were ſtill the object of general concern. The Commons voted, that, if the King ſhould come to an untimely end, they would revenge his death upon the Papiſts; not reflecting that that ſect were not his only enemies. They promiſed rewards to new diſcoverers; not conſidering the danger, which they incurred, of granting bribes to perjury. They made Bedloe a preſent of 500 pounds; and particularly recommended the care of his ſafety to the duke of Monmouth. Colonel Sackville, a member, having, in a private company, ſpoke opprobriouſly of thoſe who affirmed that there was any plot, was expelled the Houſe. The Peers gave power to their committees to ſend for and examine ſuch as would maintain the innocence of thoſe condemned for the plot. A pamphlet having been publiſhed to diſcredit the informers, and to vindicate the catholic lords in the Tower, theſe lords were required to diſcover the author, and thereby to expoſe their own advocate to proſecution. And both Houſes concurred in renewing the former vote, that the Papiſts had undoubtedly entered into a *horrid* and *treaſonable* conſpiracy againſt the King, the ſtate, and the proteſtant religion.

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IT muſt be owned, that this extreme violence, in proſecution of ſo abſurd an impoſture, diſgraces the noble cauſe of liberty, in which the Parliament was engaged. We may even conclude, from ſuch impatience of contradiction, that the proſecutors themſelves retained a ſecret ſuſpicion, that the general belief was but ill grounded. The politicians among them were afraid to let in light, leſt it might put an end to ſo uſeful a deluſion: The weaker and leſs diſhoneſt party took care, by turning their eyes aſide, not to diſcover a truth, ſo oppoſite to thoſe furious paſſions, by which they were actuated, and in which they were determined obſtinately to perſevere.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE had been lately recalled from his foreign employments; and the King, who, after the removal of Danby, had no-one with whom he could ſo much as diſcourſe with freedom of public affairs, was reſolved, upon Coventry's dimiſſion, to make him one of his ſecretaries of ſtate. But that philoſophical patriot, too little intereſted for the intrigues of a court, too full of ſpleen and delicacy for the noiſy turbulence of popular aſſemblies, was alarmed at the univerſal diſcontents and jealouſies, which prevailed, and was determined to make his retreat, as ſoon as poſſible, from a ſcene, which threatened ſuch confuſion. Meanwhile, he could not refuſe the confidence with which his maſter honored him; and he reſolved to

Chap. V. 1679. employ it to the public ſervice. He repreſented to the King, that, as the jealouſies of the nation were extreme, it was neceſſary to cure them by ſome new remedy, and to reſtore that confidence, ſo requiſite for the ſafety both of King and people: That to refuſe every thing to the Parliament in their preſent diſpoſition, or to yield every thing, was equally dangerous, to the conſtitution and to public tranquillity: That if the King would introduce into his councils ſuch men as enjoyed the confidence of his people, fewer conceſſions would probably be required; or if exorbitant demands were made, the King, under the ſanction of ſuch counſellors, might be enabled, with the greater ſafety, to refuſe them: And that the heads of the popular party, being gratified with the King's favor, would probably abate of that violence, by which they endeavored at preſent to pay court to the multitude.

New council. THE King aſſented to all theſe reaſons; and, in concert with Temple, he laid the plan of a new privy-council, without whoſe advice he declared himſelf determined for the future to take no meaſures of importance. This council was to conſiſt of thirty perſons, and was never to exceed that number. Fifteen of the chief officers of the crown were to be continued, who, it was ſuppoſed, would adhere to the King, and, in caſe of any extremity, oppoſe the exorbitancies of faction. The other part of the council was to be compoſed, either of men of character, detached from the court, or of thoſe who poſſeſſed chief credit in both Houſes. And the King, in filling up the names of his new council, was glad to find, that the members, in land and offices, poſſeſſed to the amount of 300,000 pounds a year; a ſum nearly equal to the whole property of the Houſe of Commons, againſt whoſe violence the new council was intended as a barrier to the throne *.

THIS experiment was tried, and ſeemed at firſt to give ſome ſatisfaction to the public. The earl of Eſſex, a nobleman of the popular party, ſon to lord Capel, who was beheaded a little after the late King, was made treaſurer in place of Danby. The earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and great capacity, was made ſecretary of ſtate: The viſcount Halifax, a fine genius, poſſeſſed of learning, eloquence, induſtry, but ſubject to inquietude, and fond of refinements, was admitted into the council. Theſe three, together with Temple, who often joined them, tho' he kept himſelf more detached from public buſineſs, formed a kind of cabinet

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* Their names were. Prince Rupert, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord Finch chancellor, earl of Shaftesbury preſident, earl of Angleſea, privy ſeal, duke of Albemarle, duke of Monmouth, duke of Newcaſtle, duke of Lauderdale, duke of Ormond, marqueſs of Wincheſter, marqueſs of Worceſter, earl of Arlington, earl of Saliſbury, earl of Bridgewater, earl of Sunderland, earl of Eſſex, earl of Bath, viſcount Falconberg, viſcount Halifax, biſhop of London, lord Robarts, lord Hollis, lord Ruſſel, lord Cavendiſh, ſecretary Coventry, Sir Francis North, chief juſtice, Sir Henry Capel, Sir John Erneley, Sir Thomas Chichely, Sir William Temple, Edward Seymour, Henry Powle.

binet council, from which all affairs received their firſt digeſtion. Shafteſbury was made preſident of the council; contrary to the advice of Temple, who foretold the conſequence of admitting a man of ſo dangerous a character into any part of public adminiſtration.

As Temple foreſaw, it happened. Shafteſbury, finding, that he poſſeſſed no more than the appearance of court-favor, was reſolved ſtill to adhere to the popular party, by whoſe confidence he enjoyed an undiſputed ſuperiority in the lower Houſe, and poſſeſſed great influence over the other. The very appearance of court-favor, empty as it was, tended to render him more dangerous. His partizans, obſerving the progreſs which he had already made, hoped, that he would ſoon acquire the entire aſcendant; and he conſtantly flattered them, that, if they perſiſted in their purpoſes, the King, from indolence, and neceſſity, and fondneſs for Monmouth, would at laſt be obliged, even at the expence of his brother's right, to make them every conceſſion.

Besides, the antipathy to popery, as well as jealouſy of the King and Duke, had taken too faſt poſſeſſion of men's minds, to be removed by ſo feeble a remedy, as this new council, projected by Temple. The Commons, ſoon after the declaration of that council, proceeded ſo far as to vote unanimouſly, "That the "Duke of York's being a papiſt, and the hopes of his coming to the crown, had "given the higheſt countenance to the preſent conſpiracies and deſigns of the "papiſts againſt the King and the proteſtant religion." It was expected, that a bill for excluding him the throne would ſoon be brought in. To prevent this bold meaſure, the King concerted ſome limitations, which he propoſed to the Parliament. He introduced his plan by the following gracious expreſſions: "And to ſhew you, that, while you are doing your parts, my thoughts have not "been miſemployed, but that it is my conſtant care to do every thing, that may "preſerve your religion, and ſecure it for the future in all events, I have commanded my lord chancellor to mention ſeveral particulars; which, I hope, will "be an evidence, that, in all things, which concern the public ſecurity, I ſhall "not follow your zeal, but lead it."

Limitations on a popiſh ſucceſſor.

The limitations projected were of the utmoſt importance, and deprived the ſucceſſor of the chief branches of royalty. A method was propoſed, by which the nation, on every new reign, could be enſured of having a Parliament, which the King ſhould not, for a certain time, have it in his power to diſſolve. In caſe of a popiſh ſucceſſor, the prince was to forfeit the right of conferring any eccleſiaſtical preferments: No member of the privy council, no judge of the common law or in chancery, was to be put in or diſplaced but by conſent of Parliament: And the ſame precaution was extended to the military part of the government; to the lord lieutenant and deputy lieutenant of the counties, and to all officers of the navy. The chancellor, of himſelf, added, "It is hard to invent another reſtraint; "conſidering how much the revenue will depend upon the conſent of Parliament, "and how impoſſible it is to raiſe money without ſuch conſent. But yet, if "any thing elſe can occur to the wiſdom of the Parliament, which may farther "ſecure religion and liberty againſt a popiſh ſucceſſor, without defeating the "right of ſucceſſion itſelf, his majeſty will readily conſent to it."

It is remarkable, that, when theſe limitations were firſt laid before the council, Shafteſbury and Temple were the only members, who argued againſt them. The reaſons, which they employed, were diametrically oppoſite. Shafteſbury's opinion was, that the reſtraints were inſufficient; and that nothing but the total excluſion of the Duke could give a proper ſecurity to the kingdom. Temple on the other hand thought, that the reſtraints were ſo rigorous as even to ſubvert the conſtitution; and that ſhackles, put upon a popiſh ſucceſſor, would not afterwards be eaſily caſt off by a proteſtant. It is certain, that the Duke was extremely alarmed when he heard of this ſtep taken by the King, and that he was better pleaſed even with the bill of excluſion itſelf, which, he thought, by reaſon of its violence and injuſtice, could never poſſibly take place. There is alſo reaſon to believe, that the King would not have gone ſo far, had he not expected, from the extreme fury of the Commons, that his conceſſions would be rejected, and that the blame of not forming a reaſonable accommodation would by that means lie entirely at their door.

Bill of excluſion.

It ſoon appeared, that Charles had entertained a juſt opinion of the diſpoſition of the Houſe. So much were the Commons actuated by the cabals of Shafteſbury and other malecontents; ſuch violent antipathy prevailed againſt popery, that the King's conceſſions, tho' much more important than could reaſonably have been expected, were not embraced. A bill was brought in for the total excluſion of the Duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was declared that the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms, upon the King's death or reſignation, ſhould devolve to the perſon next in ſucceſſion after the Duke; that all acts of royalty, which that Prince ſhould afterwards perform, ſhould not only be void, but be deemed treaſon; and that even if he entered any of theſe dominions, he ſhould be eſteemed guilty of the ſame offence; and that all who ſupported his title, ſhould be puniſhed as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied baniſhment as well as excluſion, paſſed the lower Houſe by a majority of ſeventy-nine.

The Commons were not ſo wholly employed about the excluſion-bill as to overlook all other ſecurities to liberty. The country party, during all the laſt Parliament, had exclaimed much againſt the bribery and corruption of the members:

and the ſame reproach had been renewed againſt the preſent Parliament. An enquiry was made into a complaint, which was ſo dangerous to the honor of that aſſembly; but very little foundation was found for it. Sir Stephen Fox, who was the paymaſter, confeſſed to the Houſe, that nine members received penſions to the amount of three thouſand four hundred pounds: And after a very rigorous enquiry by a ſecret committee, eight more penſioners were diſcovered. A ſum alſo, about twelve thouſand pounds, had been occaſionally given or lent to others. The writers of that age pretend, that Clifford and Danby had adopted very oppoſite maxims with regard to pecuniary influence. The former endeavored to gain the leaders and orators of the Houſe, and deemed the others of no conſequence. The latter thought it ſufficient to gain a majority, however compoſed. It is likely, that the means, rather than the intentions, were wanting to both theſe miniſters.

Pensions and bribes, tho' it be difficult entirely to exclude them, are dangerous expedients for government; and cannot be too carefully guarded againſt, nor too vehemently decried, by every one who has a regard to the virtue and liberty of a nation. The influence, however, which the Crown acquires from the diſpoſal of places, honors, and preferments, is to be eſteemed of a different nature. This engine of power may become too forcible, but it cannot altogether be aboliſhed, without the total deſtruction of monarchy, and even of all regular authority. But the Commons at this time were ſo jealous of the Crown, that they brought in a bill, which was twice red, excluding from the lower Houſe all who poſſeſſed any lucrative offices.

The ſtanding army and the King's guards were by the Commons voted to be illegal: A new pretenſion, it muſt be confeſſed; but very neceſſary for the full ſecurity of liberty and a limited conſtitution.

Habeas corpus bill.

Arbitrary impriſonment is a grievance, which, in ſome degree, has place almoſt in every government, except in that of Britain; and our abſolute ſecurity from it we owe chiefly to the preſent Parliament; a merit, which makes great atonement for the faction and violence, into which their prejudices had, in other particulars, betrayed them. The great charter laid the foundation of this valuable branch of liberty; the petition of right, renewed and extended it; but many proviſions were ſtill wanting, to render it complete, and prevent all evaſion or delay from miniſters and judges. The act of *habeas corpus*, paſſed this ſeſſion, ſerved theſe uſeful purpoſes. By this act, it was prohibited to ſend any one to priſons beyond ſea. No judge, under ſevere penalties, muſt refuſe to any priſoner a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which the gaoler was directed to produce in court the body of the priſoner (whence the writ has its name) and to certify the cauſe of

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his detainer and impriſonment. If the gaol lay within twenty miles of the judge, the writ muſt be obeyed in three days; and ſo proportionably for greater diſtances: Every priſoner muſt be indicted the firſt term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the ſubſequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the ſame offence. This law is eſſentially requiſite for the protection of liberty in a mixed monarchy; and as it has not place in any other form of government, this conſideration alone may induce us to prefer our preſent conſtitution to all others. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that there is ſome difficulty to reconcile with ſuch extreme liberty the regular police of a ſtate, eſpecially that of great cities.

During theſe zealous efforts for the protection of liberty, no complaiſance for the Crown was diſcovered by this Parliament. The King's revenue lay under great debts and anticipations: Thoſe branches, granted in the years 1669 and 1670, were ready to expire: And the fleet was repreſented by the King to be in great decay and diſorder. But the Commons, inſtead of being affected by theſe diſtreſſes of the Crown, truſted chiefly to them for paſſing the excluſion-bill, and for puniſhing and diſplacing all the miniſters, who were diſagreeable to them. They were therefore in no haſte to relieve the King; and grew only the more aſſuming on account of his complaints and uneaſineſs. Jealous however of the army, they granted the ſame ſum of 206,000 pounds, which had been voted for diſbanding it by the laſt Parliament; tho' the vote, by reaſon of the ſubſequent prorogation and diſſolution, joined to ſome ſcruples of the Lords, had not been carried into an act. This money was appropriated by very ſtrict clauſes; but the Commons inſiſted not as formerly upon its being paid into the chamber of London.

The impeachment of the five popiſh lords in the Tower, with that of the earl of Danby, was carried on with great vigor. The power of that miniſter and his credit with the King, made him extremely obnoxious to the popular leaders; and the Commons hoped, that if he was puſhed to extremity, he would be obliged, in order to juſtify his own conduct, to lay open the whole intrigue of the French alliance, which they ſuſpected to contain a ſecret of the moſt dangerous nature. The King on his ſide, apprehenſive of the ſame conſequences, and deſirous to protect his miniſter, who was become criminal merely by obeying orders, employed his whole intereſt to ſupport the validity of that pardon, which had been granted him. The Lords appointed a day for the examination of this queſtion, and agreed to hear council on both ſides: But the Commons would not ſubmit their pretenſions to the diſcuſſion of argument and enquiry. They voted, that whoever ſhould preſume, without their leave, to maintain before the Houſe of Peers the validity of Danby's pardon, ſhould be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of the Engliſh Commons. And they made a demand, that

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that the biſhops, whom they knew to be devoted to the court, ſhould be removed, not only when the trial of the earl ſhould come on, but alſo when the validity of his pardon ſhould be diſcuſſed.

The biſhops before the reformation had always enjoyed a ſeat in Parliament: But ſo far were they antiently from regarding that dignity as a privilege, that they affected rather to form a ſeparate order in the ſtate, quite independant of the civil magiſtrate, and accountable only to the Pope and to their own order. By the conſtitutions, however, of Clarendon, enacted during the reign of Henry II. they were obliged to give their preſence in Parliament; but as the canon-law prohibited them from aſſiſting in trials of life and death, they were allowed in ſuch caſes the privilege of abſenting themſelves. A practice, which was at firſt merely voluntary, became afterwards a rule; and on the earl of Strafford's trial, the biſhops, who would gladly have attended, and who were no longer bound by the canon-law, were yet obliged to withdraw. It had always been uſual for them to enter a proteſtation of their right to ſit; and this proteſtation, being conſidered as a mere form, was always admitted and diſregarded. But here was ſtarted a new queſtion of no ſmall importance. The Commons, who were now enabled, by the violence of the people, and the neceſſities of the crown, to make new acquiſitions of powers and privileges, inſiſted, that the biſhops had no more title to vote in the queſtion of the earl's pardon than in the impeachment itſelf. The biſhops aſſerted, that the pardon was merely a preliminary, and that, neither by the canon-law nor the practice of Parliament, were they ever obliged, in capital caſes, to remove, till the very commencement of the trial itſelf. If their abſence was conſidered as a privilege, which was its real origin, it depended on their own choice, how far they would inſiſt upon it. If regarded as a diminution of their right of peerage, ſuch unfavorable cuſtoms ought never to be extended beyond the very circumſtance eſtabliſhed by them; and all arguments, from a pretended parity of reaſon, were in that caſe of little or no authority.

The Houſe of Lords were ſo much influenced by theſe reaſons, that they admitted the biſhops' right to vote, when the validity of the pardon ſhould be examined. The Commons inſiſted ſtill on their withdrawing; and thus a quarrel being commenced betwixt the two Houſes, the King, who expected nothing but freſh inſtances of violence from this Parliament, began to entertain thoughts of laying hold of ſo favorable a pretext, and of finiſhing the ſeſſion by a prorogation. While in this diſpoſition, he was alarmed with ſudden intelligence, that the Houſe of Commons were preparing a remonſtrance, in order to inflame the nation ſtill farther upon the favorite topics of the plot and of popery. He haſtened, therefore, to execute his intention, even without conſulting his new council, by whoſe

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advice he had promiſed to regulate his whole conduct. And thus were diſappointed all the projects of the malecontents, who were extremely enraged at this vigorous meaſure of the King's. Shafteſbury publicly threatened, that he would have the head of whoever had adviſed it. The Parliament was ſoon after diſſolved without advice of council; and a new Parliament ordered to be choſen. The King was willing to try every means, which gave a proſpect of more compliance in his ſubjects; and in caſe of failure, the blame, he hoped, would lie on thoſe whoſe obſtinacy forced him to extremities.

Prorogation and diſſolution of the Parliament. 10th of July.

BUT even during the receſs of Parliament, there was no interruption to the proſecution of the Catholics accuſed of the plot. The King, contrary to his own judgment, found himſelf obliged to give way to this popular fury. Whitebread, provincial of the jeſuits, Fenwic, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the ſame order, were firſt brought to their trial. Beſides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witneſs, appeared againſt the priſoners. He had been ſteward to lord Aſton, and, tho' poor, was a man of ſomewhat a more reputable character than the other two: But his account of the intended maſſacres and aſſaſſinations was equally monſtrous and incredible. He even aſſerted, that 200,000 Papiſts in England were ready to take arms. The priſoners proved by ſixteen witneſſes from St. Omer's, ſtudents and moſt of them young men of family, that Oates was in that ſeminary, at the time when he ſwore that he was in London: But as they were Catholics and diſciples of the jeſuits, their teſtimony, both with the judges and the jury, was totally diſregarded. Even the reception, which they met with in court, was full of outrage and mockery. One of them ſaying, that Oates always continued at St. Omer's, if he could believe his ſenſes: "You Papiſts," ſaid the chief juſtice, "are "taught not to believe your ſenſes." It muſt be confeſſed, that Oates, in oppoſition to the ſtudents of St. Omer's, found means to bring evidence of his having been at that time in London: But this evidence, tho' it had, at the time, the appearance of ſome ſolidity, was afterwards diſcovered, when Oates himſelf was tried for perjury, to be altogether deceitful. In order farther to diſcredit that witneſs, the jeſuits proved by undoubted teſtimony, that he had perjured himſelf in father Ireland's trial, whom they ſhowed to have been in Staffordſhire at the very time when Oates ſwore, that he was committing treaſon in London. But all theſe pleas availed them nothing againſt the general prejudices. They received ſentence of death; and were executed, perſiſting to their laſt breath in the moſt ſolemn, earneſt, and deliberate, tho' diſregarded, proteſtations of their innocence.

Trial and execution of the five jeſuits.

THE next trial was that of Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, by whom all the concerns of the jeſuits were managed. Thro' his hands, Oates and Bedloe ſwore, all the papal commiſſions paſſed; by which the chief offices in England were ſupplied

And of Langhorne.

plied with Catholics. When verdict was given againſt the priſoner, the audience expreſſed their ſavage joy by loud acclamations. So high indeed had the popular rage mounted, that the witneſſes for this unhappy man, in approaching the court, were almoſt torne in pieces by the rabble: One in particular was bruiſed to ſuch a degree, as to put his life in danger. And another, a woman, declared, that, unleſs the court could afford her protection, ſhe durſt not give evidence: But as the judges could go no farther than promiſe to puniſh ſuch as ſhould injure her, the priſoner himſelf had the humanity to wave her teſtimony.

Wakeman acquitted, 18th of July.

So far the informers had proceeded with ſucceſs: Their accuſation was hitherto equivalent to a ſentence of death. The firſt check, which they received, was on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's phyſician, whom they accuſed of an intention to poiſon the King. It was a ſtrong circumſtance in favor of Wakeman, that Oates, in his firſt information before the council, had accuſed him only upon hearſay; and when aſked by the chancellor, whether he had any thing farther to charge him with, he added; "God forbid I ſhould ſay any thing againſt Sir "George: For I know nothing more againſt him." On the trial he gave poſitive evidence of the priſoner's guilt. There were many other circumſtances, which favored Wakeman: But what chiefly contributed to his acquittal was the connexion of his cauſe with that of the Queen, whom no-one, even during the higheſt prejudices of the times, could ſincerely believe guilty. The great importance of the trial made men recollect themſelves, and recall that good ſenſe and humanity, which ſeemed during ſome time to have deſerted the nation. The chief juſtice himſelf, who had hitherto favored the witneſſes, exaggerated the plot, and railed againſt the priſoners, was obſerved to be conſiderably mollified, and to give a favorable charge to the jury. Oates and Bedloe had the aſſurance to attack him to his face, and even to accuſe him of partiality before the council. The whole party who had formerly much extolled his conduct, made him the great object of their reſentment. Wakeman's acquittal was indeed a ſenſible mortification to the furious proſecutors of the plot, and fixed an indelible ſtain upon the witneſſes. But Wakeman, after he recovered his liberty, finding himſelf expoſed to ſuch inveterate enmity, and being threatened with farther proſecutions, thought it prudent to retire beyond ſea: And his flight was interpreted as a proof of guilt, by thoſe who were ſtill reſolved to perſiſt in the belief of the conſpiracy.

State of affairs in Scotland.

The great diſcontents in England, and the refractory diſpoſition of the Parliament excited the hopes of the Scotch covenanters, and gave them ſome proſpect of an end to thoſe grievous oppreſſions, under which they had ſo long labored. It was ſuſpected to have been the policy of Lauderdale and his aſſociates to puſh theſe unhappy men to extremity, and force them into rebellion, with a view of reaping profit from the forfeitures and attainders, which would enſue upon it. But the covenanters, aware of this policy, had hitherto forborne all acts of hoſtility; and that tyrannical miniſter had failed of his purpoſe. An incident at laſt happened, which brought on an inſurrection in that country.

THE covenanters were much enraged againſt Sharpe, the primate, whom they conſidered as an apoſtate from their principles, and whom they experienced to be an unrelenting perſecutor of all thoſe who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed worſhip. He had an officer under him, one Carmichael, no leſs zealous than himſelf againſt all conventicles, and who by his violent proſecutions had rendered himſelf extremely obnoxious to the fanatics. A company of theſe had way-laid him on the road near St. Andrews with an intention, if not of killing him, at leaſt of puniſhing him ſo ſeverely as would afterwards render him more cautious in perſecuting the Non-conformiſts *. While looking out for their prey, they were ſurprized at ſeeing the archbiſhop's coach paſs by; and they immediately interpreted this incident as a declaration of the ſecret purpoſe of providence againſt him. But when they obſerved, that almoſt all his ſervants, by ſome accident, were abſent, they no longer doubted, that heaven had here delivered their capital enemy into their hands. Without farther deliberation, they fell upon him; dragged him from his coach; tore him from the arms of his daughter, who interpoſed with cries and tears; and piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the ſpot, and immediately diſperſed themſelves. 3d of May.

THIS atrocious action ſerved the miniſtry as a pretext for a more violent perſecution againſt the fanatics, on whom, without diſtinction, they laid the guilt of thoſe furious aſſaſſins. It is indeed certain, that the murder of Sharpe had excited an univerſal joy among the covenanters, and that their blind zeal had often led them, in their books and ſermons, to praiſe and recommend the aſſaſſination of their enemies, whom they conſidered as the enemies of all true piety and godlineſs. The ſtories of Jael and Siſera, of Ehud and Eglon, reſounded from every pulpit. The officers, quartered in the weſt, received more ſtrict orders to find out and diſperſe all conventicles; and for that reaſon the covenanters, inſtead of meeting in ſmall bodies, were obliged to celebrate their worſhip in numerous aſſemblies, and to bring arms for their ſecurity. At Rutherglen, a ſmall borough near Glaſgow, they openly ſet forth a declaration againſt prelacy, and in the market-place burned ſeveral acts of Parliament and acts of council, which had eſtabliſhed prelacy, and prohibited all conventicles. For this inſult on government, they purpoſely choſe the 29th of May, the anniverſary of the reſtoration; and previouſly extinguiſhed the bonfires, which had been kindled for that ſolemnity.

CAPTAIN

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* Wodrow's hiſtory of the ſufferings of the church of Scotland, vol. II. p. 28.

Captain Graham, afterwards viſcount Dundee, an active and enterprizing officer, attacked a great conventicle upon Loudon-hill, and was repulſed with the loſs of thirty men. The covenanters finding that they were unwarily involved in ſuch deep guilt, were engaged to perſevere, and to ſeek from their valor and fortune alone for that indemnity, which the ſeverity of the government left them no hopes of ever being able otherwiſe to obtain. They puſhed on to Glaſgow, and tho' at firſt repulſed, they afterwards made themſelves maſters of that town; diſpoſſeſſed all the eſtabliſhed clergy; and iſſued proclamations, where they declared, that they fought againſt the King's ſupremacy, againſt popery and prelacy, and againſt a popiſh ſucceſſor.

Battle of Bothwel bridge.

22d of June.

However accidental this inſurrection might appear, there is reaſon to think, that ſome great men in combination with the popular leaders in England, had ſecretly inſtigated the covenanters to proceed to ſuch extremities *, and hoped for the ſame effects as had forty years before enſued from the diſorders in Scotland. The King likewiſe, apprehenſive of like conſequences, immediately diſpatched Monmouth with a ſmall body of Engliſh cavalry. He joined the Scotch guards, and ſome regiments of militia, levied from the well-affected counties; and with great celerity marched towards the weſt in queſt of the rebels. They had taken poſt at Bothwel-bridge between Hamilton and Glaſgow; where there was no acceſs to them but over the bridge, which a ſmall body was able to defend againſt the King's forces. They ſhowed great judgment in the choice of their poſt; but diſcovered neither judgment nor valor in any other ſtep of their conduct. No nobility and few gentry had joined them: The miniſters were in reality the commanders; and the whole army never exceeded 8000 men. Monmouth attacked the bridge; and the body of inſurgents who defended it, maintained their poſt, as long as their ammunition laſted. When they ſent for more, they received orders to abandon their ground, and retire backwards. This imprudent meaſure ruined the army of the covenanters. Monmouth paſſed the bridge without oppoſition, and drew up in order, oppoſite to the enemy. His cannon alone put them to rout. About 700 fell in the purſuit: For properly ſpeaking there was no battle. Twelve hundred were taken priſoners; and were treated by Monmouth with an humanity, which they had never experienced in their own countrymen. Such of them as would promiſe to live peaceably under the government were diſmiſſed. About three hundred, who were ſo obſtinate as to refuſe this eaſy condition, were ſhipped for Barbadoes; but unfortunately periſhed in the voyage. Two of their clergy were hanged. Monmouth was of a generous diſ-

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* Algernon Sidney's letters, p. 90.

1679. diſpoſition; and beſides, aimed at popularity in Scotland. The King intended to intruſt the affairs of that kingdom into his hands. He had married a Scotch lady, heireſs to one of the moſt conſiderable families, and allied to all the chief nobility. And Lauderdale, as he was now declining in his parts, and was much decayed in his memory, began to loſe with the King that influence, which he had maintained during ſo many years; notwithſtanding all the efforts of his numerous enemies both in Scotland and England, and notwithſtanding the many violent and tyrannical actions, of which he had been guilty. Even at preſent, he retained ſo much influence as to poyſon all the good intentions, which the King, either of himſelf or by Monmouth's ſuggeſtion, had formed with regard to Scotland. An act of indemnity was granted; but the miniſter took care, that it ſhould rather afford protection to himſelf and his aſſociates, than to the unhappy covenanters. And tho' orders were given to connive thenceforwards at all conventicles, he found means, under a variety of pretexts, to elude the execution. It muſt be owned however to his praiſe, that he was the chief perſon, who by his council haſtened the expeditious march of the forces and the prompt orders to Monmouth; and thereby diſappointed all the expectations of the malecontents, who, reflecting on the diſpoſitions of mens minds in both kingdoms, had entertained great hopes from the progreſs of the Scotch inſurrection.

CHAP. VI.

State of parties.——State of the miniſtry.——Meal-tub plot.——Whig and Tory.——A new parliament.——Violence of the Commons.——Excluſion-bill.——Arguments for and againſt the Excluſion.——Excluſion-bill rejected.——Trial of Stafford.——His execution.——Violence of the Commons.——Diſſolution of the parliament.——New parliament at Oxford.——Fitzharris's caſe.——Parliament diſſolved.——Victory of the Royaliſts.——

1679. THE King, finding that the whole nation concurred at firſt in the belief and proſecution of the popiſh plot, had found it abſolutely requiſite for his own ſafety to pretend, in all public ſpeeches and tranſactions, an entire belief and acquieſcence in that famous abſurdity, and by this artifice he had eluded the violent and irreſiſtible torrent of the people. When a little time and recollection, as well as the execution of the pretended conſpirators, had ſomewhat moderated the general fury, he was now enabled to form a conſiderable party, devoted to the intereſts of the crown, and determined to oppoſe the pretenſions of the malecontents.

State of parties.

In all mixt governments, ſuch as that of England, the bulk of the nation will always incline to preſerve the entire frame of the conſtitution; but, according to the various prejudices, intereſts, and diſpoſitions of men, ſome will ever attach themſelves with more paſſion to the regal, others to the popular part of the government. Tho' the King, after his reſtoration, had endeavored to aboliſh the diſtinction of parties, and had choſen his miniſters from among all denominations; no ſooner had he loſt his popularity, and expoſed himſelf to general jealouſy, than he found it requiſite to court the old cavalier party, and to promiſe them full compenſation for that neglect, of which they had hitherto complained. The preſent emergence made it ſtill more requiſite for him to apply for their ſupport; and there were many circumſtances, which determined them, at this time, to fly to the aſſiſtance of the crown, and to the protection of the royal family.

A party ſtrongly attached to monarchy will naturally be jealous of the right of ſucceſſion, by which alone, they believe, ſtability to be preſerved in the government, and a barrier fixed to the encroachments of popular aſſemblies. The project, openly embraced for excluding the Duke, appeared to that party a dangerous innovation: And the deſign, ſecretly projected, of advancing Monmouth, made them apprehenſive, leſt the inconveniences of a diſputed ſucceſſion ſhould be propagated to all poſterity. While the jealous lovers of liberty maintained, that a King, whoſe title depended on the Parliament, would naturally be more regardful of the intereſts and humors of the people; the paſſionate admirers of monarchy conſidered this dependance as a degradation of kingly government, and a great ſtep towards the eſtabliſhment of a commonwealth in England.

But tho' the union of the political Royaliſts brought great acceſſion of force to the crown, Charles derived no leſs ſupport from the confederacy, which he had, at this time, the addreſs to form with the church of England. He repreſented to them the great number of Preſbyterians and other ſectaries, who had entered into the popular party; the encouragement and favor which they met with; the loudneſs of their cries with regard to popery and arbitrary power. And he made the eſtabliſhed clergy and their adherents apprehend, that the old ſcheme for the abolition of prelacy as well as monarchy was again revived, and that the ſame miſeries and oppreſſions threatened them, to which, during the civil wars and uſurpations, they had ſo long been expoſed.

Chap. VI.
1679.

The memory alſo of theſe diſmal times united many indifferent and impartial perſons to the Crown, and begot a dread, leſt the zeal for liberty ſhould engraft itſelf on fanaticiſm, and ſhould once more kindle a civil war in the kingdom. Had not the King ſtill retained the prerogative of diſſolving the Parliament, there was indeed reaſon to apprehend the renewal of all the pretenſions and violences, which had uſhered in the laſt commotions. The one period appeared an exact counterpart of the other: But ſtill diſcerning judges could perceive, both in the ſpirit of the parties and genius of the Prince, a very material difference; by means of which Charles was enabled at laſt, tho' with the imminent peril of liberty, to preſerve the peace of the nation.

The cry againſt popery was very loud; but it proceeded leſs from religious than from party zeal, in thoſe who propagated, and even in thoſe who adopted it. The ſpirit of enthuſiaſm had occaſioned ſo much miſchief, and had been ſo ſucceſsfully exploded, that it was not poſſible, by any artifice, again to revive and ſupport it. Cant had been ridiculed; hypocriſy detected; the pretenſions to a more thorow reformation, and to more perfect purity, had become ſuſpicious; and inſtead of denominating themſelves the *godly* party, the appellation affected at the beginning of the civil wars, the preſent patriots were contented to call themſelves the *good* and the *honeſt* party[*]: A ſure prognoſtic, that their meaſures were not to be ſo furious, nor their pretenſions ſo exorbitant.

The King too, tho' he wanted the integrity and ſtrict principles of his father[†], was happy in a more amiable manner, and more popular addreſs. Far from being diſtant, ſtately, or reſerved; he had not a grain of pride or vanity in his whole compoſition*; but was the moſt affable, beſt bred man alive. He treated

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[*] Temple, vol. i. p. 335.

[†] The imputation of inſincerity on Charles I. like many party-clamors, is very difficult to remove; and it may not here be improper, tho' it lies not within our preſent ſubject, to ſay ſomewhat with regard to it. I ſhall firſt remark, that this imputation ſeems to be of a latter growth than his own age; and that even his enemies, tho' they loaded him with many calumnies, did not inſiſt on this accuſation. Ludlow, I think, is almoſt the only Parliamentarian, who imputes that crime to him; and how paſſionate a writer he is, muſt be obvious to every one. Neither Clarendon nor any other of the royaliſts ever juſtify him from inſincerity; as not ſuppoſing that he had ever been accuſed of it. In the ſecond place, his deportment and character in common life was very free from that vice: He was reſerved, diſtant, ſtately; cold in his addreſs, plain in his diſcourſe, inflexible in his principles; wide of the careſſing, inſinuating manners of his ſon; or the profeſſing, talkative humor of his father. The imputation of inſincerity muſt be grounded on ſome of his public actions, which we are therefore in the third place to examine. The following are the only inſtances, which I find cited to confirm that accuſation. (1.) His vouching Buckingham's narrative of the tranſactions in Spain. But it is evident that Charles himſelf was deceived: why otherwiſe did he quarrel with Spain? The following is a paſſage of a letter from lord Kenſington, ambaſſador in France, to the duke of Buckingham, Cabbala, p. 318. "But his highneſs (the Prince) had obſerved as great a weakneſs and folly as that, in that "after they (the Spaniards) had uſed him ſo ill, they would ſuffer him to depart, which was one of "the firſt ſpeeches he uttered after he came into the ſhip: But did he ſay ſo? ſaid the Queen (of "France.)

“ France.) Yes, madam, I will aſſure you, quoth I, from the witneſs of mine own ears. She ſmiled “ and replied, Indeed I heard he was uſed ill. So he was, anſwered I, but not in his entertainment; “ for that was as ſplendid as that country could afford it; but in their frivolous delays and in the un- “ reaſonable conditions which they propounded and preſſed, upon the advantage they had of his “ princely perſon.” (2.) Biſhop Burnet, in his Hiſtory of the Houſe of Hamilton, p. 154. has preſerved a letter of the King's to the Scotch biſhops, in which he deſires them not to be preſent at the Parliament, where they would be forced to ratify the abolition of their own order: “For,” adds the King, “we do hereby aſſure you, that it ſhall be ſtill one of our chiefeſt ſtudies how to rectify and “ eſtabliſh the government of that church aright, and to repair your loſſes, which we deſired you to be “ moſt confident of.” And in another place, “You may reſt ſecure, that tho' perhaps we may give “ way for the preſent to that which will be prejudicial both to the church and our own government; “ yet we ſhall not leave thinking in time how to remedy both.” But does the King ſay, that he will arbitrarily revoke his conceſſions? Does not candor require us rather to ſuppoſe, that he hoped his authority would ſo far recover as to enable him to obtain the national conſent to re-eſtabliſh epiſcopacy, which he believed ſo material a part of religion as well as government? It is not eaſy indeed to think how he could expect to effectuate this purpoſe in any other way than his father had taken, that is, by conſent of Parliament. (3.) There is a paſſage in lord Clarendon; where it is ſaid, that the King aſſented the more eaſily to the bill, which excluded the biſhops from the Houſe of Peers; becauſe he thought, that that law, being enacted by force, could not be valid. But the King certainly reaſoned right in that concluſion. Three fourths of the Houſe of Peers were at that time baniſhed by the violence of the populace: Twelve biſhops were unjuſtly thrown into the Tower by the Commons: Great numbers of the Commons themſelves were kept away by fear or violence: The King himſelf was forced to leave London. If all this be not force, there is no ſuch thing. But this ſcruple of the King's affects only the biſhops' bill and that againſt preſſing. The other conſtitutional laws had paſſed without the leaſt appearance of violence, as did indeed all the bills paſſed during the firſt year, except Strafford's attainder, which could not be recalled. The Parliament, therefore, even if they had known the King's ſentiments in this particular, could have no juſt foundation of jealouſy. (4.) The King's letter intercepted at Naſeby, has been the ſource of much clamor. We have ſpoke of it already, vol. i. p. 389. Perhaps, it had been better had the King avoided that refinement; yet nothing is more uſual in all public tranſactions. After the death of Charles II. of Spain, King William's ambaſſadors gave the duke of Anjou the title of King of Spain: Yet at that very time, King William was ſecretly forming alliances to dethrone him: and ſoon afterwards he refuſed him that title, and inſiſted (as he had reaſon) that he had not acknowledged his right. Yet King William juſtly paſſes for a very ſincere Prince; and this tranſaction is not regarded as any objection to his character. I may add, that Charles when he inſerted his proteſtation in the council-books before his council, ſurely thought he had reaſon to juſtify his conduct. There were too many men of honor in that company to avow a palpable cheat. (5.) The denying his commiſſion to Glamorgan is another inſtance which has been cited. But that he gave no ſuch commiſſion is, I think, ſufficiently apparent. See vol. i. p. 412. All Dr. Birch's volume contains no argument to the contrary, except ſome paſſages from the nuncio Rinuccini's Memoirs. But the nuncio knew nothing of the matter, farther than he was informed by Glamorgan. His character likewiſe, both for judgment and morals, is ſo bad, that his word can very little be depended on. And the ſtrange conduct, which he followed, required as an apology, that it ſhould be believed, that the King had really made thoſe conceſſions to the Catholics. (6.) There is another of the King's intercepted letters to the Queen commonly mentioned; where, it is pretended,

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* Temple, vol. i. p. 449.

treated his ſubjects like noblemen, like gentlemen, like freemen; not like vaſſals or boors. His profeſſions were plauſible, his whole behavior engaging; ſo that he won upon the hearts, even while he loſt the good opinion of his ſubjects, and often ballanced their judgment of things by their perſonal inclination [†]. In his public conduct likewiſe, tho' he had ſometimes embraced meaſures dangerous to the liberty and religion of his people, he had never been found to perſevere obſtinately in them, but had always returned into that path, which their united opinion ſeemed to point out to him. And upon the whole, it ſeemed to many, cruel and even iniquitous, to remark too rigorouſly the failings of a prince, who diſcovered ſo much facility in correcting his errors, and ſo much lenity in pardoning the offences committed againſt himſelf.

THE general affection, which was borne the King, appeared ſignally about this time. He fell ſick at Windſor; and had two or three fits of a fever, ſo violent as made his life be thought in danger. A general amazement ſeized all ranks of men, encreaſed by the apprehenſions entertained of his ſucceſſor. In the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds, the King's death, to uſe an expreſſion of Sir William Temple [||], was regarded as the end of the world. The malecontents, it was feared, would proceed to extremities, and immediately kindle a civil war in the kingdom. Either their entire ſucceſs, or entire failure, or even the ballance and conteſt of parties, ſeemed all of them events equally fatal. The King's chief counſellors, therefore, Eſſex, Halifax, and Sunderland, who ſtood on very bad terms with Shafteſbury and the popular party, adviſed him to ſend ſecretly for the Duke, that, in caſe of any ſiniſter accident, that Prince might be ready to aſſert his right againſt the oppoſition, which he was likely to meet with. When the Duke arrived, he found his brother out of danger; and it was agreed to conceal the invitation, which he had received. His journey, however, was attended with very important conſequences. He prevailed on the King to diſgrace Monmouth, whoſe

State of the miniſtry.

2d of September.

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he talked of raiſing and then deſtroying Cromwel: But that ſtory ſtands on no manner of foundation, as we have obſerved in vol. i. p. 439. In a word, the Parliament, after the commencement of their violences, and ſtill more, after beginning the civil war, had reaſon for their ſcruples and jealouſies, founded on the very nature of their ſituation, and on the general propenſity of the human mind; not on any fault of the King's character; who was candid, ſincere, upright; as much almoſt as any man, whom we meet with in hiſtory.

I muſt here take the opportunity to correct a negligence or raſh expreſſion, which I have been guilty of in the firſt volume. In p. 156. l. 29. inſtead of theſe words, "But he was too apt, in imitation of his father, to conſider theſe promiſes as temporary expedients, which, after the diſſolution of the Parliament, he was not any farther to regard." read, "But he was too apt, in imitation of his father, to imagine, that the Parliament, when they failed of ſupplying his neceſſities, had, on their part, freed him from the obligation of a ſtrict performance."

[†] Diſſertation on Parties, letter vii.

[||] Vol. i. p. 342.

whoſe projects were now known and avowed; to deprive him of his command in the army; and to ſend him beyond ſea. He himſelf returned to Bruſſels; but made a very ſhort ſtay in that place. He obtained leave to retire to Scotland, under pretext ſtill of quieting the apprehenſions of the Engliſh nation; but really with a purpoſe of ſecuring that kingdom in his intereſts.

Tho' Eſſex and Halifax had concurred in the reſolution of inviting over the Duke, they ſoon found, that they had not obtained his confidence, and that even the King, while he made uſe of their ſervice, had no ſincere regard for their perſons. Eſſex in diſguſt reſigned the Treaſury: Halifax retired to his country-ſeat: Temple, deſpairing of any accommodation among ſuch enraged parties, withdrew almoſt entirely to his books and his gardens. The King, who changed miniſters as well as meaſures with great indifference, beſtowed at this time his chief confidence on Hyde, Sunderland, and Godolphin. Hyde ſucceeded Eſſex in the treaſury.

All the King's miniſters, as well as himſelf, were extremely averſe to the meeting of the new Parliament, which they expected to find as refractory as any of the preceding. The elections had gone moſtly in favor of the country party. The terrors of the plot had ſtill a mighty influence over the populace; and the apprehenſions of the Duke's bigotted principles and arbitrary character weighed with all men of ſenſe and reflection. The King therefore reſolved to prorogue the Parliament, that he might try, whether time would allay thoſe humors, which, by every other expedient, he had in vain attempted to mollify. In this meaſure he did not expect the concurrence of his council. He knew, that thoſe popular leaders, whom he had admitted, would zealouſly oppoſe a reſolution, which diſconcerted all their ſchemes; and that the royaliſts would not dare to expoſe themſelves to the vengeance of the Parliament, when it ſhould be aſſembled. Theſe reaſons obliged him to take this ſtep entirely of himſelf; and he only declared his reſolution in council. It is remarkable, that, tho' the King had made profeſſion never to embrace any meaſure without advice of his council, he had often broke that reſolution, and had been neceſſitated in affairs of the greateſt conſequence, to control their opinion. Many of them in diſguſt threw up about this time; particularly lord Ruſſel, the moſt popular man in the nation, as well from the mildneſs and integrity of his manners, as from his zealous attachment to the religion and liberties of his country. Tho' carried into ſome extremes, his intentions were ever eſteemed upright; and being heir to the moſt opulent fortune in the kingdom, as well as devoid of ambition, men believed, that nothing but the laſt neceſſity could ever engage him to embrace any deſperate meaſures. Shafteſbury, who was, in moſt particulars, of an oppoſite character, was removed by the King from the office of preſident of the council; and the earl of Radnor, a man who poſſeſſed whimſical talents and ſplenetic virtues, was ſubſtituted in his place.

It was the favor and countenance of the Parliament, which had chiefly encouraged the rumor of plots; but the nation had got ſo much into that vein of credulity, and every neceſſitous villain was ſo much incited by the ſucceſs of Oates and Bedloe, that even during the vacation the people were not allowed to remain in tranquillity. There was one Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burned in the hand for crimes, tranſported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of falſe coining, and expoſed to all the public infamy, which the laws could inflict on the baſeſt and moſt ſhameful enormities. The credulity of the people and the humor of the times enabled even this man to become a perſon of conſequence. He was the author of a new incident, called the *Meal-tub plot*, from the place where ſome papers, regarding it, were found. The bottom of this affair it is difficult, and not very material, to diſcover. It only appears, that Dangerfield, under pretext of betraying the conſpiracies of the Preſbyterians, had been countenanced by ſome Catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the Duke's preſence and the King's. And that under pretext of revealing new popiſh plots, he had obtained acceſs to Shafteſbury and ſome of the popular leaders. Which ſide he intended to cheat is uncertain; or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both: But he ſoon found, that the belief of the nation was much more open to a popiſh than a preſbyterian plot; and he reſolved to ſtrike in with the prevailing humor. Tho' no weight could be laid on his teſtimony, great clamor was raiſed; as if the Court, by way of retaliation, had intended to load the Preſbyterians with the guilt of a falſe conſpiracy. It muſt be confeſſed, that the preſent period, by the prevalence and ſuſpicion of ſuch mean and ignoble arts on all ſides, throws a great ſtain on the Britiſh annals.

Meal-tub plot.

One of the moſt innocent artifices, practiſed by party-men at this time, was the additional ceremony, pomp, and expence, with which a pope-burning was celebrated in London: This ſpectacle ſerved to entertain, and amuſe, and enflame the populace. The duke of Monmouth likewiſe came over without leave, and made a triumphant proceſſion thro' many parts of the kingdom, extremely careſſed and admired by the people. All theſe arts ſeemed requiſite to ſupport the general prejudices, during the long interval of Parliament. Great endeavors were alſo uſed to obtain the King's conſent for the meeting of that aſſembly. Seventeen peers preſented a petition to that purpoſe. Many of the corporations imitated this example. Notwithſtanding ſeveral marks of diſpleaſure, and even a menacing proclamation, from the King, petitions came from all parts, earneſtly inſiſting on a ſeſſion of Parliament. The danger of popery, the terrors of the plot, were never forgot in any of theſe addreſſes.

17th of November.

1680.

Tumultuous petitioning was one of the chief artifices, by which the malecontents in the laſt reign had attacked the Crown: And tho' the manner of ſubſcribing and delivering petitions was now ſomewhat limited by act of Parliament, the thing itſelf ſtill remained; and was an admirable expedient for infeſting the Court, for ſpreading diſcontent, and for uniting the nation in any popular clamor. As the King found no law, by which he could puniſh thoſe importunate, and, as he eſteemed them, undutiful ſollicitations; he was obliged to encounter them by popular applications of a contrary tendency. Wherever the church and court party prevailed, addreſſes were framed, containing expreſſions of the higheſt regard to his Majeſty, the moſt entire acquieſcence in his wiſdom, the moſt dutiful ſubmiſſion to his prerogative, and the deepeſt *abhorrence* of thoſe, who endeavored to encroach on it, by preſcribing to him any time for aſſembling the Parliament. Thus the nation came to be diſtinguiſhed into *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*. Factions indeed were at this time extremely animated againſt each other. The very names, by which each party denominated its antagoniſt, diſcover the virulence and rancor, which prevailed. For beſides Petitioner and Abhorrer, appellations which were ſoon forgot; this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of WHIG and TORY, by which, and ſometimes without any very material difference, this iſland has been ſo long divided. The court party reproached their antagoniſts with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of Whigs: The country party found a reſemblance between the courtiers and the popiſh banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of Tory was affixed. And after this manner, theſe fooliſh terms of reproach came into public and general uſe; and even at preſent ſeem not nearer their end than when they were firſt invented.

Whig and Tory.

The King uſed every art to encourage his partizans, and to reconcile the people to his government. He perſevered in the great zeal which he affected againſt popery. He even allowed ſeveral prieſts to be put to death, for no other crime but their having received orders in the Romiſh church. It is ſingular, that one of them, called Evans, was playing at tennis, when the warrant for his immediate execution was notified to him: He ſwore, that he would play out his ſet firſt. Charles, with the ſame view of acquiring popularity, formed an alliance with Spain; and alſo offered an alliance to Holland: But the Dutch, terrified with the great power of France, and ſeeing little reſſource in a country ſo diſtracted as England, declined acceptance. He had ſent for the Duke from Scotland, but deſired him to return, when the time of aſſembling the Parliament began to approach.

Chap. VI. 1680.

It was of great conſequence to the popular party, while the meeting of the Parliament depended on the King's will, to keep the law, whoſe operations are perpetual, entirely on their ſide. The ſheriffs of London by their office return the juries: It had been uſual for the mayor to nominate one ſheriff by drinking to him; and the common-hall had ever without diſpute confirmed the mayor's choice. Sir Robert Clayton, the mayor, named one who was not very acceptable to the popular party: The common-hall rejected him; and Bethel and Corniſh, two independants, and republicans, and of conſequence deeply engaged with the malecontents, were choſen by a majority of voices. In ſpite of all remonſtrances and oppoſition, the citizens perſiſted in their choice; and the court party were obliged for the preſent to acquieſce.

23d of June.

Juries however were not ſo partial in the city; but that reaſon and juſtice, even when the popiſh plot was in queſtion, could ſometimes prevail. The earl of Caſtelmaine, huſband to the famous ducheſs of Cleveland, was acquitted about this time; tho' accuſed by Oates and Dangerfield of an intention to aſſaſſinate the King. Sir Thomas Gaſcoigne, a very aged gentleman in the north, being accuſed by two ſervants, whom he had diſmiſſed for diſhoneſty, received a like verdict. Theſe trials were great blows to the plot, which now began to ſtagger in the judgment of moſt men, except thoſe who were devoted to the country party. But in order ſtill to preſerve alive the zeal againſt popery, the earl of Shafteſbury appeared in Weſtminſter hall, attended by the earl of Huntington, lord Ruſſel, Cavendiſh, Grey, Brandon, Sir Henry Caverly, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Cooper, and other perſons of diſtinction; and preſented to the grand jury of Middleſex reaſons for indicting the Duke of Yorke as a popiſh recuſant. While the jury were deliberating on this extraordinary preſentment, the chief juſtice ſent for them up, and ſuddenly, even ſomewhat irregularly, diſmiſſed them. Shafteſbury however obtained the end, for which he had undertaken this bold meaſure: He ſhowed to all his followers the deſperate reſolution, which he had embraced, never to admit of any accommodation or compoſition with the Duke. By ſuch daring conduct he aſſured them, that he was fully determined not to deſert their cauſe, and he engaged them to a like devoted perſeverance in all the meaſures, which he ſhould ſuggeſt to them.

21ſt of October. A new Parliament.

As the Kingdom was regularly and openly divided into two zealous parties, it was not difficult for the King to know, that the majority of the new Houſe of Commons was engaged in intereſts oppoſite to the Court: But that he might leave no expedient untried, which could compoſe the unhappy differences among his ſubjects, he reſolved at laſt, after a very long interval, to aſſemble the Parliament. In his ſpeech, he told them, that the ſeveral prorogations, which he had made, had been very advantageous to his neighbors, and very uſeful to himſelf: That he had employed that time in perfecting with the Crown of Spain an alliance, which had been often deſired by former Parliaments, and which, he doubted not, would be extremely agreeable to them: That in order to give weight to this meaſure, and render it beneficial to Chriſtendom, it was requiſite to avoid all domeſtic diſſenſions, and to unite themſelves firmly in the ſame views and purpoſes! That he was determined, that nothing on his part ſhould be wanting to ſuch a ſalutary end; and provided the ſucceſſion be preſerved in its due and legal courſe, he would concur in any new expedients for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion: That the farther examination of the popiſh plot and the puniſhment of the criminals were requiſite for the ſafety both of King and kingdom: And after recommending to them the neceſſity of providing for the ſafety of Tangiers, he proceeded in theſe words: "But that "which I value above all the treaſure in the world, and which I am ſure will give "me greater ſtrength and reputation both at home and abroad than any treaſure "can do, is, a perfect union among ourſelves. Nothing but this can reſtore the "kingdom to that ſtrength and vigor which it ſeems to have loſt, and raiſe us "again to that conſideration, which England hath uſually had. All Europe have "their eyes upon this aſſembly, and think their own happineſs and miſery, as well "as ours, will depend upon it. If we ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into miſ"underſtandings among ourſelves to that degree as would render our friendſhip "unſafe to truſt to, it will not be wondered at, if our neighbors ſhould begin to "take new reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as may be fatal to us. Let us there"fore take care, that we do not gratify our enemies, and diſcourage our friends, "by any unſeaſonable diſputes. If any ſuch do happen, the world will ſee, that "it was no fault of mine; For I have done all that it was poſſible for me to do, "to keep you in peace, while I live, and to leave you ſo, when I die. But from "ſo great prudence and ſo good affection as yours, I can fear nothing of this "kind; but do rely upon you all, that you will do your beſt endeavors to bring "this Parliament to a good and happy concluſion."

Violence of the Commons.

ALL theſe mollifying expreſſions had no influence with the Commons. Every ſtep, which they took, betrayed that zeal, with which they were animated. They voted, that it was the undoubted right of the ſubject to petition the King for the calling and ſitting of Parliament. Not contented with this deciſion, which ſeems very juſtifiable in a mixt Monarchy, they fell with the utmoſt violence on all thoſe *abhorrers*, who, in their addreſſes to the Crown, had expreſſed their diſapprobation of thoſe petitions. They reflected not, that it was as lawful for one party of men, as for another, to expreſs their ſentiments of public affairs, and that the beſt eſtabliſhed right, in particular circumſtances, may be abuſed, and even the exerciſe of it become an object of abhorrence. For this offence, they expelled Sir Thomas Withens. They appointed a committee for farther enquiry into ſuch members as had been guilty of a like crime; and complaints were lodged againſt lord Paſton, Sir Robert Malverer, Sir Bryan Stapleton, Taylor and Turner. They addreſſed the King againſt Sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, for his activity in the ſame cauſe; and they frightened him into a reſignation of his office, in which he was ſucceeded by Sir George Treby, a great leader of the popular party. They voted an impeachment againſt North, chief juſtice of the common pleas, for drawing the proclamation againſt tumultuous petitions: But upon examination found the proclamation ſo cautiouſly worded, that it afforded them no handle againſt him. A petition had been preſented to the King from Taunton. "How dare you deliver "me ſuch a paper," ſaid the King to the perſon who preſented it. "Sir," replied he, "my name is DARE." For this ſaucy reply, but under other pretexts, he had been tried, and fined, and committed to priſon. The Commons now addreſſed the King for his liberty and for the remittance of his fine. Some printers alſo and authors of ſeditious libels they took under their protection.

GREAT numbers of the Abhorrers, from all parts of England, were ſeized by order of the Commons, and committed to cuſtody. The liberty of the ſubject, which had been ſo carefully guarded by the great charter, and by the late law of Habeas Corpus, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious deciſions. The chief jealouſy, 'tis true, of the Engliſh conſtitution is naturally and juſtly directed againſt the Crown; nor indeed have the Commons any other way of ſecuring their privileges but by committments, which, as they cannot beforehand be exactly determined by law, muſt always appear in ſome degree arbitrary. Senſible of theſe reaſons, the people had hitherto, without murmuring, ſeen this diſcretionary power exerciſed by the Houſe: But as it was now carried to extremes, and was abuſed to ſerve the purpoſes of a faction, great complaints were heard from all quarters. At laſt, the vigor and courage of one Stowel of Exeter, an Abhorrer, put an end to the practice. He refuſed to obey the ſerjeant at arms, ſtood upon his defence, and ſaid that he knew of no law, by which they pretended to commit him. The Houſe, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to recede, got off by an evaſion: They inſerted in their votes, that Stowel was indiſpoſed, and that a month's time was allowed him for his recovery.

BUT the chief violence of the Houſe of Commons appeared in all their tranſactions with regard to the plot, which they proſecuted with the ſame zeal and the ſame credulity as their predeceſſors. They renewed the former vote, which affirmed the reality of the horrid popiſh plot; and in order the more to terrify the people, they even aſſerted, that, notwithſtanding the diſcovery, the plot ſtill ſubſiſted.

ſiſted. They expelled Sir Robert Can and Sir Robert Yeomans, who had been complained of, for ſaying, that there was no popiſh, but there was a preſbyterian plot. They greatly lamented the death of Bedloe, whom they called a material witneſs, and on whoſe teſtimony they much depended. He had been ſeized with a fever at Briſtol, had ſent for chief juſtice North, confirmed all his former evidence, except that with regard to the Duke and the Queen, and deſired North to apply to the King for ſome money to relieve him in his neceſſities. A few days afterwards he died; and the whole party triumphed extremely in this incident: As if ſuch a teſtimony could be eſteemed the affirmation of a dying man, as if his confeſſion of perjury in ſome inſtances could aſſure his veracity in the reſt, and as if the perſeverance of one profligate could outweigh the laſt words of ſo many men, guilty of no other crime but that of popery.

The Commons even endeavored, by their countenance and protection, to purge off the extreme infamy, with which Dangerfield was loaded, and to reſtore him to a capacity of being a witneſs. The whole tribe of informers, they applauded and rewarded: Jenniſon, Turberville, Dugdale, Smith, la Faria, appeared before them; and their teſtimony, however frivolous or abſurd, met with a favorable reception: The King was applied to on their behalf for penſions and pardons: Their narratives were printed with that ſanction, which aroſe from the approbation of the Houſe. Dr. Tongue was recommended for the firſt conſiderable church preferment, which ſhould become vacant. Conſidering mens determined reſolution to believe, inſtead of admiring that a palpable falſhood ſhould be maintained by witneſſes, it may juſtly appear wonderful, that no better evidence was ever produced againſt the Catholics.

Exclusion-bill.

The principal reaſons, which ſtill ſupported the clamor of the popiſh plot, were the apprehenſions, ſo juſtly entertained by the people, of the Duke of Yorke, and the reſolution, embraced by their leaders, of excluding him from the throne. Shafteſbury and many conſiderable men of the party had rendered themſelves totally irreconcileable with him, and could find their ſafety no way but in his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped, that the excluſion of that Prince would make way for their patron. The reſentment againſt the Duke's apoſtacy, the love of liberty, the zeal for religion, the attachment to faction; all theſe motives incited the country party. And above all, what ſupported the reſolution of adhering to the excluſion, and rejecting all expedients offered, was the hope artificially encouraged, that the King would at laſt be obliged to yield to their demand. His revenues were extremely burdened; and even if free, could ſcarce ſuffice for the neceſſary charges of government, much leſs for that pleaſure and expence, to which he was ſtrongly inclined. Tho' he had withdrawn his countenance from Monmouth, he was

Chap. VI. 1680. was known ſecretly to retain a great affection for him. On no occaſion had he ever been found to perſiſt obſtinately againſt difficulties and importunity. And as his beloved miſtreſs, the dutcheſs of Portſmouth, had been engaged, either from lucrative views, or the hopes of making the ſucceſſion fall on her own children, to unite herſelf with the popular party; this incident was regarded as a favorable prognoſtic of their ſucceſs. Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate, who had linked his intereſt with that of the dutcheſs, had concurred in the ſame meaſure.

But beſides friendſhip to his brother and a regard to the right of ſucceſſion; there were many ſtrong reaſons, which had determined Charles to perſevere in oppoſing the excluſion. All the royaliſts and the devotees to the church; that party by which alone Monarchy was ſupported; regarded the right of ſucceſſion as inviolable; and if abandoned by the King in ſo capital an article, it was to be feared, that they would, in their turn, deſert his cauſe, and deliver him over to the pretenſions and uſurpations of the country party. The country party or the Whigs, as they were called, if they did not ſtill retain ſome propenſity towards a republic, were at leaſt affected with a violent jealouſy of regal power; and it was equally to be dreaded, that, being enraged with oppoſition, and animated with ſucceſs, they would, if they prevailed in this pretenſion, be willing, as well as able, to reduce the prerogative within very narrow limits. All menaces therefore, all promiſes were in vain employed againſt the King's reſolution: He never would be prevailed with to deſert his friends, and put himſelf into the hands of his enemies. And having voluntarily made ſuch important conceſſions, and offered, over and over again, ſuch ſtrong limitations, he was pleaſed to find them rejected by the obſtinacy of the Commons; and hoped, that, after the ſpirit of oppoſition had ſpent itſelf in fruitleſs violence, the time would come, when he might ſafely appeal againſt his Parliament to his people.

So much were the popular leaders determined to carry matters to extremity, that in leſs than a week after the commencement of the ſeſſion, a motion was made for bringing in an excluſion-bill, and a committee appointed for that purpoſe. This bill differed in nothing from the former, but in two articles, which ſhowed ſtill an encreaſe of zeal in the Commons: The bill was to be red to the people twice a year in all the churches of the kingdom, and every one, who ſhould ſupport the Duke's title, was rendered incapable of pardon but by act of Parliament.

The debates were carried on with great violence on both ſides. The bill was defended by Sir William Jones, who had now reſigned his office of attorney-general, by lord Ruſſel, by Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Harry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, by colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden, Montague. It was oppoſed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, ſecretary of ſtate, Sir John Erneley, chancellor of the exchequer,

10th of November.

quer, by Hyde, Seymour, Temple. The arguments, tranſmitted to us, may be reduced to the following topics.

Arguments for and againſt the excluſion.

In every government, ſaid the excluſioniſts, there is ſomewhere an authority abſolute and ſupreme; nor can any determination, however unuſual, which receives the ſanction of the legiſlature, ever afterwards admit of diſpute or control. The liberty of any conſtitution, ſo far from diminiſhing this abſolute power, ſeems rather to add force to it, and to give it greater influence over the people. The more parts of the ſtate concur in any legiſlative deciſion, and the more free their voice; the leſs likelihood is there that any oppoſition will be made to thoſe meaſures, which receive the final ſanction of their authority. In England, the legiſlative power is lodged in King, Lords, and Commons, which comprehend every order of the community: And there is no pretext for exempting any circumſtance of government, not even the ſucceſſion of the Crown, from ſo full and deciſive a juriſdiction. Even expreſs declarations have, in this particular, been made of parliamentary authority: Inſtances have occurred, where it has been exerted: And tho' prudential reaſons may juſtly be alleged, why ſuch innovations ſhould never be attempted but on extraordinary occaſions, the power and right are for ever veſted in the community. But if any occaſion can be deemed extraordinary, if any emergence can require unuſual expedients, it is the preſent; when the heir to the Crown has renounced the religion of the ſtate, and has zealouſly embraced a faith, totally hoſtile and incompatible. A prince of that communion can never put truſt in a people, ſo prejudiced againſt him: The people muſt be equally diffident of ſuch a prince. Foreign and deſtructive alliances will ſeem to the one the only protection of his throne: Perpetual jealouſy, oppoſition, faction, even inſurrections will be employed by the other as the ſole ſecurities for their liberty and religion. Tho' theological principles, when ſet in oppoſition to paſſions, have often ſmall influence on mankind in general, ſtill leſs on princes; yet when they become ſymbols of faction, and marks of party diſtinctions, they concur with one of the ſtrongeſt paſſions in the human frame, and are then capable of carrying men to the greateſt extremities. Notwithſtanding the better judgment and milder diſpoſition of the King; how much has the influence of the Duke already diſturbed the tenor of government? How often engaged the nation into meaſures totally deſtructive of their foreign intereſts and honor, of their domeſtic repoſe and tranquillity? The more the abſurdity and incredibility of the popiſh plot are inſiſted on, the ſtronger reaſon it affords for the excluſion of the Duke; ſince the univerſal belief of it diſcovers the extreme antipathy of the nation to his religion, and the utter impoſſibility of ever bringing them to acquieſce peaceably under the dominion of ſuch a Sovereign. The prince, finding himſelf in ſo perilous

rilous a ſituation, muſt ſeek ſecurity by deſperate remedies, and by totally ſubduing the privileges of a nation, who had betrayed ſuch hoſtile diſpoſitions towards himſelf, and towards every thing which he deems the moſt ſacred. It is in vain to propoſe limitations and expedients. Whatever ſhare of authority is left in the Duke's hands, will be employed to the deſtruction of the nation; and even the additional reſtraints, by diſcovering the public diffidence and averſion, will ſerve him as incitements to put himſelf in a condition entirely abſolute and independant. And as the laws of England ſtill make reſiſtance treaſon, and neither do nor can admit of any poſitive exceptions; what folly to leave the kingdom in ſo perilous and abſurd a ſituation; where the greateſt virtue will be expoſed to the moſt ſevere proſcription, and where the laws can only be ſaved by expedients, which theſe ſame laws have declared the higheſt crime and enormity?

The court party reaſoned in an oppoſite manner. An authority, they thought, entirely abſolute and uncontroleable is a mere chimera, and is no where to be found in any human inſtitutions. All government is founded on opinion and a ſenſe of duty; and wherever the ſupreme magiſtrate, by any law or poſitive preſcription, ſhocks an opinion regarded as fundamental, and eſtabliſhed with equal firmneſs as his own authority, he ſubverts the principle, by which he himſelf is eſtabliſhed, and can no longer hope for obedience. In Europæan monarchies, the right of ſucceſſion is juſtly eſteemed a fundamental; and even tho' the whole legiſlature be veſted in a ſingle perſon, it would never be permitted him, by an edict, to diſinherit his lawful heir, and call a ſtranger or more diſtant relation to the Throne. Abuſes in other parts of government are capable of redreſs, from more diſpaſſionate enquiry or better information of the Sovereign, and till then ought patiently to be endured: But violations of the right of ſucceſſion draw ſuch terrible conſequences after them as are not to be paralleled by any other grievance or inconvenience. Vainly is it pleaded, that England is a mixt Monarchy, and that a law, framed by King, Lords, and Commons, is enacted by the concurrence of every part of the ſtate: It is plain, that there remains a very powerful party, who may indeed be out-voted, but who never will eſteem a law, ſubverſive of hereditary right, to be any way valid or obligatory. Limitations, ſuch as are propoſed by the King, give no ſhock to the conſtitution, which, in many particulars, is already limited; and they may be ſo calculated as to ſerve every purpoſe, which is ſought for by an excluſion. If the antient barriers againſt regal authority have been able, during ſo many ages, to remain impregnable; how much more, thoſe additional ones, which, by depriving the Monarch of power, tend ſo far to their own ſecurity? The very ſame jealouſy too of religion, which has engaged the people to lay theſe reſtraints upon the ſucceſſor, will leſſen extremely the number of his partizans, and make it utterly impracticable for him, either by force or artifice, to break the fetters, impoſed upon him. The King's age and vigorous ſtate of health promiſe him a long life: And can it be prudent to tear the whole ſtate to pieces, in order to provide againſt a contingency, which, it is very likely, may never happen? No human ſchemes can ſecure the public in all poſſible events; and the bill of excluſion itſelf, however accurately framed, leaves room for very obvious and very natural ſuppoſitions, to which it pretends not to provide any remedy. Should the Duke have a ſon, after the King's death; muſt that ſon, without any default of his own, forfeit his title? Or muſt the princeſs of Orange deſcend from the Throne, in order to give place to the lawful ſucceſſor? But were all theſe reaſonings falſe, it ſtill remains to be conſidered, that in public deliberations we ſeek not the expedient, which is beſt in itſelf, but the beſt of ſuch as are practicable. The King willingly conſents to limitations, and has already offered ſome which are of the utmoſt importance: But he is determined to endure any extremity rather than allow the right of ſucceſſion to be invaded. Let us beware of that factious violence, which leads us to demand more than will be granted; leſt we loſe the advantage of thoſe beneficial conceſſions, and leave the nation, on the King's deceaſe, at the mercy of a zealous Prince, irritated with the ill uſage, which, he imagines, he has already met with.

In the Houſe of Commons, the reaſoning of the excluſioniſts appeared the moſt convincing; and the bill paſſed by a great majority. It was in the Houſe of Peers, that the King expected to oppoſe it with ſucceſs. The court party was there ſo prevalent, that it was carried only by a majority of two to pay ſo much reſpect to the bill as even to commit it. When it came to be debated, the conteſt was very violent. Shafteſbury, Sunderland, and Eſſex argued for it: Halifax chiefly conducted the debate againſt it, and diſplayed an extent of capacity and a force of eloquence, which had never been ſurpaſſed in that aſſembly. He was animated, as well by the greatneſs of the occaſion, as by a rivalſhip to his uncle Shafteſbury; whom, during that day's debate, he ſeemed, in the judgment of all, to have totally eclipſed. The King was preſent during the whole debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night. The bill was thrown out by a conſiderable majority. All the biſhops, except three, voted againſt it. Beſides the influence of the Court over them; the church of England, they imagined or pretended, was in much greater danger from the prevalence of Preſbyterianiſm than of Popery, which, tho' favored by the Duke and even by the King, was extremely repugnant to the genius of the nation.

15th of November.

Excluſion bill rejected.

The Commons diſcovered much ill humor upon this diſappointment. They immediately voted an addreſs for the removal of Halifax from the King's councils and preſence for ever. Tho' the pretended cauſe was his adviſing the late frequent prorogations of Parliament, the real reaſon was apparently his vigorous oppoſition to the excluſion-bill. When the King applied for money to enable him to defend Tangiers, which he declared his preſent revenues totally unable to ſupport; inſtead of complying, they voted ſuch an addreſs as was in reality a remonſtrance, and one little leſs violent, than that famous remonſtrance, which uſhered in the civil wars. All the abuſes of government, from the beginning almoſt of the reign, are inſiſted on; the Dutch war, the alliance with France, the prorogations and diſſolutions of Parliament; and as all theſe meaſures, as well as the *damnable* and *helliſh* plot, are aſcribed to the machinations of the Papiſts, it was plainly inſinuated, that the King had, all along, lain under the influence of that party, and was in reality the chief conſpirator againſt the religion and liberties of his people.

THE Commons, tho' they conducted the great buſineſs of the excluſion with extreme violence and even imprudence, had yet much reaſon for that jealouſy, which gave riſe to it: But their vehement proſecution of the popiſh plot, even after ſo long an interval, diſcovers ſuch a ſpirit, either of credulity or injuſtice, as admits of no apology. The impeachment of the Catholic lords in the Tower was revived; and as the viſcount Stafford, from his age, infirmities, and narrow capacity, was eſteemed the leaſt capable of defending himſelf, it was determined to make him the firſt victim, that his condemnation might pave the way for a ſentence againſt the reſt. The chancellor, now created earl of Nottingham, was appointed lord high ſteward for conducting this trial.

30th of November.

Trial of Stafford.

THERE were three witneſſes produced againſt the priſoner; Oates, Dugdale and Turberville. Oates ſwore, that he ſaw Fenwic, the jeſuit, deliver to Stafford a commiſſion ſigned by de Oliva, general of the jeſuits, conſtituting him paymaſter to the papal army, which was to be levied for the ſubduing of England: For this ridiculous impoſture ſtill maintained its credit with the Commons. Dugdale gave teſtimony, that the priſoner, at Tixal, a ſeat of lord Aſton's, had endeavored to engage him in the deſign of murdering the King; and had promiſed him, beſides the honor of being ſainted by the church, a reward of 500 pounds for that ſervice. Turberville affirmed, that the priſoner, in his own houſe at Paris, had made him a like propoſal. To offer money for murdering a King, without laying down any ſcheme, by which the aſſaſſin may enſure ſome probability or poſſibility of eſcape, is ſo incredible in itſelf, and may ſo eaſily be maintained by any proſtitute evidence, that an accuſation of that nature, not accompanied with circumſtances, ought very little to be attended to by any court of judicature. But notwithſtanding the ſmall hold, which the witneſſes afforded, the priſoner was able, in many very material particulars, to diſcredit their teſtimony. It was ſworn by Dugdale, that Stafford had aſſiſted in a great conſult of the Catholics held at Tixal; but Stafford proved by undoubted teſtimony, that at the time aſſigned he was in Bath, and in that neighborhood. Turberville had ſerved a noviciate among the Dominicans; but having deſerted the convent, he had inliſted as a trooper in the French army; and being diſmiſſed that ſervice, he now lived in London, abandoned by all his relations, and expoſed to great poverty. Stafford proved by the evidence of his gentleman and his page, that Turberville had never, either at Paris or at London, been ſeen in his company; and it might juſtly appear ſtrange, that a perſon, who had ſo important a ſecret in his keeping, was ſo long entirely neglected by him.

The clamor and outrage of the populace, during the trial, were extreme: Great ability and eloquence were diſplayed by the managers, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, ſerjeant Maynard: Yet did the priſoner, under all theſe diſadvantageous circumſtances, make a better defence than was expected, either by his friends or his enemies: The unequal conteſt, in which he was engaged, was a plentiful ſource of compaſſion to every mind, ſeaſoned with humanity. He repreſented, that, during a courſe of forty years, from the very commencement of the civil wars, he had, thro' many dangers, difficulties, and loſſes, ſtill maintained his loyalty: And was it credible, that now in his old age, eaſy in his circumſtances, but diſpirited by infirmities, he would belye the whole courſe of his life, and engage, againſt his royal maſter, from whom he had ever received kind treatment, in the moſt deſperate and moſt bloody of all conſpiracies? He remarked the infamy of the witneſſes; the contradictions and abſurdities of their teſtimony; the extreme indigence in which they had lived, tho' engaged, as they pretended, in a conſpiracy with Kings, Princes, and nobles; the credit and opulence, to which they were at preſent raiſed. With a ſimplicity and tenderneſs more perſuaſive than the greateſt oratory, he ſtill made proteſtations of his innocence, and could not forbear, every moment, expreſſing the moſt lively ſurprize and indignation at the audacious impudence of the witneſſes.

It will juſtly appear aſtoniſhing to us, as it did to Stafford himſelf, that the Peers, after a ſolemn trial of ſix days, ſhould, by a majority of twenty-four voices, pronounce ſentence againſt him. He received however with reſignation the fatal verdict. *God's holy name be praiſed*, was the only exclamation, which he uttered. When the high ſteward told him, that the Peers would intercede with the King for remitting the more cruel and ignominious parts of the ſentence, hanging, and quartering; he burſt into tears: But he told the Lords, that he was moved to this weakneſs, by his ſenſe of their goodneſs, not by any terror of that fate, which he was doomed to ſuffer.

It is remarkable, that after Charles, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, had remitted to Stafford the hanging and quartering, the two ſheriffs, Bethel and Corniſh, indulging their own republican humor, and complying with the prevalent ſpirit of their party, ever jealous of Monarchy, ſtarted a doubt with regard to the King's power of exerciſing even this ſmall degree of lenity. “Since he cannot pardon “the whole,” ſaid they, “how can he have power to remit part of the ſentence?” They propoſed the doubt to both houſes: The Peers pronounced it ſuperfluous; and even the Commons, apprehenſive leſt a queſtion of this nature might make way for Stafford's eſcape, gave this ſingular anſwer. “This Houſe is *content*, “that the ſheriffs do execute William late viſcount Stafford by ſevering his head “from his body *only*.” Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the fury of the times, than that lord Ruſſel, notwithſtanding the virtue and humanity of his character, ſeconded in the Houſe this barbarous ſcruple of the ſheriffs.

In the interval betwixt the ſentence and execution, many efforts were made to ſhake the reſolution of the infirm and aged priſoner, and to bring him to ſome confeſſion of that treaſon, for which he was now condemned. It was even rumored, that he had confeſſed; and the zealous partymen, who, no doubt, had ſecretly, notwithſtanding their credulity, entertained ſome ſcruple with regard to the popiſh conſpiracy, expreſſed great triumph on this occaſion. But Stafford, when again called before the Houſe of Peers, diſcovered many ſchemes, which had been laid by himſelf and others for procuring a toleration to the Catholics, at leaſt a mitigation of the penal laws, enacted againſt them: And he proteſted, that this was the ſole treaſon, of which he had ever been guilty.

29th of December.

and execution.

Stafford now prepared himſelf for death with that intrepidity, which became his birth and ſtation, and which was the natural reſult of the innocence and integrity, which, during the courſe of a long life, he had ever maintained: His mind ſeemed even to collect new force from the violence and oppreſſion, under which he labored. When going to execution, he called for a cloak to defend him againſt the rigor of the ſeaſon. “Perhaps,” ſaid he, “I may ſhake with cold; but, I truſt in God, not “for fear.” On the ſcaffold, he continued, with re-iterated and earneſt aſſeverations, to make proteſtations of his innocence: All his fervor was exerciſed on that point: When he mentioned the witneſſes, whoſe perjuries had bereaved him of life, his expreſſions were full of mildneſs and of charity. He ſolemnly diſavowed all thoſe immoral principles, which over-zealous Proteſtants had aſcribed without diſtinction to the church of Rome: And he hoped, he ſaid, that the time was now approaching, when the preſent deluſion would be diſſipated; and when the force of truth, tho' late, would engage the whole world to make reparation to his injured honor.

The populace, who had exulted at Stafford's trial and condemnation, were now melted into tears, at the ſight of that tender fortitude, which ſhone forth in each feature, and motion, and accent of this aged noble. Their profound ſilence was only interrupted by ſighs and groans: With difficulty they found ſpeech to aſſent to thoſe proteſtations of innocence, which he frequently repeated: "We "believe you, my lord! God bleſs you, my lord!" Theſe expreſſions with a faultering accent flowed from them. The executioner himſelf was touched with ſympathy. Twice he lifted up the ax, with an intent to ſtrike the fatal blow; and as often felt his reſolution to fail him. A deep ſigh was heard to accompany his laſt effort, which laid Stafford for ever at reſt. The whole ſpectators ſeemed to feel the blow. And when the head was held up to them with the uſual cry, *This is the head of a traitor*, no clamor of aſſent was uttered. Pity, remorſe, and aſtoniſhment had taken poſſeſſion of every heart, and diſplayed itſelf in every countenance.

This is the laſt blood which was ſhed on account of the popiſh plot: An incident, which, for the credit of the nation, it were better to bury in eternal oblivion; but which it is neceſſary to perpetuate, as well to maintain the truth of hiſtory, as to warn, if poſſible, their poſterity and all mankind never again to fall into ſo ſhameful and ſo barbarous a deluſion.

The execution of Stafford gratified the prejudices of the country party; but it contributed nothing to their power and ſecurity: On the contrary, by exciting commiſeration, it tended ſtill farther to encreaſe that diſbelief of the whole plot, which began now to prevail. The Commons, therefore, not to loſe the preſent occaſion, reſolved to make both friends and enemies ſenſible of their authority. They paſſed a bill for eaſing the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and for repealing the perſecuting ſtatute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth: This laudable bill was likewiſe carried thro' the Houſe of Peers. The chief juſtice was very obnoxious for diſmiſſing the grand jury in an irregular manner, and thereby preventing that bold meaſure of Shafteſbury and his friends, who had preſented the Duke as a Recuſant. For this crime the Commons ſent up an impeachment againſt him; as alſo againſt Jones and Weſton, two of the judges, who, in ſome ſpeeches from the bench, had gone ſo far as to give to many of the firſt Reformers the denomination of Fanatics.

The King, in rejecting the excluſion bill, had ſheltered himſelf ſecurely behind the authority of the Houſe of Peers; and the Commons had been deprived of all pretext to attack the Sovereign himſelf, under color of attacking his miniſters and councellors. In proſecution however of the ſcheme, which he had formed, of throwing the blame on them in caſe of any rupture, he made them a new ſpeech. After warning them, that a neglect of this opportunity would never be retrieved, he added theſe words: "I did promiſe you the fulleſt ſatisfaction,

“ which your hearts could wiſh, for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and to concur with you in any remedies, which might conſiſt with preſerving the ſucceſſion of the Crown in its due and legal courſe of deſcent. I do again, with the ſame reſervations, renew the ſame promiſes to you: And being thus ready on my part to do all that can reaſonably be expected from me, I ſhould be glad to know from you, as ſoon as may be, how far I ſhall be aſſiſted by you, and what it is you deſire from me.”

The moſt reaſonable objection againſt the limitations, propoſed by the King, is, that they introduced too conſiderable an innovation in the government, and almoſt totally annihilated the power of the Monarch. But conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the Commons and their leaders, we may fairly preſume, that this objection would have ſmall weight with them, and that their diſguſt againſt the Court would rather incline them to diminiſh than ſupport regal authority. They ſtill hoped, from the King's urgent neceſſities, and his uſual facility, that he would throw himſelf wholly into their hands; and that thus, without waiting for the acceſſion of the Duke, they might immediately render themſelves abſolute maſters of the government. The Commons, therefore, beſides inſiſting ſtill on the excluſion, proceeded to bring in bills of a very important, and ſome of them of a very alarming nature: One to renew the triennial act, which had been ſo inadvertently repealed in the beginning of the reign: A ſecond to make the office of judge during good behavior: A third to declare the levying of money without conſent of Parliament to be high treaſon: A fourth to order an aſſociation for the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon, for defence of the proteſtant religion, for the preſervation of the proteſtant ſubjects againſt all invaſions and oppoſition whatſoever, and for preventing the Duke of Yorke or any Papiſt from ſucceeding to the Crown. The memory of the covenant was too recent for men to overlook the conſequences of ſuch an aſſociation: And the King, who was particularly converſant in Davila, could not fail of recollecting a memorable foreign inſtance to fortify this domeſtic experience.

Violence of the Commons.

The Commons alſo paſſed many votes, which, tho' they had not the authority of laws, ſerved however to diſcover the temper and diſpoſition of the Houſe. They voted, that whoever had adviſed his Majeſty to refuſe the excluſion bill were promoters of popery and enemies to the King and kingdom. In another vote, they named the marqueſs of Worceſter, the earls of Clarendon, Feverſham, and Halifax, Laurence Hyde, and Edward Seymour as thoſe dangerous enemies, and they requeſted his Majeſty to remove them from his perſon and councils for ever: They voted, that, till the excluſion bill was paſſed, they could not, conſiſtent with the truſt repoſed in them, grant the King any manner of ſupply. And leſt he ſhould be enabled, by any other expedient, to ſupport the government, and preſerve himſelf independant, they paſſed another vote, where they declared, that whoever ſhould hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon thoſe branches of the King's revenue, ariſing from cuſtoms, exciſe, or hearth money, ſhould be judged a hinderer of the ſitting of Parliament, and be reſponſible for the ſame in Parliament.

1681.
10th of January.
Diſſolution of the Parliament.

The King might preſume, that the Peers, who had rejected the excluſion bill, would ſtill continue to defend the Throne, and that none of the dangerous bills, introduced into the other Houſe, would ever be preſented for the royal aſſent and approbation. But as there remained no hopes of bringing the Commons to any compoſure, and as their farther ſitting ſerved only to keep faction alive, and to perpetuate the general ferment of the nation, he came ſecretly to a reſolution of proroguing them. They got intelligence about a quarter of an hour before the black rod came to the door. Not to loſe ſuch precious time, they paſſed in a very tumultuous manner ſome very extraordinary reſolutions. They voted, *that* whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty to prorogue this Parliament to any other purpoſe than in order to paſs the bill of excluſion, was a betrayer of the King, of the proteſtant religion, and of the kingdom of England; a promoter of the French intereſt and a penſioner of France: *That* thanks be given to the city of London for their manifeſt loyalty and for their care and vigilance in the preſervation of the King and of the proteſtant religion: *That* it is the opinion of this Houſe, that that city was burned in the year 1666 by the Papiſts, deſigning thereby to introduce arbitrary power and popery into the kingdom. *That* humble application be made to his Majeſty to reſtore the duke of Monmouth to all his offices and commands, from which, it appears to the Houſe, he had been removed by the influence of the duke of Yorke. And *that* it is the opinion of the Houſe, that the proſecution of the Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the ſubject, a weakening of the proteſtant intereſt, an encouragement of popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

The King paſſed ſome laws of no great importance: But the bill for repealing the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, he privately ordered the clerk of the Crown not to preſent to him. By this artifice, which was equally diſobliging to the country party as if the bill had been rejected, and at the ſame time implied ſome meanneſs and timidity in the King, that ſalutary act was for the preſent eluded. The King had often of himſelf attempted, and ſometimes by irregular means, to give indulgence to Nonconformiſts: But beſides, that he had uſually expected to comprehend the Catholics in this liberty, the preſent refractory diſpoſition of the Sectaries had much inflamed him againſt them, and he was ſtill reſolved, if poſſible, to keep them at mercy.

Chap. VI.
1681.

The laſt votes of the Commons ſeemed to be an attempt of forming indirectly an aſſociation againſt the Crown, after they found, that their aſſociation bill could not paſs: The diſſenting intereſt, the city, and the duke of Monmouth, they endeavored to connect with the country party. A civil war indeed never appeared ſo likely as at preſent; and it was high time for the King to diſſolve a Parliament, which ſeemed to have entertained ſuch dangerous projects. Soon after, he ſummoned another. Tho' he obſerved, that the country party had eſtabliſhed their intereſt ſo ſtrongly in all the electing burroughs, that he could not hope for any diſpoſition more favorable in the new Parliament, this expedient was ſtill a proſecution of his former project, of trying every method, by which he might form an accommodation with the Commons: And if all failed, he hoped, that he could the better juſtify to his people, at leaſt to his party, a final breach with them.

It had always been much regreted by the Royaliſts during the civil wars, that the Long Parliament had been aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and had thereby received force and encouragement from the neighborhood of a potent and factious city, which had zealouſly embraced their party. Tho' the King was now poſſeſſed of guards, which, in ſome meaſure, overawed the populace; he was determined ſtill farther to obviate all inconvenience, and he ſummoned the new Parliament to meet at Oxford. The city of London ſhowed how juſt a judgement he had formed of their diſpoſition. Beſides re-electing the ſame members, they voted thanks to them for their former behavior, in endeavoring to diſcover the depth of the *horrid* and *helliſh* popiſh plot, and to exclude the Duke of Yorke, the principal cauſe of the ruin and miſery, impending over the nation. Monmouth with fifteen Peers preſented a Petition againſt aſſembling the Parliament at Oxford, "where the "two Houſes," they ſaid, "could not be in ſafety; but would be eaſily expoſed "to the ſwords of the Papiſts and their adherents, of whom too many had crept "into his Majeſty's guards." Theſe inſinuations, which ſtruck ſo evidently at the King himſelf, were not calculated to perſwade him, but to inflame the people.

The Excluſioniſts might have concluded, both from the King's diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, and from his ſummoning the preſent to meet at Oxford, that he was determined to maintain his declared reſolution of rejecting their favorite bill: But they ſtill flattered themſelves, that his urgent neceſſities would influence his eaſy temper, and finally gain them the aſcendant. The leaders came to Parliament, attended not only with their ſervants, but with numerous bands of their followers and partizans. The four city members in particular were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven theſe words, *No Popery! No Slavery!* The King had his guards regularly muſtered: His party likewiſe endeavored to make a ſhow of their ſtrength: And on the whole, the aſſembly at Oxford bore more the appearance of a tumultuous Poliſh diet, than of a regular Engliſh Parliament.

21ſt of March.

New Parliament at Oxford.

The King, who had hitherto employed the moſt gracious expreſſions to all his Parliaments, particularly the two laſt, thought proper to addreſs himſelf to the preſent in a more authoritative manner. He complained of the unwarrantable proceedings of the former Houſe of Commons; and ſaid, that, as he would never uſe arbitrary government himſelf, neither would he ever ſuffer it in others. By calling however this Parliament ſo ſoon, he had ſufficiently ſhown, that no paſt irregularities could inſpire him with a prejudice againſt thoſe aſſemblies. He now afforded them, he added, another opportunity of providing for the public ſafety; and to all the world had given one evidence more, that on his part he had not neglected the duty incumbent on him.

The Commons were not over-awed with the magiſterial air of the King's ſpeech. They conſiſted almoſt entirely of the ſame members; they choſe the ſame ſpeaker; and they inſtantly fell into the ſame meaſures, the impeachment of Danby, the repeal of the perſecuting ſtatute of Elizabeth, the enquiry into the popiſh plot, and the bill of excluſion. So violent were they on this laſt article, that no expedient, however plauſible, could ſo much as be hearkened to. Ernely, one of the King's miniſters, propoſed, that the Duke ſhould be baniſhed, during life, five hundred miles from England, and that on the King's deceaſe the next heir ſhould be conſtituted regent with regal power: Yet even this expedient, which left the Duke only the bare title of King, could not, tho' ſeconded by Sir Thomas Lyttleton and Sir Thomas Mompeſſon, obtain the attention of the Houſe. The paſt diſappointments of the country party, and the oppoſition made by the court, had only rendered them more united, more haughty, and more determined. No other method but their own, of excluding the Duke, could give them any ſatisfaction.

Fitz-harris's caſe.

There was one Fitz-harris, an Iriſh Catholic, who had inſinuated himſelf into the dutcheſs of Portſmouth's acquaintance, and had been very buſy in conveying to her intelligence of any libel wrote by the country party, or of any deſigns entertained againſt her or againſt the court. For ſervices of this kind, and perhaps too, from a regard to his father, Sir Edward Fitz-harris, who had been an eminent royaliſt, he had received from the King a preſent of 250 pounds. This man met with one Everard, a Scotchman, a ſpy of the excluſioniſts, and an informer of the popiſh plot; and he propoſed to him to write a libel againſt the King, the Duke, and the whole adminiſtration. What Fitz-harris's intentions were cannot well be aſcertained: It is probable, as he afterwards aſſerted, that he meant to carry this libel to his patron, the dutcheſs, and to make a merit of the diſcovery. Everard, who ſuſpected ſome other deſign, and who was pleaſed on his ſide to have the merit of a diſcovery with his patrons, reſolved to betray his friend: He poſted Sir William Waller, a noted juſtice of peace, and two perſons more behind the hangings, and gave them an opportunity of ſeeing and hearing the whole tranſaction. The libel, ſketched out by Fitz-harris, and executed partly by him, partly by Everard, was the moſt furious, indecent, and outrageous imaginable; and ſuch as was fitter to hurt than ſerve any party, which ſhould be ſo imprudent as to adopt it. Waller carried the intelligence to the King, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitz-harris, who happened, at that very time, to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Finding himſelf now delivered over to the law, he reſolved to pay court to the popular party, who were alone able to protect him, and by whom he obſerved almoſt all trials to be governed and directed. He ſaid, that he had been employed by the court to write the libel, in order to throw the odium of it on the excluſioniſts: But this account, which was within the bounds of credibility, he diſgraced by circumſtances, which are altogether abſurd and improbable. The intention of the miniſters, he ſaid, was to ſend about copies to all the heads of the country party; and the moment they received them, they were to be arreſted, and a conſpiracy to be imputed to them. That he might merit favor by ſtill more important intelligence, he commenced a diſcoverer of the great popiſh plot; and he failed not to confirm all the tremendous circumſtances, inſiſted on by his predeceſſors. He ſaid, that the ſecond Dutch war was entered into with a view of extirpating the proteſtant religion, both abroad and at home; that father Parry, a jeſuit, on the diſappointment by peace, told him, that the Catholics reſolved to deſtroy the King, and had even engaged the Queen in that deſign; that the envoy of Modena offered him 10,000 pounds to kill the King, and upon his refuſal the envoy ſaid, that the dutcheſs of Mazarine, who was as expert at poyſoning as her ſiſter, the counteſs of Soiſſons, would, with a little phial, execute that deſign; that upon the King's death the army in Flanders were to come over, and maſſacre the Proteſtants; that money was raiſed in Italy for recruits and ſupplies, and there ſhould be no more Parliaments; and that the Duke was privy to this whole plan, and had even entered into the deſign of Godfrey's murder, which was afterwards executed in the manner related by Prance.

The popular leaders had, all along, been very deſirous of having an accuſation againſt the Duke; and tho' Oates and Bedloe, in their firſt intelligence, had not dared to go ſo far, both Dugdale and Dangerfield had afterwards been encouraged to ſupply ſo material a defect, by comprehending him in the conſpiracy. The Commons, therefore, finding that Fitz-harris was alſo willing to ſerve this purpoſe, were not aſhamed to adopt his evidence, and reſolved for that end to ſave him from the deſtruction, with which he was at preſent threatened. The King had removed him from the city priſon, where he was expoſed to be tampered with by the excluſioniſts; had ſent him to the Tower; and had ordered him to be proſecuted by an indictment at common law. In order to prevent his trial, and execution, an impeachment was voted by the Commons againſt him, and ſent up to the Lords. That they might ſhow the greater contempt of the Court, they ordered, by way of deriſion, that the impeachment ſhould be carried up by ſecretary Jenkins; who was ſo provoked by the intended affront, that he at firſt refuſed obedience; tho' afterwards, being threatened with commitment, he was induced to comply. The Lords voted to remit the affair to the ordinary courts of judicature, before whom, as the attorney-general informed them, it was already determined to try Fitz-harris. The Commons maintained, that the Peers were obliged to receive every impeachment from the Commons; and this indeed ſeems to have been the firſt inſtance of their refuſal: They therefore voted, that the Lords, in rejecting their impeachment, had denied juſtice, and had violated the conſtitution of Parliaments. They alſo declared, that whatever inferior court ſhould proceed againſt Fitz-harris, or any one that lay under impeachment, would be guilty of a high breach of privilege. Great heats were likely to enſue; and as the King found no likelihood of any better temper in the Commons, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, afforded by a quarrel betwixt the two Houſes, and he proceeded to a diſſolution of the Parliament. The ſecret was ſo well kept, that the Commons had no intimation of it, till the black rod came to their door, and ſummoned them to attend the King at the Houſe of Peers.

Parliament diſſolved.

THIS vigorous meaſure, tho' it might have been foreſeen, excited ſuch aſtoniſhment in the country party, as deprived them of all ſpirit, and reduced them to abſolute deſpair. They were ſenſible, tho' too late, that the King had finally taken his reſolution, and was determined to endure any extremity rather than ſubmit to thoſe terms, which they had reſolved to impoſe upon him. They found, that he had patiently waited till affairs ſhould come to full maturity; and having now engaged a national party on his ſide, had boldly ſet his enemies at defiance. No Parliaments, they knew, would be ſummoned for ſome years; and during that long interval, the Court, tho' perhaps at the head of an inferior party, yet being poſſeſſed of all authority, would have every advantage over a body, diſperſed and diſunited. Theſe reflections crowded upon every one; and all the excluſioniſts were terrified, leſt Charles ſhould ſecond the blow by ſome action more violent, and immediately take vengeance on them for their long and obſtinate oppoſition to his meaſures. The King on his part was no leſs apprehenſive, leſt deſpair might engage

gage them to have recourſe to force, and make ſome ſudden attempt upon his perſon. Both parties therefore hurried away from Oxford; and in an inſtant, that city, ſo crowded and buſy, was left in its uſual emptineſs and tranquillity.

Victory of the Royaliſts.

THE court party gathered force from the diſperſion and aſtoniſhment of their antagoniſts, and adhered more firmly to the King, whoſe reſolutions, they now ſaw, could be entirely depended on. The violence of the excluſioniſts was every where exclaimed againſt and exaggerated; and even the reality of the plot, that great engine of their authority, was openly called in queſtion. The clergy eſpecially were buſy in this great revolution; and being moved, partly by their own fears, partly by the inſinuations of the Court, they repreſented all their antagoniſts as Sectaries and Republicans, and rejoiced in eſcaping all thoſe perils, which they believed to have been hanging over them. Principles, the moſt oppoſite to civil liberty, were every where inforced from the pulpit; and adopted in numerous addreſſes; where the King was flattered in his preſent meaſures, and congratulated on his eſcape from Parliaments. Could words have been depended on, the nation appeared to be running faſt into voluntary ſervitude, and ſeemed even ambitious of reſigning into the King's hands all the privileges, tranſmitted to them, thro' ſo many ages, by their gallant anceſtors.

BUT Charles had ſagacity enough to diſtinguiſh between mens' real internal ſentiments, and the language, which zeal and oppoſition to a contrary faction may ſometimes extort from them. Notwithſtanding all theſe profeſſions of duty and obedience, he was reſolved, for a long time, not to truſt the people with a new election, but to depend entirely on his own oeconomy for alleviating thoſe neceſſities, under which he labored. Great retrenchments were made in the houſhold: Even his favorite navy was neglected: Tangiers, tho' it had coſt great ſums of money, was a few years after abandoned and demoliſhed. The mole was entirely deſtroyed; and the garriſon, being brought over to England, ſerved to augment that ſmall army, which the King relied on, as one ſolid baſis of his authority. It had been happy for the nation, had Charles uſed his victory with juſtice and moderation, equal to the prudence and dexterity, with which he obtained it.

THE firſt ſtep, taken by the Court, was the trial of Fitz-harris. Doubts were raiſed by the jury with regard to their power, after the concluding vote of the Commons: But the judges took upon them to decide the queſtion in the affirmative; and the jury were obliged to proceed. The writing the libel was clearly proved upon Fitz-harris: The only queſtion was with regard to his intentions. He aſſerted, that he was a ſpy of the Court, and had accordingly carried the libel to the dutcheſs of Portſmouth; and he was deſirous, that the jury ſhould, in this tranſaction, conſider him as a cheat, not as a traitor. He failed however ſomewhat in the proof; and was brought in guilty of treaſon by the jury.

Finding himſelf entirely in the hands of the King, he now retracted all his former impoſtures with regard to the popiſh plot, and even endeavored to attone for them by new impoſtures againſt the country party. He affirmed, that theſe fictions had been extorted from him by the ſuggeſtion and artifices of Treby the recorder, and of Bethel and Corniſh, the two ſheriffs. This account he perſiſted in even at his execution; and tho' men knew, that nothing could be depended on, which came from one ſo corrupt, and ſo loſt to all ſenſe of honor; yet were they inclined, from his perſeverance, to rely ſomewhat more on his veracity in theſe laſt aſſeverations. But it appears that his wife had ſome connexions with Mrs. Wall, the favorite maid of the dutcheſs of Portſmouth; and Fitz-harris hoped, if he perſiſted in a ſtory agreeable to the Court, that ſome favor might on that account be ſhown to his family.

It is amuſing to reflect on the ſeveral lights, in which this ſtory has been repreſented by the oppoſite factions. The country party affirmed, that Fitz-harris had been employed by the Court, in order to throw the odium of the libel on the excluſioniſts, and thereby give riſe to a proteſtant plot: The court party maintained, that the excluſioniſts had found out Fitz-harris, a ſpy of the miniſters, and had ſet him upon this undertaking, from an intention of loading the Court with the imputation of ſuch a deſign upon the excluſioniſts. Rather than acquit their antagoniſts, both ſides were willing to adopt an account the moſt intricate and incredible. It was a ſtrange ſituation, in which the people, at that time, were placed; to be every day tortured with theſe perplexed ſtories, and inflamed with ſuch dark ſuſpicions againſt their fellow-citizens. This was no leſs than the fifteenth falſe plot, or ſham-plot, as they were then called, with which the Court, it was imagined, had endeavored to load their adverſaries *.

The country party had intended to make uſe of Fitz-harris's evidence againſt the Duke and the Catholics; and his execution was therefore a great mortification to them. But the King and his miniſters were reſolved not to be contented with ſo ſlender an advantage. They were determined to proſecute the victory, and to employ againſt the excluſioniſts thoſe very offenſive arms, however unfair, which that party had laid up in ſtore againſt their antagoniſts. The whole gang of ſpies, witneſſes, informers, ſuborners, who had ſo long been ſupported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the King was entirely maſter, turned ſhort upon their old patrons, and offered their ſervice to the miniſters. To the diſgrace of

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* College's trial.

of the Court and of the age, they were received with hearty welcome; and their teſtimony or rather perjury made uſe of, in order to commit legal murder upon the oppoſite party. With an air of triumph and deriſion it was aſked, "Are not theſe men good witneſſes, who have eſtabliſhed the popiſh plot, upon "whoſe teſtimony Stafford and ſo many Catholics have been executed, and whom "you yourſelves have ſo long celebrated as men of credit and veracity? You have "admitted them into your boſom: They are beſt acquainted with your treaſons: "They are determined in another ſhape to ſerve their King and country: And "you cannot complain, that the ſame meaſure, which you meted to others, ſhould "now, by a righteous doom or vengeance, be meaſured out to you."

It is certain, that the principle of retaliation may ſerve in ſome caſes as a full apology, in others as an alleviation, for a conduct which would otherwiſe be expoſed to great blame. But theſe infamous arts, which poyſon juſtice in its very ſource, and break all the bands of human ſociety, are ſo deteſtable and dangerous, that no pretext of retaliation can be pleaded as an apology or even an alleviation for the crime incurred by them. On the contrary, the greater indignation the King and his miniſters felt, when formerly expoſed to the perjuries of abandoned men, the more reluctance ſhould they now have diſcovered againſt employing the ſame inſtruments of vengeance upon their antagoniſts.

The firſt perſon, on whom the miniſters fell, was one College, a London joiner, who had become extremely noted for his zeal againſt popery, and was very much connected with Shafteſbury and all the leaders of the country party: For as they relied much upon the populace, men of College's rank and ſtation were very uſeful to them. College had been in Oxford armed with ſword and piſtol during the ſitting of the Parliament; and this was made the foundation of his crime. It was pretended that a conſpiracy had been entered into to ſeize the King's perſon, and retain him in confinement, till he ſhould make the conceſſions demanded of him. The ſheriffs of London were in ſtrong oppoſition to the Court; and it was not ſtrange, that the grand jury named by them rejected the bill againſt College. The priſoner was therefore ſent to Oxford, where the treaſon was ſaid to have been committed. Lord Norris, a courtier, was ſheriff of the county; and the inhabitants were in general extremely devoted to the court party. A jury was named, conſiſting entirely of Royaliſts; and tho' they were men of credit and character, yet ſuch was the factious rage, which prevailed, that little juſtice could be expected by the priſoner. Some papers, containing hints and directions for his defence, were taken from him, as he was conducted to his trial: An iniquity, which ſome pretended to juſtify by alleging, that a like violence had been committed againſt a priſoner.

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priſoner during the fury of the popiſh plot. Such wild notions of retaliation were at that time propagated by the court party.

THE witneſſes produced againſt College were Dugdale, Turberville, Haynes, Smith; men who had before given evidence againſt the Catholics, and whom the jury, for that very reaſon, regarded as the moſt perjured lyars. College, tho' beſet with ſo many toils, oppreſſed with ſo many iniquities, defended himſelf with ſpirit, courage, capacity, preſence of mind; and he invalidated the evidence of the Crown, by the moſt convincing arguments and the moſt undoubted teſtimony: Yet did the jury, after half an hour's deliberation, bring in a verdict againſt him. The inhuman ſpectators received the news with a ſhout of applauſe: But the priſoner was no way diſmayed. At his execution, he maintained the ſame manly fortitude, and ſtill denied the crime imputed to him. His whole conduct and demeanor prove him to have been a man led aſtray only by the fury of the times, and to have been governed by a very honeſt, but indiſcreet zeal for his country and his religion.

THUS the two parties, actuated by mutual rage, but cooped up within the narrow limits of the law, levelled with poyſoned daggers the moſt deadly blows againſt each other's breaſt, and buried in their factious diviſions all regard to truth, honor, and morality.

CHAP. VII.

State of affairs in Ireland.——Shafteſbury acquitted.——Argyle's trial.——State of affairs in Scotland.——State of the miniſtry in England.——New nomination of ſheriffs.——Quo warrantos.——Great power of the Crown.——A conſpiracy.——Shafteſbury retires and dies.——Rye-houſe-plot.——Conſpiracy diſcovered.——Execution of the conſpirators.——Trial of lord Ruſſel.——His execution.——Trial of Algernon Sydney.——His execution.——State of the nation.——State of foreign affairs.——King's ſickneſs and death,——and character.

1681. State of affairs in Ireland.

WHEN the Cabal entered into the myſterious alliance with France, they took care to remove the duke of Ormond from the committee of foreign affairs; and nothing tended farther to encreaſe the national jealouſy, entertained againſt the new meaſures, than to ſee a man of ſo much loyalty, as well as probity and honor, excluded from all their councils. They had even ſo great intereſt with the King as to get Ormond recalled from the government of Ireland; and lord Robarts, afterwards earl of Radnor, ſucceeded him in that important employment. Lord Berkeley ſucceeded Robarts; and the earl of Eſſex, Berkeley. At laſt in the year 1677, Charles caſt his eyes again on Ormond, whom he had ſo long neglected; and ſent him over lieutenant to Ireland. "I have done every thing," ſaid the King, "to diſoblige that man; but it is not in my power to make him my "enemy." Ormond, during his diſgrace, had never joined the malecontents, nor encouraged thoſe clamors, which, with too much reaſon, but ſometimes for bad purpoſes, were raiſed againſt the King's meaſures. He even thought it his duty, regularly, tho' with dignity, to pay his court at Whitehall; and to prove that his attachments were founded on gratitude, inclination and principle, not on any temporary advantages. All the expreſſions, which dropped from him, while neglected by the Court, ſhowed more of good humor, than any prevalence of ſpleen and indignation. "I can do you no ſervice," ſaid he to his friends, "I have only "the power left by my applications to do you ſome hurt." When colonel Cary Dillon ſollicited him to ſecond his pretenſions at Court, and urged that he had no friends but God and his grace. "Alas! poor Cary," replied the duke, "I pity "thee: Thou couldſt not have two friends, that poſſeſs leſs intereſt at Court." "I am thrown by," ſaid he, on another occaſion, "like an old ruſty clock; yet "even that neglected machine twice in twenty-four hours points right."

When Charles found it his intereſt to ſhow favor to the old Royaliſts and to the church of England, Ormond, who was extremely revered by that whole party, could not fail of recovering, together with the government of Ireland, his former credit and authority. His adminiſtration, when lord lieutenant, was correſpondent to the general tenor of his life; and tended equally to promote the intereſt of Prince and people, of Proteſtant and Catholic. Ever firmly attached to the eſtabliſhed religion, he was able, even during theſe jealous times, to eſcape ſuſpicion, tho' he gratified not vulgar prejudices by any perſecution of the popiſh party. He encreaſed the revenue of Ireland to three hundred thouſand pounds a year: He maintained a regular army of ten thouſand men: He ſupported a well diſciplined militia of twenty thouſand: And tho' the act of ſettlement had ſo far been infringed, that Catholics were permitted to live in corporate towns, they were guarded with ſo careful an eye, that the moſt timorous Proteſtant never apprehended any danger from them.

The chief object of Eſſex's ambition was to return to the ſtation of lord lieutenant, where he had behaved with honor and integrity: Shafteſbury and Buckingham bore an extreme hatred to Ormond, both from perſonal and party conſiderations: The great aim of the anti-courtiers was to throw reflections on every part of the King's government. It could be no ſurprize, therefore, to the lieutenant to learn, that his adminiſtration was attacked in Parliament, particularly by Shafteſbury; but he had the ſatisfaction, at the ſame time, to hear of the keen, tho' polite defence, made by his ſon, the generous Oſſory. After juſtifying ſeveral particulars of Ormond's adminiſtration againſt that intriguing patriot, Oſſory proceeded in the following words: "Having ſpoke of what the lord lieutenant has done, I preſume with the ſame truth to tell your lordſhips what he has not done. He never adviſed the breaking of the triple league; he never adviſed the ſhutting up of the Exchequer; he never adviſed the declaration for a toleration; he never adviſed the falling out with the Dutch and the joining with France: He was not the author of that moſt excellent poſition *Delenda eſt Carthago*, that Holland, a proteſtant country, ſhould, contrary to the true intereſt of England, be totally deſtroyed. I beg, that your lordſhips will be ſo juſt as to judge of my father and all men, according to their actions and their councils." Theſe few ſentences, pronounced by a plain and gallant ſoldier, noted for probity, had a ſurprizing effect upon the audience, and confounded all the rhetoric of his eloquent and factious adverſary. The Prince of Orange, who eſteemed the former character as much as he deſpiſed the latter, could not forbear congratulating by letter the earl of Oſſory on this new ſpecies of victory, which he had obtained.

OSSORY, tho' he ever kept at a great diſtance from faction, was the moſt popular man in the kingdom; tho' he never made any compliance with the corrupt views of the Court, was extremely beloved and reſpected by the King. An univerſal grief appeared on his death, which happened about this time, and which the populace, as is uſual wherever they are much affected, fooliſhly aſcribed to poyſon. Ormond bore the loſs with patience and dignity; tho' he ever retained a pleaſing, however melancholy, ſenſe of the ſignal merit of Oſſory. "I would not exchange my dead ſon," ſaid he, "for any living ſon in Chriſtendom."

THESE particularities may appear a digreſſion; but 'tis with pleaſure, I own, that I relax myſelf for a moment in the contemplation of theſe humane and virtuous characters, amidſt that ſcene of fury and faction, fraud and violence, in which at preſent we are unfortunately engaged.

BESIDES the general intereſt of the country party to decry the conduct of all the King's miniſters, the prudent and peaceable adminiſtration of Ormond was in a particular manner diſpleaſing to them. In England, where the Catholics were ſcarce one to a hundred, means had been found to excite an univerſal panic, on account of inſurrections and even maſſacres, projected by that ſect; and it could

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not but ſeem ſtrange that in Ireland, where they exceeded the Proteſtants ten to one, there ſhould no ſymptoms appear of any combination or conſpiracy. Such an incident, when duly conſidered, might even in England ſhake the credit of the plot, and diminiſh the authority of thoſe leaders, who had ſo long, with ſuch induſtry, inculcated the belief of it on the nation. Rewards therefore were publiſhed in Ireland to any one that would bring intelligence or become witneſſes; and ſome profligates were ſent over to that kingdom, with a commiſſion to ſeek out evidence againſt the Catholics. Under pretext of ſearching for arms or papers, they broke into houſes, and plundered them: They threw innocent men into priſon, and took bribes for their releaſe: And after all their diligence, it was with difficulty, that that country, commonly fertile enough in witneſſes, could furniſh them with any fit for their purpoſe.

AT laſt, one Fitzgerald appeared, followed by two Macnamaras, Ivey, Sanſon, Dennis, Bourke, and ſome others. Theſe men were immediately ſent over to England; and tho' they poſſeſſed neither character, ſufficient to gain credit even for truth, or ſenſe to invent a falſhood, they were careſſed, rewarded, ſupported, and recommended by the earl of Shafteſbury. Oliver Plunket, the titular primate of Ireland, a man of very peaceable diſpoſitions, was condemned and executed upon ſuch teſtimony. And the Oxford-Parliament entered ſo far into the matter as to vote their ſatisfaction in the reality of the *horrid* and *damnable* Iriſh plot. But ſuch deciſions, tho' at firſt regarded as infallible, had now loſt much of their authority; and the public ſtill remained ſomewhat indifferent and incredulous.

AFTER the diſſolution of the Parliament, and the ſubſequent victory of the Royaliſts, Shafteſbury's evidences, with Turberville, Smith, and others, addreſſed themſelves to the miniſters, and gave information of high treaſon againſt their former patron. It is ſufficiently ſcandalous, that intelligence, conveyed by ſuch men, ſhould have been attended to; but there is ſome reaſon to think, that the Court agents, nay the miniſters, nay the King himſelf*, went farther, and were active in endeavoring, tho' in vain, to find more reputable perſons to ſupport the blaſted credit of the Iriſh witneſſes. Shafteſbury was committed to priſon, and his indictment was preſented to the grand jury. The new ſheriffs of London, Shute and Pilkington, were engaged as deeply as their predeceſſors in the country party; and they took care to name a jury extremely devoted to the ſame cauſe: A precaution quite requiſite, when it was ſcarce poſſible to find men attached to neither party. As far as ſwearing could go, the treaſon was clearly proved againſt Shafteſbury; or rather ſo clearly as to merit no kind of credit or attention. That veteran leader of a party, enured from his early youth to faction and intrigue, to cabals and conſpiracies, was repreſented as opening without reſerve his treaſonable intentions to theſe obſcure banditti, and throwing out ſuch violent and outrageous reproaches upon the King, as none but men of low education, like themſelves, could be ſuppoſed to employ. The draught of an aſſociation, it is true, againſt popery and the Duke, was found in Shafteſbury's cabinet; and dangerous inferences might be drawn from many clauſes of that paper. But it did not appear, that it had been framed by Shafteſbury, or ſo much as approved by him: And as projects of an aſſociation had been propoſed in Parliament, it was very natural for that nobleman to be thinking of ſome plan, which it might be proper to lay before that aſſembly. The grand jury, therefore, after weighing all theſe circumſtances, rejected the indictment; and the people, who attended the hall, teſtified their joy, by the loudeſt acclamations, which were echoed thro' the whole city.

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* See captain Wilkinſon's Narrative.

Shafteſbury acquitted.

ABOUT this time a ſcheme of oppreſſion was laid in Scotland, after a manner ſtill more flagrant, againſt a nobleman much leſs obnoxious than Shafteſbury; and as that country was reduced almoſt to a ſtate of total ſubjection, the project had the fortune to ſucceed.

Argyle's trial.

THE earl of Argyle, from his early youth, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his loyalty, and his attachment to the royal family. Tho' his father was head of the Covenanters, he refuſed to concur in any of their meaſures; and when a commiſſion of colonel was given him by the convention of ſtates, he forbore to act upon it, till it ſhould be ratified by the King. By his reſpectful behavior, as well as by his ſervices, he made himſelf very acceptable to Charles, when that Prince was in Scotland; and even after the battle of Worceſter, all the misfortunes, which attended the royal cauſe, could not engage him to deſert it. Under Middleton he obſtinately perſevered to harraſs and infeſt the victorious Engliſh; and it was not till he received orders from that general, that he would ſubmit to accept of a capitulation. Such jealouſy of his loyal attachments was entertained by the Commonwealth and Protector, that a pretext was ſoon after fallen upon to commit him to priſon; and his confinement was rigorouſly continued till the reſtoration. The King, ſenſible of his ſervices, had remitted to him his father's forfeiture, and created him earl of Argyle; and when a moſt unjuſt ſentence was paſſed upon him by the Scotch Parliament, Charles had anew remitted it. In the ſubſequent part of the reign, Argyle behaved himſelf dutifully; and tho' he ſeemed not diſpoſed to go all lengths with the Court, he always appeared, even in his oppoſition, a man of mild diſpoſitions and peaceable deportment.

A PARLIAMENT was ſummoned at Edinburgh this ſummer, and the Duke was appointed commiſſioner. Beſides granting money to the King and voting the indefeaſible right of ſucceſſion, this Parliament enacted a teſt, which all perſons, poſſeſſed of offices, civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical, were obliged to take. In this teſt, the King's ſupremacy was affirmed, the covenant renounced, paſſive obedience aſſented to, and all obligations diſclaimed of endeavoring any alterations in church or ſtate. This was the ſtate of the teſt, as propoſed by the courtiers; but the country party propoſed alſo a clauſe of adherence to the proteſtant religion, which could not with decency be refuſed. The whole was of an enormous length conſidered as an oath; and what was worſe, a confeſſion of faith was there ratified, which had been impoſed a little after the reformation, and which contained a great many articles, altogether forgot by the Parliament and nation. Among others, the doctrine of reſiſtance was inculcated; ſo that the teſt, being voted in a hurry, was found on examination to be a medley of contradiction and abſurdity. Several perſons, the moſt attached to the Crown, ſcrupled to take it: The biſhops and many of the clergy remonſtrated: The earl of Queenſberry refuſed to ſwear, except he might be allowed to add an explanation: And even the privy council thought it requiſite to publiſh for general ſatisfaction a ſolution of ſome difficulties, attending the teſt.

THO' the courtiers could not reject the clauſe of adherence to the proteſtant religion, they propoſed, as a requiſite mark of reſpect, that all Princes of the blood ſhould be exempted from taking that oath. This exception was zealouſly oppoſed by Argyle, who obſerved, that the ſole danger to be dreaded for the proteſtant religion muſt proceed from the perverſion of the royal family. By inſiſting on ſuch topics, he drew on himſelf the ſecret indignation of the Duke, of which he ſoon felt the fatal effects.

WHEN Argyle took the teſt as a privy counſellor, he ſubjoined, in the Duke's preſence, an explanation, which he had beforehand communicated to that Prince, and which he believed to have been approved by him. It was in theſe words. "I have conſidered the teſt, and am very deſirous of giving obedience as far as I can. I am confident, that the Parliament never intended to impoſe contradictory oaths: Therefore I think no man can explain it but for himſelf. Accordingly, I take it as far as it is conſiſtent with itſelf, and the proteſtant religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind up myſelf, in my ſtation, and in a lawful way, from wiſhing and endeavoring any alteration, which I think to the advantage of church or ſtate, and not repugnant to the proteſtant religion and my loyalty: And this I underſtand as a part of my oath." The Duke, as was natural, heard theſe words with great tranquillity: No-one took the leaſt offence: Argyle was admitted to ſit that day in council: And it was impoſſible to imagine, that a capital offence had been committed, where occaſion ſeemed not to have been given, ſo much as for a frown or reprimand.

Argyle was much ſurprized, a few days after, to find that a warrant was iſſued for committing him to priſon; that he was indicted for high treaſon, leaſing-making and perjury; and that from theſe innocent words an accuſation was extracted, by which he was to forfeit honors, life, and fortune. It is needleſs to enter into particulars, where the iniquity of the whole is ſo apparent. Tho' the ſword of juſtice was diſplayed, even her ſemblance was not put on; and the forms alone of law were preſerved, in order to ſanctify, or rather aggravate the oppreſſion. Of five judges, three ſcrupled not to find the guilt of treaſon and leaſing-making to be incurred by the priſoner: A jury of fifteen noblemen gave verdict againſt him: And the King, being conſulted, ordered the ſentence to be pronounced; but the execution of it to be ſuſpended, till farther pleaſure.

It was pretended by the Duke and his creatures, that Argyle's life and fortune were not in any danger, and that the ſole reaſon for puſhing the trial to ſuch extremity againſt him was in order to make him renounce ſome hereditary juriſdictions, which gave his family a dangerous authority in the Highlands, and checked the courſe of public juſtice. But allowing the end to be juſtifiable, the means were infamous; and ſuch as were incompatible, not only with a free, but a civilized, government. Argyle had therefore no reaſon to truſt any longer to the juſtice or mercy of ſuch enemies: He made his eſcape from priſon; and, till he ſhould find a ſhip for Holland, he concealed himſelf during ſome time in London. The King heard of his lurking place, but would not allow him to be arreſted *. All the parts however of his ſentence, ſo far as the government had power, were rigorouſly executed; his eſtate confiſcated, his arms reverſed and torne.

State of affairs in Scotland.

It would ſeem, that the genuine paſſion for liberty was at this time totally extinguiſhed in Scotland: There was only preſerved a ſpirit of mutiny and ſedition, foſtered by a miſtaken zeal for religion. Cameron and Cargil, two furious preachers, went a ſtep beyond all their brethren: They publickly excommunicated the King for his tyranny and his breach of the covenant, and renounced all allegiance to him. Cameron was killed by the troops in an action at Airs-Moſs: Cargil was taken and hanged. Many of their followers were tried and convicted. Their lives were offered them if they would ſay *God ſave the King:* But they would only agree to pray for his repentance. This obſtinacy was much inſiſted on as

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* Burnet, vol. i. p. 522.

Chap. VII. 1681. as an apology for the rigors of the adminiſtration: But, if duely conſidered, it will rather afford reaſon for a contrary inference. Such unhappy deluſion is an object rather of commiſeration than of anger: And it is almoſt impoſſible, that men could have been carried to ſuch a degree of madneſs, unleſs provoked by a long train of violence and oppreſſion.

1682. As the King was maſter in England, and no longer dreaded the clamors of the country party, he permitted the Duke to pay him a viſit; and was ſoon after prevailed on to allow of his return to England, and of his bearing a part in the adminiſtration. The Duke went to Scotland in order to bring up his family, and ſettle the government of that country; and he choſe to take his paſſage by ſea. The ſhip ſtruck on a ſand-bank and was loſt: The Duke eſcaped in the long boat; and it is pretended, that, while many perſons of rank and quality were drowned, and among the reſt, Hyde, his brother in law, he was very careful to ſave ſeveral of his dogs and prieſts: For theſe two ſpecies of favorites are coupled together by ſome writers. It has likewiſe been aſſerted, that the boat might ſafely have held more perſons, and that ſome who ſwam to it were thruſt off, and even their hands cut in order to diſengage them. But every action of every eminent perſon, during this period, is ſo lyable to be miſinterpreted and miſrepreſented, by faction, that we ought to be very cautious of paſſing our judgement on too ſlight an evidence. It is remarkable, that the ſailors on board the ſhip, tho' they felt themſelves ſinking, and ſaw inevitable death before their eyes, yet as ſoon as they obſerved the Duke to be in ſafety, gave a loud ſhout, in teſtimony of their joy and ſatisfaction.

The Duke, during his abode in Scotland had behaved with great civility towards the gentry and nobility; and by his courtly demeanor had much won upon their affections: But his treatment of the enthuſiaſts was ſtill ſomewhat rigorous; and in many inſtances he appeared to be a man of a ſevere, if not an unrelenting temper. It is even aſſerted, that he uſually aſſiſted with his preſence at the torture of criminals, and looked on with tranquillity, as if he were conſidering ſome curious experiment[*]. He left the authority in the hands of the earl of Aberdeen, chancellor, and the earl of Queenſbury, treaſurer: A very arbitrary ſpirit appeared in their adminiſtration. A gentleman of the name of Weir was tried, becauſe he had kept company with one who had been in the rebellion; tho' that perſon had never been marked out by proceſs or proclamation. The inferences upon which Weir was condemned (for a proſecution by the government and a condemnation were in Scotland the ſame thing) hung upon each other, after the following manner. No man, it was ſuppoſed, could have been in a rebellion, without being expoſed to ſuſpicion in the neighborhood: If the neighborhood ſuſpected, it was to be preſumed, that each individual had likewiſe heard of the grounds of ſuſpicion: Every man was bound to declare to the government his ſuſpicion againſt every man, and to avoid the company of traitors: To fail in this duty was to participate in the treaſon: The concluſion on the whole was; You have converſed with a rebel, therefore you are yourſelf a rebel. A reprieve was with ſome difficulty procured for Weir; but it was ſeriouſly determined to make uſe of the precedent. Courts of judicature were erected in the ſouthern and weſtern counties, and a ſtrict inquiſition carried on againſt this new ſpecies of crime. The term of three years was preſcribed for the continuance of theſe courts; after which an indemnity was promiſed. Whoever would take the teſt was inſtantly intitled to the benefit of this indemnity. The Preſbyterians, alarmed with ſuch tyranny, from which no man could eſteem himſelf ſafe, began to think of leaving the country; and ſome of their agents were ſent to England, in order to treat with the proprietors of Carolina for a ſettlement in that colony. Any condition ſeemed preferable to the living in their native country, which, by the prevalence of perſecution and violence, was become as inſecure to them as a den of robbers.

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[*] Burnet, vol. i. p. 583. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 169. This laſt author, who is much the better authority, mentions only one inſtance, that of Spreul, which ſeems to have been an extraordinary one.

Above two thouſand perſons were out-lawed on pretext of their converſation or intercourſe with rebels[†], and were continually hunted in their retreats by ſoldiers, ſpies, informers, and oppreſſive magiſtrates. It was uſual to put enſnaring queſtions to people, living peaceably in their own houſes; ſuch as, “Will you renounce the Covenant? Do you eſteem the riſing at Bothwel to be rebellion? “Was the killing the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's a murder?” And when the poor deluded creatures refuſed to anſwer, capital puniſhment was inflicted on them[‡]. Even women were brought to the gibbet for this pretended crime. A number of fugitives, rendered frantic by oppreſſion, had publiſhed a ſeditious declaration; renouncing allegiance to Charles Stuart, whom they called, as they, for their parts, had indeed ſome reaſon to eſteem him, a tyrant. This incident afforded the privy council a pretext for a very unuſual kind of oppreſſion. Soldiers were diſperſed over the country, and power was given to all commiſſion officers, even the moſt inferior, to oblige every one whom they met with, to abjure the declaration; and upon refuſal, inſtantly, without farther queſtions, to ſhoot the delinquent[*]. It were endleſs, as well as ſhocking, to enumerate all the inſtances of perſecution, or in other words, of abſurd tyranny, which at that time prevailed in Scotland. One of them however is ſo ſingular, that I cannot forbear relating it.

[†] Wodrow, vol. ii. Appendix, 94.

[‡] Id. vol. ii. paſſim.

[*] Id. vol. ii. p. 434.

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THREE women were ſeized *; and the cuſtomary oath was tendered to them, by which they were to abjure the ſeditious declaration above-mentioned. They all refuſed, and were condemned to a capital puniſhment by drowning. One of them was an elderly woman: The other two were very young; one eighteen years of age, the other only thirteen. Even theſe violent perſecutors were aſhamed to put the youngeſt to death: But the other two were conducted to the place of execution, and were tied to ſtakes within the ſea-mark at low water: A contrivance, which rendered their death lingering and dreadful. The elderly woman was placed fartheſt in, and by the riſing of the waters was firſt ſuffocated. The younger, partly terrified with the view of her companion's death, partly ſubdued by the entreaty of her friends, was prevailed with to ſay *God ſave the King*. Immediately the ſpectators called out, that ſhe had ſubmitted; and ſhe was looſened from the ſtake. Major Winram, the officer who guarded the execution, again required her to ſign the abjuration; and upon her refuſal, he ordered her inſtantly to be plunged in the water, where ſhe was ſuffocated.

THE ſeverity of the adminiſtration in Scotland is partly to be aſcribed to the Duke's temper, to whom the King had entirely conſigned over the government of that country, and who gave ſuch attention to affairs as to allow nothing of importance to eſcape him. Even the government of England from the ſame cauſe began ſomewhat to be infected with the ſame ſeverity. The Duke's credit was very great at Court. Tho' neither ſo much beloved nor eſteemed as the King, he was more dreaded; and thence an attendance more exact, as well as a ſubmiſſion more obſequious, was paid him. The ſaying of Waller was remarked, that Charles, in ſpite to the Parliament, who had determined, that the Duke ſhould not ſucceed him, was reſolved, that he ſhould reign even in his life time.

State of the Miniſtry in England.

THE King however, who loved to maintain a ballance in his councils, ſtill ſupported Halifax, whom he created a marqueſs, and made lord privy ſeal; tho' ever in oppoſition to the Duke. This man, who poſſeſſed the fineſt genius and moſt extenſive capacity, of all employed in public affairs during the preſent reign, affected a ſpecies of neutrality betwixt the parties, and was eſteemed the head of that ſmall body, known by the denomination of *Trimmers*. This conduct, which is much more natural to men of integrity than of ambition, could not however procure him the former character; and he was always regarded as an intriguer rather than a patriot. Sunderland, who had promoted the excluſion-bill, and who had been diſplaced on that account, was again, with the Duke's conſent, brought into the adminiſtration. The extreme duplicity, at leaſt variableneſs, of this man's conduct thro' the whole courſe of his life, made it be ſuſpected, that it was by the

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* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 505.

King's direction he had mixed with the country party. Hyde, created earl of Rocheſter, was firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and was entirely in the Duke's intereſt.

The King himſelf was obliged to act as the head of a party; a diſagreeable ſituation for a Prince, and always the ſource of much injuſtice and oppreſſion. He knew how obnoxious the diſſenters were to the church; and he reſolved, contrary to the maxims of toleration, which he had hitherto ſupported in England, to gratify his friends by the perſecution of his enemies. The laws againſt conventicles were now rigorouſly executed; an expedient, which, the King knew, would neither diminiſh the numbers nor influence of the Nonconformiſts; and which is therefore to be eſteemed more the reſult of paſſion than of policy. No perſecution ſerves the intended purpoſe but that which amounts to a total extermination.

New nomination of ſheriffs.

Tho' the King's authority made every day great advances, it ſtill met with conſiderable obſtacles, chiefly from the city, which was entirely in the hands of the malecontents. The juries, in particular, named by the ſheriffs, were not likely to be impartial judges between the Crown and the people, and after the experiments already made in the caſe of Shafteſbury and that of College, treaſon, it was apprehended, might there be committed with impunity. There could not therefore be a more important ſervice to the Court than to put affairs upon a different footing. Sir John Moor, lord mayor, was gained by ſecretary Jenkins, and encouraged to inſiſt upon the cuſtomary privilege of his office, of naming one of the ſheriffs. Accordingly, when the time of election came, he drank to North, a Levant merchant, who accepted that expenſive office. The country party ſaid, that, being lately returned from Turkey, he was, on account of his recent experience, better qualified to ſerve the purpoſes of the Court. A poll was opened for the election of another ſheriff; and here began the conteſt. The majority of the common-hall, headed by the two ſheriffs of the former year, refuſed to acknowlege the mayor's right of nominating one ſheriff, but inſiſted that both muſt be elected by the liveries. Papillon and Dubois were the perſons whom the country party agreed to elect: Box was pointed out by the courtiers. Books were accordingly opened for the poll; but as the mayor would not allow the elections to proceed for two vacancies, the ſheriffs and he ſeparated, and each carried on the poll apart. The country party, who voted with the ſheriffs for Papillon and Dubois, were much more numerous than thoſe who voted with the mayor for Box: But as the mayor inſiſted, that his books were the only legal ones, he declared Box to be duly elected. All difficulties however were not ſurmounted. Box, apprehenſive of the conſequences of ſo dubious an election, fined off; and the mayor found it requiſite to proceed to a new election. When the matter was propoſed to the common-hall, a loud cry

24th of June.

1682.

was raiſed, No election! No election! The two ſheriffs already elected, Papillon and Dubois, were inſiſted on as the only legal magiſtrates. But as the mayor ſtill maintained, that Box alone had been legally choſen, and that it was now requiſite to ſupply his place; he opened books a-new, and during the tumult and confuſion of the citizens, a few of the mayor's partizans elected Rich, unknown to and unheeded by the reſt of the liveries. North and Rich were accordingly ſworn ſheriffs for the enſuing year; but it was neceſſary to ſend a guard of the train bands to protect them in entering upon their office. A new mayor of the court party was ſoon after choſen by means, as is pretended, much more violent and irregular.

25th of October.

THUS the country party were diſlodged from their ſtrong hold in the city; where, ever ſince the commencement of factions in the Engliſh government, they had, without interruption, almoſt without moleſtation, maintained a ſuperiority. It had been happy, had the partialities, hitherto objected to juries, been corrected, without giving place to partialities of an oppoſite kind: But in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the nation, an equitable neutrality was almoſt impoſſible to be attained. The court and church party, who were now named on juries, made juſtice ſubſervient to their factious views; and the King had a proſpect of obtaining full revenge on his enemies. It was not long before the effects of theſe alterations were ſeen. When it was firſt reported, that the Duke intended to leave Scotland, Pilkington, at that time ſheriff, a very violent man, had broke out in theſe terms, "He has already burned the city, and is he now coming to cut all our throats?" For theſe ſcandalous expreſſions, the Duke ſued Pilkington; and enormous damages, to the amount of 100,000 pounds, were decreed him. By the law of England, ratified in the great charter, no fine ought to extend to the total ruin of a criminal. Sir Patience Ward, formerly mayor, who gave evidence for Pilkington, was ſued for perjury, and condemned to the pillory: A ſevere ſentence, and ſufficient to deter all witneſſes from appearing in favor of thoſe, who were proſecuted by the Court.

1683.

Quo warranto's.

BUT tho' the Crown had obtained ſo great a victory in the city, it was not quite deciſive; and the conteſt might be renewed every year at the election of magiſtrates. A moſt important project therefore was formed, not only to make the King maſter of the city, but by that example to gain him the aſcendant in all the corporations of England, and thereby give the greateſt wound to the legal conſtitution, which the moſt powerful and moſt arbitrary Monarchs had ever yet been able to inflict. All the Royaliſts, tho' Engliſhmen, and even, to a certain degree, lovers of liberty, were yet induced, from enmity to the oppoſite faction, and from the deſire of ſuperiority, to concur in this violent meaſure. A writ of *quo* *warranto* was iſſued againſt the city; that is, an enquiry into the validity of their charter. It was pretended, that the city had forfeited all its privileges, and ought to be declared no longer a corporation, by reaſon of two offences, which the court of aldermen and common council had committed. After the great fire in 1666, all the markets had been rebuilt, and had been fitted up with many conveniencies; and in order to defray theſe expences, the magiſtrates had impoſed a ſmall toll on ſuch as brought any goods to market. In the year 1679, they had addreſſed the King againſt the prorogation of Parliament, and had employed the following terms. "Your petitioners are greatly ſurprized at the late prorogation, whereby "the proſecution of the public juſtice of the kingdom, and the making neceſſary "proviſions for the preſervation of your Majeſty and your proteſtant ſubjects "have received interruption." Theſe words were pretended to contain a ſcandalous reflection on the King and his meaſures. The cauſe of the city was defended againſt the attorney and ſollicitor generals by Treby and Pollexfen.

These laſt pleaded, that, ſince the foundation of the Monarchy, no corporation had ever yet been forfeited, and the thing itſelf implied an abſurdity: That a corporation, as ſuch, was incapable of all crime or offence, and none was anſwerable for any iniquity but the perſons themſelves, who committed it: That the members, in chooſing magiſtrates, had entruſted them only with legal powers; and where the magiſtrates had exceeded theſe powers, their acts were void, but could never involve the body itſelf in any criminal imputation: That ſuch had ever been the practice of England, except at the Reformation, when the monaſteries were forfeited; but this was an extraordinary caſe; and it was even thought neceſſary afterwards to ratify the whole by act of Parliament: That corporate bodies, framed for public good, and calculated for perpetual duration, ought not to be annihilated for the temporary faults of their members, who might themſelves, without hurting their community, be queſtioned for their offences: That even a private eſtate, if entailed, could not be forfeited to the Crown, on account of treaſon, committed by the tenant for life; but upon his demiſe went to the next in remainder: That the offences, objected to the city, far from deſerving ſo ſevere a puniſhment, were not even worthy the ſmalleſt reprehenſion: That all corporations were inveſted with the power of making bye-laws; and the ſmalleſt burrough in England had ever been allowed to carry the exerciſe of this power farther than London had done in the inſtance complained of: That the city, having, at their own expence, repaired the markets, which were built too on their own eſtates, might as lawfully claim a ſmall recompence from ſuch as brought commodities thither, as a man might require rent for a houſe, which he was poſſeſſed of: That thoſe who diſliked the condition might abſtain from the market; and whoever paid, had done it voluntarily: That it was an avowed right of the ſubjects to petition; nor had the city in their addreſs abuſed this privilege: That the King himſelf had often declared, the Parliament often voted, the nation to be in danger from the popiſh plot; which, it is evident, could not be fully proſecuted but in a parliamentary manner: That the impeachment againſt the popiſh lords was certainly obſtructed by the frequent prorogations; as was alſo the enacting of neceſſary laws, and providing for the defence of the nation: That the loyalty of the city, no leſs than their regard to ſelf-preſervation, might prompt them to frame the petition; ſince it was acknowleged, that the King's life was every moment expoſed to the moſt imminent danger from the popiſh conſpiracy: That the city had not accuſed the King of obſtructing juſtice, much leſs of having any ſuch intention; ſince it was allowed, that evil counſellors were alone anſwerable for all the pernicious conſequences of any meaſure: And that it was unaccountable, that two public deeds, which had not, during ſo long a time, ſubjected to any, even the ſmalleſt penalty, the perſons guilty of them, ſhould now be puniſhed ſo ſeverely upon the corporation, which always was, and always muſt be innocent.

12th of June.

It is evident, that thoſe who would apologize for the meaſures of the Court, muſt, in this caſe, found their arguments, not on law, but reaſons of ſtate. The judges, therefore, who condemned the city, are totally inexcuſable; ſince the ſole juſtifiable object of their determinations muſt ever be the pure principles of juſtice and equity. But the place of judge was at that time held during pleaſure; and it was impoſſible, that any cauſe, where the Court bent its force, could ever be carried againſt it. After ſentence was pronounced, the city applied in a very humble manner to the King; and he agreed to reſtore their charter, but in return they were obliged to ſubmit to the following regulations: That no lord mayor, ſheriff, recorder, common ſerjeant, town clerk, or coroner ſhould be admitted to the exerciſe of his office without his Majeſty's approbation: That if the King diſapprove twice of the mayor or ſheriffs elected, he may by commiſſion appoint theſe magiſtrates: That the lord mayor and court of aldermen may with his Majeſty's leave diſplace any magiſtrate: And that no alderman, in caſe of a vacancy, ſhall be elected without conſent of the court of aldermen, who, if they diſapprove twice of the choice, may fill the vacancy.

Great power of the Crown.

All the corporations in England, having the example of London before their eyes, ſaw how vain it would prove to ſtruggle with the Court, and were, moſt of them, ſucceſſively induced to ſurrender their charters into the King's hands. Conſiderable ſums were exacted for reſtoring the charters; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the diſpoſal of the Crown. Thoſe who judge of the actions of princes by the rules of policy alone, could excuſe thoſe meaſures of the

King, by which he much extended his authority, and acquired a great aſcendant in every burrough and corporation. But it ſeems ſtrange, that the independant royaliſts, who never meant to make the Crown abſolute, ſhould yet be ſo elated with the victory obtained over their adverſaries, as to approve of a precedent, which left no national privileges in ſecurity, but enabled the King, under like pretexts, and by means of like inſtruments, to recall anew all thoſe charters, which at preſent he was pleaſed to grant. And every friend to liberty muſt allow, that the nation, whoſe conſtitution was thus ſhattered in the ſhock of faction, had a right, by every prudent expedient, to recover that ſecurity, of which it was ſo unhappily bereaved.

A conſpiracy.

WHILE ſo great a faction adhered to the Crown, it is apparent, that reſiſtance, however juſtifiable, could never be prudent; and all wiſe men ſaw no other expedient but peaceably to ſubmit to the preſent grievances. There was however a party of malecontents, ſo turbulent in their diſpoſition, that even before this laſt iniquity, which laid the whole conſtitution at the mercy of the King, they had meditated plans of reſiſtance; at a time when it could be as little juſtifiable as prudent. In the ſpring 1681, * a little before the Oxford Parliament, the King was ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs at Windſor, which gave great alarm to the public. The Duke of Monmouth, lord Ruſſel, lord Grey, inſtigated by the reſtleſs Shafteſbury, had agreed, in caſe the King's ſickneſs ſhould prove mortal, to riſe in arms and oppoſe the ſucceſſion of the Duke. Charles recovered; but theſe dangerous projects were not dropt. The ſame conſpirators, together with Eſſex and Saliſbury, were determined to continue the Oxford Parliament, after the King, as was daily expected, ſhould diſſolve it; and they engaged ſome leaders among the Commons in the ſame deſperate meaſure. They went ſo far as to detain ſeveral lords in the Houſe, under pretext of ſigning a proteſtation againſt rejecting Fitz-harris's impeachment: But hearing that the Commons had broke up in great conſternation, they were likewiſe obliged at laſt to ſeparate. Shafteſbury's impriſonment and trial put an end for ſome time to theſe machinations; and it was not till the new ſheriffs were impoſed on the city that they were revived. The leaders of the country party began then to apprehend themſelves in imminent danger, and they were well pleaſed to find, that the citizens were ſtruck with the ſame terror, and were thence inclined to undertake the moſt perilous enterprizes. Beſides the city, applications were made to the gentry and nobility in ſeveral counties of England to riſe in arms. Monmouth

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* Lord Grey's ſecret hiſtory of the Rye-houſe plot. This is the moſt full and authentic account of all theſe tranſactions; but is in the main confirmed by biſhop Sprat, and even Burnet, as well as by the trials and dying confeſſions of the conſpirators: So that nothing can be more unaccountable than that any one ſhould pretend, that this conſpiracy was an impoſture like the popiſh plot. Monmouth's declaration publiſhed in the next reign confeſſes a conſult for extraordinary remedies.

engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and other gentlemen in Cheſhire: Lord Ruſſel fixed a correſpondence with Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Rowles, Sir Francis Drake, who promiſed to raiſe the Weſt; and Trenchard in particular, who had great intereſt in the diſaffected town of Taunton, aſſured him of conſiderable aſſiſtance from that neighborhood. Shafteſbury and his emiſſary, Ferguſon, an independant clergyman and a reſtleſs plotter, managed the correſpondence in the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. The whole train was ready to take fire; but was prevented by the caution of lord Ruſſel, who induced Monmouth to delay the enterprize. Shafteſbury in the mean time was ſo affected with the ſenſe of his danger, that, immediately upon the nomination of the court ſheriffs, he had left his houſe, and ſecretly lurked in the city; meditating all thoſe deſperate ſchemes, which diſappointed revenge and ambition could dictate. He exclaimed loudly againſt every delay, and repreſented to his confederates, that, having gone ſo far, and entruſted the ſecret into ſo many hands, there was no ſafety for them but in a bold and deſperate proſecution of their purpoſe. The projects were therefore renewed: Meetings of the conſpirators were appointed in different houſes, particularly in Shepard's an eminent wine-merchant in the city: A plan of the inſurrection was laid in London, Cheſhire, Devonſhire, and Briſtol: The ſeveral places of rendezvous in the city were concerted; and the whole operations fixed: The ſtate of the guards was even viewed by Monmouth and Armſtrong, and an attack of them declared very practicable: A declaration to juſtify the enterprize to the public was red and agreed to: And every circumſtance ſeemed now to render an inſurrection unavoidable; when a new delay was procured by Trenchard, who declared, that the riſing in the Weſt could not for ſome weeks be in ſufficient forwardneſs.

Shaftesbury was enraged at theſe perpetual cautions and delays in an enterprize, which, he thought, nothing but courage and celerity could render effectual: He threatened to commence the inſurrection with his friends in the city alone; and he boaſted, that he had ten thouſand *briſk boys*, as he called them, who, on a motion of his finger, were ready to fly to arms. Monmouth, Ruſſel, and the other conſpirators were, during ſome time, in apprehenſions, leſt deſpair ſhould puſh him into ſome dangerous meaſure; when they heard, that, after a long ſtruggle between fear and rage, he had at laſt abandoned all hopes of ſucceſs, and had retired into Holland. He lived in a private manner at Amſterdam; and for greater ſecurity deſired to be admitted into the magiſtracy of that city: But his former violent councils againſt the Dutch commonwealth were remembered, and all applications from him were rejected. He died ſoon after; and his end gave neither ſorrow to his friends, nor joy to his enemies. His furious temper, notwithſtanding his capacity, had done great

Shaftesbury retires and dies.

injury to the cauſe, in which he was engaged. The violences and iniquities, which he ſuggeſted and encouraged, were greater than even faction itſelf could endure; and men could not forbear ſometimes remembering, that the ſame perſon, who was become ſo zealous a patriot, was once a moſt proſtitute courtier. It is remarkable, that this man, whoſe principles and conduct were, in all other reſpects, ſo exceptionable, proved an excellent chancellor; and that all his decrees, while he poſſeſſed that eminent office, were equally remarkable for juſtneſs and for integrity. So difficult is it to find in hiſtory a character either wholly bad or perfectly good; tho' the prejudices of party make writers run ſo frequently into the extremes both of panegyric and of ſatyre.

After Shafteſbury's departure, the conſpirators found ſome difficulty in renewing the correſpondence with the city malecontents, who had been accuſtomed to depend ſolely on that nobleman. Their common views, however, as well as common apprehenſions, made them at laſt have recourſe to each other; and a regular project of an inſurrection was again formed. A council of ſix was erected, conſiſting of Monmouth, Ruſſel, Eſſex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandſon to the great parliamentary leader. Theſe men entered into an agreement with Argyle and the Scotch malecontents, who engaged, that, upon the payment of 10,000 pounds for the purchaſe of arms in Holland, they would bring the Covenanters into the field. Inſurrections likewiſe were anew projected in Cheſhire and the Weſt, as well as in the city; and ſome meetings of the leaders were held, in order to reduce theſe projects into form. The conſpirators differed extremely in their views. Sidney was paſſionate for a commonwealth. Eſſex had embraced the ſame project. But Monmouth had entertained hopes of acquiring the Crown for himſelf. Ruſſel, as well as Hambden, was much attached to the antient conſtitution, and propoſed only the excluſion of the Duke and the redreſs of grievances. Lord Howard was a man of abandoned principles, and was ready to embrace any party, which his immediate intereſt ſhould recommend to him. But notwithſtanding this difference of characters and of views, their common hatred of the Duke and the preſent adminiſtration united them into one party; and the dangerous experiment of an inſurrection was fully reſolved on.

Rye-houſe plot.

While theſe ſchemes were concerting among the leaders, there was an inferior order of conſpirators, who frequently met together, and with the inſurrection, carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth, and the cabal of ſix. Among theſe men were colonel Rumſey, an old republican officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Portugal, and had been recommended to the King by Mareſchal Schomberg; lieutenant colonel Walcot, likewiſe a republican officer; Goodenough, under ſheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man; Weſt, Tyley, Norton, Ayloffe, lawyers;

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lawyers; Ferguſon, Rouſe, Hone, Keiling, Holloway, Bourne, Lee, Rumbald. Moſt of theſe laſt were merchants or tradeſmen; and the only perſons of this confederacy, who had acceſs to the leaders of the party, were Rumſey, and Ferguſon. When theſe men were met together in their cabals, they indulged themſelves in the moſt deſperate and moſt criminal diſcourſe: They frequently mentioned the aſſaſſination of the King and the Duke, to which they had given the familiar appellation of *lopping*: They even went ſo far as to have thought of a ſcheme for that purpoſe. Rumbald, who was a maltſter, poſſeſſed a farm, called the Rye-houſe, which lay on the way to Newmarket, whither the King commonly went once a year, for the diverſion of the races. A plan of this farm had been laid before ſome of the conſpirators by Rumbald, who ſhowed them how eaſy it would be, by over-turning a cart, to ſtop at that place the King's coach; while they might fire upon him from the hedges, and be eaſily enabled afterwards, thro' bye lanes and acroſs the fields, to make their eſcape. But tho' the plauſibility of this ſcheme gave great pleaſure to the conſpirators, no concerted deſign was as yet laid, nor any men, horſes, or arms provided: The whole was little more than looſe diſcourſe, the over-flowings of their zeal and rancour. The houſe in which the King lived at Newmarket, took fire accidentally; and he was obliged to leave that place eight days ſooner than he intended. To this circumſtance his ſafety was afterwards aſcribed, when the conſpiracy was diſcovered; and the court party could not ſufficiently admire the wiſe diſpenſations of Providence. It is indeed certain, that, as the King had thus unexpectedly left Newmarket, he was much worſe attended than uſual; and Rumbald informed his confederates with regret what a fine opportunity was thus unfortunately loſt.

Conſpiracy diſcovered.

AMONG the conſpirators I have mentioned Keiling, a ſalter in London. This man had been engaged in a very bold meaſure, of arreſting the mayor of London, at the ſuit of Papillon and Dubois, the outed ſheriffs; and being liable to proſecution for that action, he thought it ſafeſt to purchaſe a pardon, by revealing the conſpiracy, in which he was deeply concerned. He brought to ſecretary Jenkins intelligence of the aſſaſſination plot; but as he was a ſingle evidence, the ſecretary, whom many falſe plots had probably rendered incredulous, ſcrupled to iſſue warrants for the commitment of ſo great a number of perſons. Keiling therefore, in order to fortify his teſtimony, engaged his brother in treaſonable diſcourſe with Goodenough, one of the conſpirators; and Jenkins began now to give more attention to the intelligence. The conſpirators had got ſome hint of the danger, in which they were involved; and all of them concealed themſelves. One perſon alone, of the name of Barber, an inſtrument-maker, was ſeized; and as his confeſſion concurred in many particulars with Keiling's information, the

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affair ſeemed to be put out of all queſtion; and a more diligent ſearch was every where made after the conſpirators.

West, the lawyer, and colonel Rumſey, finding the perils to which they were expoſed in endeavoring to eſcape, reſolved to ſave their own lives at the expence of their companions; and accordingly ſurrendered themſelves with an intention of becoming evidences. Weſt could do little more than confirm the teſtimony of Keiling with regard to the aſſaſſination plot; but Rumſey, beſides additional confirmation of the ſame deſign, was at laſt, tho' with much difficulty, led to give an account of the meetings at Shepard's. Shepard was immediately apprehended; and had not courage to maintain fidelity to his confederates. Upon his information, orders were iſſued for arreſting the great men engaged in the conſpiracy. Monmouth abſconded: Ruſſel was ſent to the Tower: Grey was arreſted, but eſcaped from the meſſenger: Howard was taken, while he concealed himſelf in a chimney; and being a man of moſt profligate morals, as well as indigent circumſtances, he ſcrupled not, in hopes of a pardon, to reveal the whole conſpiracy. Eſſex, Sidney, Hambden were immediately apprehended upon his evidence. Every day ſome of the conſpirators were detected in their lurking-places, and thrown into priſon.

Execution of the conſpirators.

Lieutenant colonel walcot was firſt brought to his trial. This man, who was once noted for bravery, had been ſo far overcome by the love of life, that he had wrote to ſecretary Jenkins, and had offered upon promiſe of pardon to turn evidence: But no ſooner had he taken this mean ſtep, than he felt more generous ſentiments ariſe in him; and he endeavored, tho' in vain, to conceal himſelf. The evidence againſt him were Rumſey, Weſt, Shepard, together with one Bourne, a brewer. His own letter to the ſecretary was produced, and rendered the teſtimony of the witneſſes unqueſtionable. Hone and Rouſe were alſo condemned to dye. Theſe two men, as well as Walcot, at their execution, acknowleged the juſtice of the ſentence; and from their trial and confeſſion it is ſufficiently apparent, that the plan of an inſurrection had been regularly formed, and that even the aſſaſſination had been often talked of, and not without the approbation of many of the conſpirators.

Trial of lord Ruſſel.

The condemnation of theſe criminals was probably intended as a preparative to the trial of lord Ruſſel, and ſerved to impreſs the public with a thorow belief of the conſpiracy, as well as horror againſt it. The witneſſes produced againſt the priſoner were Rumſey, Shepard, and lord Howard. Rumſey ſwore, that he himſelf had been introduced to the cabal at Shepard's, were Ruſſel was preſent; and had delivered them a meſſage from Shaftesbury, urging them to haſten the intended inſurrection: But had received for anſwer, that it was found neceſſary to delay the deſign, and

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and that Shafteſbury muſt therefore, for ſome time, reſt contented. This anſwer, he ſaid, was delivered by Ferguſon, but was aſſented to by the priſoner. He added, that ſome diſcourſe had been entered into about taking a ſurvey of the guards; and he thought, that Monmouth, Grey, and Armſtrong undertook to view them. Shepard ſwore, that his houſe had been beforehand beſpoke by Ferguſon for the ſecret meeting of the conſpirators, and that he had been careful to keep all his ſervants from approaching them, and had ſerved them himſelf. Their diſcourſe, he ſaid, ran chiefly upon the means of ſurprizing the guards; and it was agreed that Monmouth and his two friends ſhould take a ſurvey of them. The report, which they brought next meeting, was, that the guards were remiſs, and that the deſign was very practicable: But he affirmed not, that any reſolution was taken of executing it. The priſoner, he thought, was preſent at both theſe meetings; but he was ſure, that at leaſt he was preſent at one of them. A declaration, he added, had been red by Ferguſon in Ruſſel's preſence: The reaſons of the intended inſurrection were there ſet forth, and all the public grievances fully diſplayed.

LORD HOWARD had been one of the cabal of ſix after Shafteſbury's flight; and two meetings had been held of the conſpirators, one at Hambden's, another at Ruſſel's. Howard ſwore, that, at the firſt meeting, it was agreed to begin the inſurrection in the country before the city; the places were fixed, the proper quantity and kind of arms agreed on, and the whole plan of operations concerted: That at the ſecond meeting, the converſation turned chiefly upon their correſpondence with Argyle and the diſcontented Scotch, and that the principal management of that affair was intruſted to Sidney, who had ſent one Aaron Smith into Scotland with proper inſtructions. He added, that in theſe conſults no queſtion was put, nor votes collected: but there was no contradiction, and, as he took it, all of them, and the priſoner among the reſt, gave their conſent.

RUMSEY and Shepard were very unwilling witneſſes againſt lord Ruſſel; and it appears from Grey's Secret Hiſtory*, that, if they had pleaſed, they could have given a more explicite teſtimony againſt him. This reluctance, together with the difficulty of recollecting circumſtances in a converſation, which had paſſed above eight months before, and which the perſons had not at that time any intention to diſcover, may beget ſome ſlight objection to their evidence. But on the whole, it was undoubtedly proved, that the inſurrection had been deliberated on by the priſoner, and fully reſolved; the ſurpriſal of the guards deliberated on, but not fully reſolved; and that an aſſaſſination had never once been mentioned or imagined by him. So far the matter of fact ſeems certain: But ſtill, with regard to law, there remained a difficulty, and that of a very important nature.

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The Engliſh laws of treaſon, both in the manner of defining that crime and in the proof required, are the mildeſt and moſt indulgent, and conſequently the moſt equitable, that are any where to be found. The two chief ſpecies of treaſon, contained in the law of Edward the third, are the compaſſing and intending the King's death, and the actual levying war againſt him; and by the law of Mary the crime muſt be proved by the concurring teſtimony of two witneſſes, to ſome overt act, tending to theſe purpoſes. But the lawyers, partly deſirous of paying court to the Sovereign, partly convinced of ill conſequences, which might attend ſuch narrow limitations, had introduced a greater latitude, both in the proof and definition of the crime. It was not required, that the two witneſſes ſhould teſtify the ſame precise overt act: It was ſufficient, that they both teſtified ſome overt act of the ſame treaſon; and tho' this evaſion may ſeem a ſubtilty, it had long prevailed in the courts of judicature, and had at laſt been ſolemnly fixed at the trial of lord Stafford. The lawyers had uſed the ſame freedom, tho' perhaps after a more exceptionable manner, with the law of Edward the third. They had obſerved, that, by that famous ſtatute, if a man ſhould enter into a conſpiracy for a rebellion, ſhould even fix a correſpondence with foreign powers for that purpoſe, ſhould provide arms and money, yet, if he was detected and no rebellion enſued, he could not be tried for treaſon. To prevent this inconvenience, as they eſteemed it, they had commonly laid their indictment for intending the death of the King, and had produced the intention of a rebellion as a proof of that other intention. But tho' this form of indictment and trial was very frequent, and many criminals had received ſentence upon it, it was conſidered as irregular, and was plainly confounding, by a ſophiſm, two ſpecies of treaſon, which the ſtatute had moſt accurately diſtinguiſhed. What made this refinement ſtill more inexcuſable; a law had paſſed ſoon after the reſtoration, where the conſulting or intending a rebellion, was, during Charles's life-time, declared treaſon; and it was required that the proſecution ſhould be made within ſix months after the crime ſhould be committed. But notwithſtanding this ſtatute, the lawyers had perſevered, as they ſtill do perſevere, in the old form of indictment; and both Sir Harry Vane and Oliver Plunket, titular primate of Ireland, had been tried by it. Such was the general horror, entertained againſt the old republicans, and the popiſh conſpirators, that no-one had murmured againſt this interpretation of the ſtatute; and the lawyers thought, that they might follow the precedent even in the caſe of the popular and beloved lord Ruſſel. Ruſſel's crime fell plainly under the ſtatute of Charles the 2d; but the facts ſworne to by Rumſey and Shepard were without the ſix months required by law, and to the other facts Howard was a ſingle witneſs. To make the indictment, therefore, more extenſive, the intention of murdering the King was comprehended in it;

and for proof of this intention the conſpiracy for raiſing a rebellion was aſſigned; and what ſeemed to bring the matter ſtill nearer, the deſign of attacking the King's guards.

Russel perceived this irregularity, and deſired to have the point argued by council: The chief juſtice told him, that that privilege could not be granted, unleſs he previouſly confeſſed the facts charged upon him. The artificial confounding of the two ſpecies of treaſon, tho' a practice ſupported by many precedents, is the chief, but not the only hardſhip, of which Ruſſel had reaſon to complain on his trial. His defence was very feeble; and he contented himſelf with proteſting, that he never had entertained any deſign againſt the King's life: His candour would not allow him to deny the conſpiracy for an inſurrection. The jury were men of fair and irreproachable characters, but zealous Royaliſts: After a ſhort deliberation, they brought in the priſoner guilty.

Applications were made to the King for a pardon: Even money, to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds, was offered to the dutcheſs of Portſmouth by the old earl of Bedford, father to Ruſſel. The King was inexorable. He had been extremely harraſſed with the violence of the country party, and he had obſerved, that the priſoner, beſides his ſecret deſigns, had always been carried to the higheſt extremity of oppoſition in Parliament. He had even adopted a ſentiment, ſimilar to what we meet with in a letter of the younger Brutus. Had his father, he ſaid, adviſed the King to reject the excluſion bill, he would be the firſt to move for a parliamentary impeachment againſt him. When ſuch determined reſolution was obſerved, his popularity, his humanity, his juſtice, his very virtues, became ſo many crimes, and were uſed as arguments againſt ſparing him. Charles therefore would go no farther than remit the more ignominious parts of the ſentence, which the law requires to be pronounced againſt traitors. "My lord Ruſſel," ſaid he, "ſhall find, that I am poſſeſſed of that prerogative, which, in the caſe of "lord Stafford, he thought fit to deny me." As the fury of the country party had rendered it impoſſible for the King, without the moſt imminent danger of his throne, to pardon ſo many Catholics, whom he firmly believed to be innocent, and even affectionate and loyal to him; he probably thought, that, ſince the edge of the law was now ready to fall upon that party themſelves, they could not reaſonably expect, that he would interpoſe to ſave them.

Russel's conſort, a woman of great merit, daughter and heireſs of the good earl of Southampton, threw herſelf at the King's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits and loyalty of her father, as an atonement for thoſe errors, into which honeſt, however miſtaken principles had ſeduced her huſband. Theſe ſupplications were the laſt inſtance of female weakneſs (if they deſerve the name) which ſhe betrayed. Finding all applications vain, ſhe collected courage, and not only fortified herſelf againſt the fatal blow, but endeavored by her example to ſtrengthen the reſolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent compoſure they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. "The bitterneſs of death "is now paſſed," ſaid he, when he turned from her. Lord Cavendiſh had lived in the cloſeſt intimacy with Ruſſel, and deſerted not his friend in the preſent calamity. He gallantly offered to manage his eſcape, by changing cloaths with him, and remaining at all hazards in his place. Ruſſel refuſed to ſave his own life, by an expedient which might expoſe his friend to ſo many hardſhips. When the duke of Monmouth by meſſage offered to ſurrender himſelf, if Ruſſel thought, that that meaſure would any way contribute to his ſafety; "It will be no advan-"tage to me," he ſaid, "to have my friends dye with me." Some of his expreſſions diſcover, not only compoſure, but good humor in this melancholy extremity. The day before his execution he was ſeized with a bleeding at the noſe. "I ſhall not "now let blood to divert this diſtemper," ſaid he to doctor Burnet who attended him, "that will be done to morrow." A little before the ſheriffs conducted him to the ſcaffold, he wound up his watch, "Now I have done," ſaid he, "with "time, and henceforth muſt think ſolely of eternity."

21ſt of July.

The ſcaffold was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, a place very diſtant from the Tower; and it was probably intended, by conducting Ruſſel thro' ſo many ſtreets, to ſhow the mutinous city their beloved leader, once the object of all their confidence, now expoſed to the utmoſt rigors of the law. As he was the moſt popular among his own party; ſo was he ever the leaſt obnoxious to the oppoſite faction: And his melancholy fate united every heart, ſenſible of humanity, in a tender compaſſion for him. Without the leaſt change of countenance, he laid his head on the block; and at two ſtrokes, it was ſevered from his body.

and execution.

In the ſpeech, which he delivered to the ſheriffs, he was very anxious to clear his memory from any imputation of ever intending the King's death or any alteration in the government: He could not explicitely confeſs the projected inſurrection without hurting his friends, who might ſtill be called in queſtion for it; but he did not purge himſelf of that deſign, which, in the preſent condition of the nation, he regarded as no crime. By many paſſages in his ſpeech, he ſeems to the laſt to have lain under the influence of party zeal; a paſſion, which being nouriſhed by a ſocial temper, and cloathing itſelf under the appearance of principle, it is almoſt impoſſible for a virtuous man, who has acted in public life, ever thorowly to eradicate. He profeſſed his entire belief in the popiſh plot: And he ſaid, that, tho' he had often heard the ſeizure of the guards mentioned, he had ever diſapproved of that attempt. To which he added, that the maſſacring ſo many innocent men in cold

blood

blood was ſo like a popiſh practice, that he could not but abhor it. Upon the whole, the integrity and virtuous intentions, rather than the capacity, of this unfortunate nobleman, ſeem to have been the ſhining parts of his character.

Trial of Algernon Sidney.

ALGERNON SIDNEY was next brought to his trial. This gallant perſon, ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, had entered deeply into the war againſt the late King; and tho' no way tainted with enthuſiaſm, he had ſo far ſhared in all the councils of the independant republican party, as to have been named on the high court of juſtice, which tried and condemned that Monarch: He thought not proper, however, to take his ſeat among the judges. Cromwel's uſurpation he ever oppoſed with zeal and courage; and after employing all his efforts againſt the reſtoration, he reſolved to take no benefit of the general indemnity, but choſe voluntary baniſhment, rather than ſubmit to a government and family, which he abhorred. As long as the republican party had any exiſtence, he was active in every ſcheme, however unpromiſing, which tended to promote their cauſe: But at laſt, in 1677, finding it neceſſary for his private affairs to return into England, he had applied for the King's pardon, and had obtained it. When the factions, ariſing from the popiſh plot, began to run high, Sidney, full of thoſe ideas of liberty, which he had imbibed from the great examples of antiquity, joined the popular party; and was even willing to ſeek a ſecond time, thro' all the horrors of civil war, for his adored republic.

FROM this imperfect ſketch of the character and conduct of this illuſtrious perſonage, it may eaſily be conceived how obnoxious he was become to the court and miniſtry: What alone renders them inexcuſable was the illegal method, which they took, of effecting their purpoſe againſt him. On Sidney's trial they produced a great number of witneſſes, who proved the reality of a plot in general; and when the priſoner exclaimed, that all theſe evidences ſaid nothing of him, he was anſwered, that this method of proceeding, however irregular, had been practiſed in the proſecutions of the popiſh conſpirators: A topic more fit to condemn one party than juſtify the other. The only witneſs, who depoſed againſt Sidney, was lord Howard; but as the law required two witneſſes, a ſtrange expedient was fallen on to ſupply this deficiency. In ranſacking the priſoner's cloſet, ſome diſcourſes on government were found; where he had maintained principles, favorable indeed to liberty, but ſuch as the beſt and moſt dutiful ſubjects in all ages have been known to embrace; the original contract, the ſource of power from a conſent of the people, the lawfulneſs of reſiſting tyrants, the preference of liberty to the government of a ſingle perſon. Theſe papers were aſſerted to be equivalent to a ſecond witneſs, and even to many witneſſes. The priſoner replied, that there was no other reaſon for aſcribing theſe papers to him beſides a ſimilitude of hands;

a proof, which was never admitted in criminal proſecutions: That allowing him to be the author, he had compoſed them ſolely for his private amuſement, and had never publiſhed them to the world, or even communicated them to any ſingle perſon: That, when examined, they appeared by the color of the ink to have been wrote many years before, and were in vain produced as evidences of a preſent conſpiracy againſt the government: And that where the law poſitively requires two witneſſes, one witneſs, attended with the moſt convincing circumſtances, could never ſuffice; much leſs, when ſupported by a circumſtance ſo weak and precarious. All theſe arguments, tho' urged by the priſoner with great courage and pregnancy of reaſon, had no influence. The violent and inhuman Jefferies was now chief juſtice; and by his direction a partial jury was eaſily prevailed on to give verdict againſt Sidney. His execution followed a few days afterwards: He complained, and with reaſon, of the iniquity of the ſentence; but he had too much greatneſs of mind to deny thoſe conſults with Monmouth and Ruſſel, in which he had been engaged. He rather gloried, that he now ſuffered for that *good old cauſe*, in which, from his earlieſt youth, he ſaid, he had inliſted himſelf.

7th of December. His execution.

The execution of Sidney is regarded as one of the greateſt blemiſhes of the preſent reign. The evidence againſt him, it muſt be confeſſed, was not legal; and the jury, who condemned him, were, for that reaſon, very blameable. The jury itſelf was not compoſed of free-holders, as the law required; and this irregularity is a great reproach on the adminiſtration. But that after ſentence paſſed by a court of judicature, the King ſhould pardon a man, who, tho' otherwiſe poſſeſſed of great merit, was undoubtedly guilty, who had ever been a moſt inflexible and moſt inveterate enemy to the royal family, and who lately had even abuſed the King's clemency, might be an act of heroic generoſity, but can never be regarded as a neceſſary and indiſpenſible duty.

Howard was alſo the ſole evidence againſt Hambden; and his teſtimony was not ſupported by any very material circumſtance. The crown-lawyers therefore found it vain to try the priſoner for treaſon: They laid the indictment only for a miſdemeanour, and obtained ſentence againſt him. The fine impoſed was exorbitant; no leſs than forty thouſand pounds.

Holloway, a merchant of Briſtol, one of the conſpirators, had fled to the Weſt Indies, and was now brought over. He had been out-lawed; but the year, allowed him for preſenting himſelf, was not expired. A trial was therefore offered him: But as he had at firſt confeſſed his being engaged in a conſpiracy for an inſurrection, and even allowed that he had heard ſome diſcourſes of an aſſaſſination, tho' he had not approved of them, he thought it more expedient to throw himſelf on the King's mercy. He was executed, perſiſting in the ſame confeſſion.

Sir Thomas Armstrong, who had been ſeized in Holland by Chidley, the King's miniſter, and ſent over, was preciſely in the ſame ſituation with Holloway: But the ſame favor, or rather juſtice was refuſed him. The lawyers pretended, that, unleſs he voluntarly came in before the expiration of the time aſſigned, he could not claim the privilege of a trial; not conſidering, that the ſeizure might fairly be preſumed to be the accident which prevented him. The King bore a very great enmity againſt this gentleman, by whom he believed the duke of Monmouth to have been ſeduced from his duty: He alſo aſſerted, that Armſtrong had once promiſed Cromwel to aſſaſſinate him; tho' it muſt be confeſſed, that the priſoner juſtified himſelf from this imputation by very ſtrong arguments. Theſe were the reaſons of that flagrant iniquity, which was now done him. It was apprehended, that ſufficient evidence of his guilt could not be produced; and that even the partial juries, which were now returned, and which allowed themſelves to be entirely directed by Jefferies and other violent judges, would not give ſentence againſt him.

On the day that Ruſſel was tried, Eſſex, a man eminent both for virtues and abilities, was found in the Tower with his throat cut. The coroner's inqueſt brought in their verdict, *ſelf-murther*: Yet becauſe two children of ten years of age (one of whom too departed from his evidence) had affirmed, that they heard a great noiſe from his window, and that they ſaw a hand throw out a bloody razor, theſe circumſtances were laid hold of, and the murder was aſcribed to the King and the Duke, who happened that morning to pay a viſit to the Tower. Eſſex was ſubject to fits of deep melancholy, and had been ſeized with one immediately upon his commitment: He was accuſtomed to maintain the lawfulneſs of ſuicide: And his counteſs, upon a ſtrict enquiry, which was committed to the care of Dr. Burnet, found no reaſon to confirm the ſuſpicion: Yet could not all theſe circumſtances, joined to many others, entirely remove the imputation. It is no wonder, that faction is ſo productive of vices of all kinds: For, beſides that it inflames all the paſſions, it tends much to remove thoſe great reſtraints, honor and ſhame; when men find, that no iniquity can loſe them the applauſe of their own party, and no innocence ſecure them againſt the calumnies of the oppoſite.

But tho' there is no reaſon to think, that Eſſex had been murdered by any orders from court, it muſt be acknowleged, that a very unjuſtifiable uſe in Ruſſel's trial was made of that incident. Ths King's council mentioned it in their pleadings as a ſtrong proof of the conſpiracy; and it is ſaid to have had great weight with the jury. It was inſiſted on in Sidney's trial for the ſame purpoſe.

State of the nation.

SOME memorable cauſes, tried about this time, tho' they have no relation to the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, ſhow the temper of the bench and the juries. Oates was convicted of having called the Duke a popiſh traitor; was fined to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds, and condemned to priſon till he ſhould make payment. A like illegal ſentence was paſſed upon Dutton-Colt for a like offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiſton was fined ten thouſand pounds; becauſe, in ſome private letters, which had been intercepted, he had reflected on the government. This gentleman was obnoxious; becauſe he had been foreman of that jury, which rejected the bill againſt Shafteſbury. A pretext was therefore fallen upon for puniſhing him; tho' ſuch a precedent may juſtly be eſteemed a very unuſual act of ſeverity, and ſufficient to deſtroy all confidence in private friendſhip and correſpondence.

THERE is another remarkable trial, which ſhows the diſpoſition of the courts of judicature, and which, tho' it paſſed in the enſuing year, it may not be improper to relate here. One Roſewel, a preſbyterian preacher, was accuſed by three women of having ſpoke treaſonable words in a ſermon. They ſwore to two or three periods, and agreed ſo exactly together, that there was not the ſmalleſt variation in their depoſitions. Roſewel on the other hand made a very good defence. He proved, that the witneſſes were leud and infamous perſons: He proved, that, even during Cromwel's uſurpation, he had always been loyal; that he prayed conſtantly for the King in his family; and that in his ſermons he often inculcated the obligations of loyalty. And as to the ſermon, of which he was accuſed, ſeveral witneſſes, who heard it, and ſome who wrote it in ſhort-hand, depoſed that he had uſed no ſuch expreſſions as thoſe objected to him. He offered his own notes as a farther proof. The women could not ſhow by any circumſtance or witneſſes, that they were at his meeting. And the expreſſions, which they ſwore againſt him, were ſo groſs, that no man in his ſenſes could be ſuppoſed to employ them before a mixt audience. It was alſo urged, that it was next to impoſſible for three women to remember ſo long a period upon one ſingle hearing, and to remember it ſo exactly as to agree to a little in their depoſitions with regard to it. The priſoner offered to put the whole upon this iſſue: He would pronounce, with his uſual tone of voice, a period as long as that which they had ſworne to; and then let them try to repeat it, if they could. What was more unaccountable; they had forgot even the text of his ſermon; nor did they remember any ſingle paſſage, but the words, which they depoſed to. After ſo ſtrong a defence, the ſollicitor general thought not proper to make any reply: Even Jefferies went no farther than ſome general declamations againſt

Chap. VII. 1683. againſt conventicles and Preſbyterians: Yet ſo violent were party-prejudices, that the jury gave a verdict againſt the priſoner; which however appeared ſo palpably unjuſt, that it never was executed.

THE duke of Monmouth had abſconded on the firſt diſcovery of the conſpiracy; and the Court could get no intelligence of him. At laſt, Halifax, who began to apprehend the too great prevalence of the royal party, and who thought, that Monmouth's intereſt would prove the beſt counterballance to the Duke's, diſcovered his retreat, and prevailed with him to write two letters to the King, full of the tendereſt and moſt ſubmiſſive expreſſions. The King's fondneſs was revived; and he permitted Monmouth to come to court. He even endeavored to mediate a reconciliation betwixt his ſon and his brother; and having promiſed Monmouth, that his teſtimony ſhould never be employed againſt any of his friends, he engaged him to give a full account of the plot. But in order to put the country party to ſilence, he called next day an extraordinary council; and informed them, that Monmouth had ſhowed great penitence for the ſhare, which he had had in the late conſpiracy, and had expreſſed his reſolutions never more to engage in ſuch criminal enterprizes. He went ſo far as to give orders, that a paragraph to the like purpoſe ſhould be inſerted in the Gazette. Monmouth ſaid nothing 'till he had obtained his pardon in form: But finding, that, by taking this ſtep, he was entirely diſgraced with his party, and that, even tho' he ſhould not be produced in court as an evidence, his teſtimony, being ſo publicly known, might have weight with juries on any future trial; he reſolved at all hazards to retrieve his honor. His emiſſaries, therefore, received orders to deny, that he had ever made any ſuch confeſſion as that aſcribed to him; and the party cried aloud, that the whole was a fiction of the Court. The King, provoked at this conduct, baniſhed Monmouth his preſence, and afterwards ordered him to depart the kingdom.

THE Court were well aware, that the malecontents in England had held a correſpondence with thoſe in Scotland; and that Baillie of Jerviſwood, a man of merit and learning, with two gentlemen of the name of Campbel, had come to London, under pretext of negociating the ſettlement of the Scotch Preſbyterians in Carolina, but really with a view to concert meaſures with the Engliſh conſpirators. Baillie was ſent priſoner to Edinburgh; and as no evidence appeared againſt him, the council required him to ſwear, that he ſhould anſwer all queſtions, which ſhould be propounded to him. Baillie refuſed to ſubmit to ſo iniquitous a condition; and a fine of ſix thouſand pounds was impoſed upon him. At laſt, two perſons, Spence and Carſtares, being put to the torture, gave evidence which involved the earl of Tarras and ſome others, who, in order to ſave themſelves from attainder, were reduced to accuſe Baillie. He was brought to trial; and being in

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ſo languiſhing a condition from the cruel treatment, which he had met with in priſon, that it was feared he would not ſurvive that night, he was ordered to be executed the very afternoon, on which he received ſentence. Chap. VII. 1683.

The ſeverities, exerciſed during this part of the preſent reign, were much contrary to the uſual tenor of the King's conduct; and tho' thoſe who ſtudied his character more narrowly, have pronounced, that towards great offences he was rigid and inflexible, the nation were more inclined to aſcribe every unjuſt or hard meaſure to the prevalence of the Duke's councils, into whoſe hands the King had, from indolence, not from any opinion of his brother's ſuperior capacity, reſigned the reins of government. The Crown indeed gained great advantages from the detection of the conſpiracy, and loſt none by the rigorous execution of the conſpirators: The horror entertained againſt the aſſaſſination-plot, which was commonly confounded with the deſign of an inſurrection, rendered the whole party unpopular, and reconciled the nation to the meaſures of the Court. The moſt loyal addreſſes came from all parts of the kingdom; and the doctrine of ſubmiſſion to the civil magiſtrate, and even of an entire paſſive obedience, became the reigning principle of the times. The univerſity of Oxford paſſed a ſolemn decree, condemning ſome doctrines, which they denominated republican, but which indeed are, moſt of them, the only tenets, on which liberty and a limited conſtitution can be founded. The faction of the excluſioniſts, lately ſo numerous, powerful, and zealous, were at the King's feet; and were as much fallen in their ſpirit as in their credit with the nation. Nothing, which had the leaſt appearance of oppoſition to the Court, could be hearkened to by the public.

His preſent popularity the King endeavored to encreaſe by every art; and knowing, that the ſuſpicion of popery was of all others the moſt dangerous, he judged it proper to marry his niece, the Lady Anne, to Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark. All the credit however and perſuaſion of Halifax could not engage him to call a Parliament, or truſt the nation with the election of a new repreſentative. Tho' his revenues were extremely burthened, he choſe rather to ſtruggle with the preſent difficulties, than try an experiment, which, by raiſing afreſh ſo many diſcontented humors, might prove dangerous to his repoſe. The Duke likewiſe zealouſly obſtructed this propoſal, and even engaged the King in meaſures, which could have no other tendency, than to render any accommodation with a Parliament altogether impracticable. Williams, who had been ſpeaker during the two laſt Parliaments, was proſecuted for warrants, iſſued by him, in obedience to orders of the Houſe: A breach of privilege, which, it ſeemed not likely, 1684.

any future Houſe of Commons would leave unpuniſhed. Danby and the popiſh lords, who had ſo long been confined to the Tower, and who ſaw no proſpect of a trial in Parliament, were admitted to bail: A meaſure very juſt in itſelf, but deemed a great encroachment on the privileges of that aſſembly. The Duke, contrary to law, was reſtored to the office of high admiral, without taking the teſt.

State of foreign affairs.

Had the leaſt grain of jealouſy or emulation been mixed in the King's character; had he been actuated by that concern for his people's or even for his own honor, which his high ſtation demanded; he would have hazarded many domeſtic inconveniencies rather than allow France to domineer in ſo haughty a manner as that which at preſent ſhe aſſumed in every negotiation. The peace of Nimeguen, impoſed by the Dutch on their unwilling allies, had disjointed the whole confederacy; and all the powers, engaged in it, had diſbanded their ſupernumerary troops, which they found ſuch difficulty to ſubſiſt. Lewis alone ſtill maintained a very powerful army, and by his preparations rendered himſelf every day more formidable. He now acted as if he were the ſole Sovereign in Europe, and as if all other Princes were ſoon to become his vaſſals. Courts or chambers were erected in Metz and Briſac, for re-uniting ſuch territories as had ever been members of any part of his new conqueſts. They made inquiry into titles buried in the moſt remote antiquity. They cited the neighboring Princes to appear before them, and iſſued decrees, expelling them from the conteſted territories. The important town of Straſbourg, an antient and a free ſtate, was ſeized by Lewis: Aloſt was demanded of the Spaniards, on a moſt frivolous, and even ridiculous pretext; and upon their refuſal to yield it, Luxembourg was blockaded, and ſoon after taken. Genoa had been bombarded, becauſe the Genoeſe had ſtipulated to build ſome gallies for the Spaniards; and in order to avoid a more ſevere fate, that republic was obliged to yield to the moſt mortifying conditions. The empire was inſulted in its head and principal members; and uſed no other expedient for redreſs, but impotent complaints and remonſtrances.

Spain was ſo enraged at the inſolent treatment, which ſhe met with, that, without conſidering her preſent weak condition, ſhe declared war againſt her haughty enemy: She hoped, that the other powers of Europe, ſenſible of the common danger, would fly to her aſſiſtance. The Prince of Orange, whoſe ruling paſſions were the love of war and animoſity to France, ſeconded every where the applications of the Spaniards. In the year 1681, he even made a journey to England, in order to engage the King into cloſer meaſures with the confederates. He alſo propoſed to the States to make an augmentation of their forces; but ſeveral of the provinces, and even the town of Amſterdam, had been gained by the French, and the

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the propoſal was rejected. The Prince's enemies derived the moſt plauſible reaſons of their oppoſition from the ſituation of England, and the known and avowed attachments of the Engliſh Monarch.

No ſooner had Charles diſmiſſed his Parliaments, and embraced the reſolution of governing by prerogative alone, than he dropped his new alliance with Spain, and returned to his former dangerous connexions with Lewis. That Prince had even offered to make him arbiter of his differences with Spain; and this latter power, ſenſible of Charles's partiality, had refuſed to ſubmit to ſuch a diſadvantageous propoſal. Whether any money was now remitted to England, we do not certainly know: But we may fairly preſume, that the King's neceſſities were in ſome degree relieved by France. And tho' Charles had reaſon to apprehend the utmoſt danger from the great, and ſtill encreaſing, naval power of that kingdom, joined to the weak condition of the Engliſh fleet, no conſideration was able to rouze him from his preſent lethargy.

It is here we are to fix the point of the higheſt exaltation, which the power of Lewis or that of any Europæan Prince, ſince the age of Charlemagne, had ever attained. The only Monarch, capable of oppoſing his progreſs, was entirely engaged in his intereſts; and the Turks, invited by the malecontents of Hungary, were preparing to invade the Emperor, and to diſable that Prince from making head againſt the progreſs of the French power. Lewis may even be accuſed of overſight, in not making ſufficient advantage of ſuch favorable opportunities, which he was never afterwards able to recall. But that Monarch, tho' more governed by motives of ambition than by thoſe of juſtice or moderation, was ſtill more actuated by vanity than by ambition. He contented himſelf with inſulting and domineering over all the Princes and free States of Europe; and he thereby provoked their reſentment without ſubduing their power. While every one, who approached his perſon, and behaved with ſubmiſſion to his authority, was treated with the higheſt politeneſs; all the neighboring Potentates had ſucceſſively felt the effects of his haughty imperious diſpoſition. And by indulging his poets, orators, and courtiers in their flatteries, and in their prognoſtications of univerſal empire, he conveyed faſter, than by the proſpect of his power alone, the apprehenſion of general conqueſt and ſubjection.

1685.

The French greatneſs never, during his whole reign, inſpired Charles with any apprehenſions; and Clifford, 'tis ſaid, one of his moſt favored miniſters, went ſo far as to affirm, that it was more eligible for the King to be Viceroy under a great and generous Monarch than a ſlave to five hundred of his own inſolent ſubjects.

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The ambition therefore and uncontroled power of Lewis were no diminution of Charles's happineſs; and in other reſpects his condition ſeemed at preſent more eligible than it had ever been ſince his reſtoration. A mighty faction, which had ſhook his throne, and menaced his family, was totally ſubdued, and by their precipitant indiſcretion had expoſed themſelves both to the rigor of the laws and to public hatred. He had recovered his former popularity in the nation; and what probably pleaſed him more than having a compliant Parliament, he was enabled to govern altogether without one. But it is certain, that the King, amidſt all theſe promiſing circumſtances, was not happy nor ſatisfied. Whether he found himſelf expoſed to difficulties for want of money, or dreaded a recoil of the popular humor from the preſent arbitrary meaſures, is uncertain. Perhaps the violent, imprudent temper of the Duke, by puſhing him upon dangerous attempts, gave him apprehenſion and uneaſineſs. He was overheard to ſay one day, in oppoſing ſome of the Duke's haſty councils, "Brother, I am too old to "go again to my travels: You may, if you chooſe it." Whatever was the cauſe of the King's diſſatisfaction, it ſeems very probable, that he was meditating ſome change of meaſures, and had formed a new plan of adminiſtration. He was determined, 'tis thought, to ſend the Duke to Scotland, to recall Monmouth, to ſummon a Parliament, to diſmiſs all his unpopular miniſters, and to throw himſelf entirely on the goodwill and affections of his ſubjects. Amidſt theſe truly wiſe and virtuous deſigns, he was ſeized with a ſudden fit, which reſembled an apoplexy; and tho' he was recovered from it by bleeding, he languiſhed only for a few days, and then expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign. He was ſo happy in a good conſtitution of body, and had ever been ſo remarkably careful of his health, that his death ſtruck as great a ſurprize into his ſubjects, as if he had been in the flower of his youth. And their inexpreſſible concern for him, owing to their affection for his perſon, as well as the dread of his ſucceſſor, very naturally, when joined to the critical time of his death, begot the ſuſpicion of poyſon. All circumſtances however conſidered, this ſuſpicion muſt be allowed to vaniſh; like many others, of which all hiſtories are full.

King's ſickneſs and death, 6th of February.

DURING the few days of the King's illneſs, clergymen of the church of England attended him; but he diſcovered a total indifference towards their devotions and exhortations. Catholic prieſts were brought, and he received the ſacrament from them, accompanied with all the other rites of the Romiſh church. Two papers were found in his cloſet, wrote with his own hand, and containing arguments in favor of that communion. The Duke had the imprudence immediately to publiſh theſe papers; and thereby both confirmed all the reproaches of thoſe who had been the greateſt enemies to his brother's meaſures, and afforded to the whole world a ſpecimen of his own bigotry.

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and character.

If we ſurvey the character of Charles the ſecond in the different lights, which it will admit of, it will appear very various, and give riſe to different and even oppoſite ſentiments. When conſidered as a companion, he appears the moſt amiable and engaging of men; and indeed, in this view, his deportment muſt be allowed altogether unexceptionable. His love of raillery was ſo tempered with good breeding, that it was never offenſive: His propenſity to ſatyre was ſo checked with diſcretion, that his friends never dreaded their becoming the object of it: His wit, to uſe the expreſſion of one, who knew him well, and who was himſelf an exquiſite judge*, could not be ſaid ſo much to be very refined or elevated, qualities apt to beget jealouſy and apprehenſion in company, as to be a plain, gaining, well-bred, recommending kind of wit. And tho' perhaps he talked more than ſtrict rules of behavior might permit, men were ſo pleaſed with the affable, communicative deportment of the Monarch, that they always went away contented both with him and with themſelves. This indeed is the moſt ſhining part of the King's character; and he ſeems to have been ſenſible of it: For he was fond of dropping the formality of ſtate, and of relapſing every moment into the companion.

In the duties of private life, his conduct, tho' not free from all exception, was, in the main, laudable. He was an eaſy generous lover, a civil obliging huſband, a friendly brother, an indulgent father, and a good natured maſter †. The voluntary friendſhips, however, which this Prince contracted, nay even his ſenſe of gratitude, were feeble; and he never attached himſelf to any of his miniſters or courtiers with a very ſincere affection. He believed them to have no other motive for ſerving him but ſelf-intereſt, and he was ſtill ready, in his turn, to ſacrifice them to preſent eaſe or convenience.

Here we muſt ſet bounds to our panegyric on Charles. The other parts of his conduct may admit of ſome apology, but can deſerve ſmall applauſe. He was indeed ſo much fitted for private life, preferably to public, that he even poſſeſſed order, frugality, œconomy in the former: Was profuſe, thoughtleſs, negligent in the latter. When we conſider him as a Sovereign, his character, tho' not altogether devoid of virtues, was in the main dangerous to his people, and diſhonorable to himſelf. Negligent of the intereſts of the nation, careleſs of its glory, averſe to its religion, jealous of its liberty, laviſh of its treaſure, ſparing only

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* Marqueſs of Halifax.

† Duke of Buckingham.

Chap. VII. 1685. only of its blood; he expoſed it by his meaſures, tho' he appeared ever but in ſport, to the dangers of a furious civil war, and even to the ruin and ignominy of a foreign conqueſt. Yet may all theſe enormities, if fairly and candidly examined, be imputed, in a great meaſure, to the indolence of his temper; a fault, which, however unfortunate in a Monarch, it is impoſſible for us to regard with great ſeverity.

It has been remarked of this King, that he never ſaid a fooliſh thing, nor ever did a wiſe one: A cenſure, which, tho' too far carried, ſeems to have ſome foundation in his character and deportment.

If we reflect on the appetite for power, inherent in human nature, and add to it, the King's education in foreign countries, and among the Cavaliers, a party which would naturally exaggerate the uſurpations of popular aſſemblies upon the rights of Monarchy; it is not ſurprizing, that civil liberty ſhould not find in him a very zealous patron. Harraſſed with domeſtic factions, weary of calumnies and complaints, oppreſſed with debts, ſtraitened in his revenue; he ſought, tho' with feeble efforts, for a form of government, more ſimple in its ſtructure and more eaſy in its management. But his attachment to France, after all the pains, which we have taken, by enquiry and conjecture, to fathom it, contains ſtill ſomething, it muſt be confeſſed, myſterious and inexplicable. The hopes of rendering himſelf abſolute by Lewis's aſſiſtance ſeem ſo chimerical, that they could ſcarce be retained with ſuch obſtinacy by a Prince of Charles's penetration: And as to pecuniary ſubſidies, he ſurely ſpent much greater ſums in one ſeaſon during the ſecond Dutch war, than were remitted from France during the courſe of his whole reign. I am apt therefore to imagine, that Charles was in this particular guided chiefly by inclination, and by a prepoſſeſſion in favor of the French nation. He conſidered that people as gay, ſprightly, polite, elegant, courteous, devoted to their Prince, and attached to the catholic faith; and for theſe reaſons he cordially loved them. The oppoſite character of the Dutch had rendered them the objects of his averſion; and even the uncourtly humors of the Engliſh made him very indifferent towards them. Men's notions of intereſt are much warped by their affections; and it is not altogether without example, that a man may be guided by national prejudices, who has ever been little byaſſed by private and perſonal friendſhip.

The character of this Prince has been very elaborately drawn by two great maſters, perfectly well acquainted with him, the duke of Buckingham and the marqueſs of Halifax; not to mention ſeveral elegant ſtrokes given by Sir William Temple. Dr. Welwood likewiſe and biſhop Burnet have employed their pencil on the ſame ſubject: But the former is ſomewhat partial in his favor; as the latter

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is by far too harſh and malignant. Inſtead of finding an exact parallel betwixt Charles the ſecond and the Emperor Tiberius, as that prelate pretends, it would be more juſt to remark a full contraſte and oppoſition. The Emperor ſeems as much to have ſurpaſſed the King in abilities, as he falls ſhort of him in virtue. Provident, wiſe, active, jealous, malignant, dark, ſullen, unſociable, reſerved, cruel, unrelenting, unforgiving; theſe are the lights, under which the Roman tyrant has been tranſmitted to us. And the only circumſtance, in which, it can juſtly be pretended, he was ſimilar to Charles, is his love of women; a paſſion, which is too general to form any ſtriking reſemblance, and which that deteſtable and deteſted monſter ſhared alſo with other unnatural appetites.

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

JAMES II.

CHAP. I.

King's firſt tranſactions.——A Parliament.——Arguments for and againſt a revenue for life.——Oates convicted of perjury.——Monmouth's invaſion.——His defeat——and execution.——Cruelties of Kirke——and of Jefferies.——State of affairs in Scotland.——Argyle's invaſion,——defeat,——and execution.——A Parliament.——French perſecutions.——The diſpenſing power.——State of Ireland.——Breach betwixt the King and the church.——Court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.——Sentence againſt the biſhop of London.——Suſpenſion of the penal laws.——State of Ireland.——Embaſſy to Rome.——Attempt upon Magdalen College.——Impriſonment,——trial,——and acquital of the biſhops.——Birth of the Prince of Wales.

1685. King's firſt tranſactions.

THE firſt act of James's reign was to aſſemble the privy council; where, after ſome praiſes beſtowed on the memory of his predeceſſor, he made profeſſions of his reſolution to maintain the eſtabliſhed government, both in church and ſtate. Tho' he had been reported, he ſaid, to have imbibed very arbitrary principles, he knew that the laws of England were ſufficient to make him as great a Monarch as he could wiſh; and he was determined never to depart from them.

And as he had heretofore ventured his life in defence of the nation; he would ſtill go as far as any man in preſerving all its juſt rights and liberties.

THIS diſcourſe was received with great applauſe, not only by the council, but by the whole nation. The King univerſally paſſed for a man of great ſincerity and great honor; and as the current of favor ran at that time for the Court, men believed, that his intentions were conformable to his expreſſions. "We have now," it was ſaid, "the word of a King; and a word never yet broken." Addreſſes came from all quarters, full of duty, nay of the moſt ſervile adulation. Every one haſtened to pay court to the new Monarch*: And James had reaſon to think, that, notwithſtanding the violent efforts made by ſo potent a party for his excluſion, no throne in Europe was better eſtabliſhed than that of England.

THE King, however, in the firſt exerciſe of his authority, ſhowed, that either he was not ſincere in his profeſſions of attachment to the laws, or that he had entertained ſo lofty an idea of his own legal power, that even his utmoſt ſincerity would tend very little to ſecure the liberties of the people. All the cuſtoms and the greater part of the exciſe had been voted by Parliament during the late King's life, and conſequently the grant was now expired; nor had the ſucceſſor any right to levy theſe branches of revenue. But James iſſued a proclamation, ordering the cuſtoms and exciſe to be payed as before; and this exertion of power he would not deign to qualify by the leaſt act or even appearance of condeſcenſion. It was propoſed, that, in order to prevent the ill effects of any intermiſſion in levying theſe duties, entries ſhould be made, and bonds for the ſums taken of the merchants: But the payment be ſuſpended till the Parliament ſhould give authority to receive it. This precaution was recommended as an expreſſion of deference to that aſſembly, or rather to the laws: But for that very reaſon probably, it was rejected by the King, who thought, that the Commons would thence be invited to aſſume more authority, and would regard the whole revenue, and conſequently the whole power of the Crown, as dependant on their good will and pleaſure.

THE King likewiſe went, openly and with all the enſigns of his dignity, to maſs, an illegal meeting: And by this imprudence he diſplayed at once his arbitrary diſpoſition, and the bigotry of his principles: Theſe too great characteriſtics of his reign and bane of his adminiſtration. He even ſent Caryl, as his agent to Rome, to make ſubmiſſions to the Pope, and to pave the way for a ſolemn readmiſſion of

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* The Quaker's addreſs was eſteemed ſomewhat ſingular. It was conceived in theſe terms. "We are come to teſtify our ſorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the perſwaſion of the church of England, no more than we: Wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us the ſame liberty, which thou alloweſt thyſelf. Which doing, we wiſh thee all manner of happineſs."

England into the boſom of catholic church. The Pope, Innocent the XIth, very prudently adviſed the King not to be too precipitant in his meaſures, nor raſhly attempt what repeated experience might convince him was abſolutely impracticable. The Spaniſh ambaſſador, Ronquillo, deeming the tranquillity of England very requiſite for the ſupport of Spain, uſed the freedom to make like remonſtrances. He obſerved how buſy the prieſts appeared at court, and adviſed the King not to aſſent with too great facility to their dangerous councils. "Is it not the cuſtom "in Spain," replied James, "for the King to conſult with his confeſſor?" "Yes," ſaid the ambaſſador, "and 'tis for that very reaſon our affairs ſucceed "ſo ill."

James gave hopes on his acceſſion, that he would hold the ballance of power more ſteddy than his predeceſſor; and that France, inſtead of rendering England ſubſervient to her ambitious projects, would now meet with ſtrong oppoſition from that Kingdom. Beſides applying himſelf to buſineſs with great induſtry, he ſeemed jealous of national honor, and expreſſed great care, that no more reſpect ſhould be payed the French ambaſſador than his own received at Paris. But theſe appearances were not ſufficiently ſupported; and he found himſelf by degrees under the neceſſity of falling into an union, at leaſt of preſerving peace, with that great Monarch, who, by his power as well as his zeal, ſeemed alone capable of aſſiſting him, in the projects formed for promoting the catholic religion in England.

Notwithstanding the King's prejudices, all the chief offices of the Crown continued ſtill in the hands of Proteſtants. Rocheſter was lord high treaſurer; his brother Clarendon lord chamberlain; Godolphin chamberlain to the Queen; Sunderland ſecretary of ſtate; Halifax preſident of the council. This nobleman had ſtood in oppoſition to the King during the laſt years of Charles's reign; and when he attempted, on the acceſſion, to make ſome apology for his late meaſures, James very genteely told him, that he would forget every thing that was paſt, except his behavior during the excluſion bill. In other reſpects, however, the King appeared not of ſo forgiving a temper. When the principal excluſioniſts came to pay their reſpects to their new Sovereign, they either were not admitted, or were received very coldly, ſometimes even with frowns. This conduct might ſuit the character, which the King ſo much affected, of ſincerity: But by ſhowing, that a King of England could reſent the quarrels of a duke of Yorke, he gave his people no high idea either of his lenity or his magnanimity.

On all occaſions, the King was very free in declaring, that men muſt now look for a more active and more vigilant government, and that he would retain no miniſters, who did not practiſe an unreſerved obedience to his commands. We are not indeed to look for the ſprings of his adminiſtration ſo much in his council and

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chief officers of ſtate; as in his own temper, and in the character of thoſe perſons, with whom he ſecretly conſulted. The Queen had great influence over him; a woman of ſpirit, whoſe conduct had been very popular, till ſhe arrived at that high dignity. She was much governed by the prieſts, eſpecially the jeſuits; and as theſe were alſo the King's favorites, all public meaſures came originally from the ſuggeſtions of theſe men, and bore evident marks of their ignorance in government, and of the violence of their religious zeal.

THE King however had another attachment, ſeemingly not very conſiſtent with this devoted regard to his Queen and to his prieſts: It was to Mrs. Sedley, whom he ſoon after created counteſs of Dorcheſter, and who expected to govern him with the ſame authority, which the dutcheſs of Portſmouth had poſſeſſed during the former reign. But the King, who had entertained the ambition of converting his people, was told, that the regularity of his life ought to correſpond to the ſanctity of his intentions; and he was prevailed with, at firſt, to remove Mrs. Sedley from Court: A reſolution in which he had not the courage to perſevere. Good agreement between the miſtreſs and the confeſſor of Princes is not commonly a difficult matter to compaſs: But in the preſent caſe theſe two potent engines of command were found very incompatible. Miſtreſs Sedley, who poſſeſſed all the wit and ingenuity of her father, Sir Charles, made the prieſts and their councils the perpetual objects of her ridicule; and it is not to be doubted, but they, on their part, redoubled their exhortations with their penitent to break off ſo criminal an attachment.

HOWEVER little inclination the King, as well as his Queen and prieſts, might bear to an Engliſh Parliament, it was abſolutely neceſſary, at the beginning of a reign, to ſummon that aſſembly. The low condition, into which the Whigs or country party had fallen during the laſt years of Charles's reign, the odium under which they labored on account of the Rye-houſe conſpiracy; theſe cauſes made that party meet with little ſucceſs in the new elections. The general reſignation too of the charters had made the corporations extremely dependant; and the recommendations of the Court, tho' little aſſiſted, at that time, by pecuniary influence, were become very prevalent. The new Houſe of Commons therefore conſiſted almoſt entirely of zealous Tories and churchmen; and were of conſequence ſtrongly inclined, by their affections, to comply with the meaſures of the Crown.

A Parliament.

THE diſcourſe, which the King made to the Parliament, was more fitted to work on their fears than their affections. He repeated indeed, and with great ſolemnity, the promiſe which he had made before the privy council, of governing according to the laws, and of preſerving the eſtabliſhed religion: But at the ſame time he told

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told them, that he poſitively expected they would ſettle his revenue, and during life too, as in the time of his brother. "I might uſe many arguments," ſaid he, "to inforce this demand, the benefit of trade, the ſupport of the navy, the neceſſity of the Crown, and the well-being of the government itſelf, which I muſt not ſuffer to be precarious: But I am confident, that your own conſideration and your ſenſe of what is juſt and reaſonable will ſuggeſt to you whatever on this occaſion might be enlarged upon. There is indeed one popular argument," added he, "which may be urged againſt compliance with my demand: Men may think, that by feeding me from time to time with ſuch ſupplies as they think convenient, they will better ſecure frequent meetings of Parliament: But as this is the firſt time I ſpeak to you from the throne, I muſt plainly tell you, that ſuch an expedient would be very improper to employ with me, and that the beſt way to engage me to meet you often is always to uſe me well."

It was eaſy to interpret this language of the King's. He plainly intimated, that he had reſſources in his prerogative for ſupporting the government, independant of their ſupplies; and that ſo long as they complied with his demands, he would have recourſe to them; but that any ill uſage on their part would ſet him free from thoſe meaſures of government, which he ſeemed to regard more as voluntary than as neceſſary. It muſt be confeſſed, that no Parliament in England was ever placed in a more critical ſituation, nor where more forcible arguments could be urged, either for their oppoſition or compliance.

Reaſons for and againſt a revenue during life.

It was ſaid on the one hand, that jealouſy of royal power was the very baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution, and the principle to which the nation was beholden for all that liberty, which they enjoy above the ſubjects of other monarchies. That this jealouſy, tho', at different periods, it may be more or leſs intenſe, can never ſafely be laid aſleep, even under the beſt and wiſeſt Princes. That the character of the preſent Sovereign afforded cauſe for the higheſt vigilance, by reaſon of the arbitrary principles, which he had imbibed; and ſtill more, by reaſon of his religious zeal, which it is impoſſible for him ever to gratify, without aſſuming more authority than the conſtitution allows him. That power is to be watched in its very firſt encroachments; nor is any thing ever gained by timidity and ſubmiſſion. That every conceſſion adds new force to uſurpation; and at the ſame time, by diſcovering the daſtardly diſpoſitions of the people, inſpires it with new courage and enterprize. That as arms were intruſted altogether in the hands of the Prince, no check remained upon him but the dependant condition of his revenue; a ſecurity therefore which it would be the moſt egregious folly to abandon. That all the other barriers, which, of late years, had been erected againſt arbitrary power, would be found, without this capital article, to be rather pernicious and deſtructive. That new

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limitations in the conſtitution ſtimulated the Monarch's inclination to ſurmount the laws, and required frequent meetings of Parliament, in order to repair all the breaches, which either time or violence may have made upon that complicated fabric. That recent experience during the reign of the late King, a Prince who wanted neither prudence nor moderation, had ſufficiently proved the ſolidity of all theſe maxims. That his Parliament, having raſhly fixed his revenue for life, and at the ſame time repealed the triennial bill, found that they themſelves were no longer of importance, and that liberty, not protected by national aſſemblies, was expoſed to every outrage and violation. And that the more openly the King made an unreaſonable demand, the more obſtinately ought it to be refuſed; ſince it is evident, that his purpoſe in making it cannot poſſibly be juſtifiable.

On the other hand it was urged, that the rule of watching the very firſt encroachments of power could only have place, where the oppoſition to it might be regular, peaceful and legal. That tho' the refuſal of the King's preſent demand might ſeem to be of this nature, yet in reality it involved conſequences, which led much farther than at firſt ſight might be apprehended. That the King in his ſpeech had plainly intimated, that he had reſſources in his prerogative, which, in caſe of oppoſition from Parliament, he thought himſelf fully intitled to employ. That if the Parliament openly diſcovered an intention of reducing him to dependance, matters muſt preſently be brought to a criſis, at a time the moſt favorable to his cauſe, which his moſt ſanguine wiſhes could ever have promiſed him. That if we caſt our eyes abroad, to the ſtate of affairs on the continent, to the ſituation of Scotland and Ireland; or what is of more importance, if we conſider the diſpoſition of men's minds at home, every circumſtance would be found adverſe to the cauſe of liberty. That the country party, during the late reign, by their violent, and in many reſpects unjuſtifiable meaſures in Parliament, by their deſperate attempts out of Parliament, had expoſed their principles to public hatred, and had excited extreme jealouſy in all the Royaliſts and zealous churchmen, who now formed the bulk of the nation. That it would not be acceptable to that party to ſee this King worſe treated than his brother in point of revenue, or any attempts made to keep the Crown in dependance. That they thought Parliaments as lyable to abuſe as Monarchy, and deſired not to ſee things in a ſituation, where the King could not, if he found it requiſite, either prorogue or diſſolve them. That if the preſent Parliament, by making great conceſſions, could gain the King's confidence, and engage him to obſerve the promiſes now given them, every thing would by gentle methods ſucceed to their wiſhes. That if, on the contrary, after ſuch inſtances of compliance, he formed any deſign on the liberties and religion of the nation, he would in the eyes of all mankind render himſelf entirely inexcuſable, and the whole people would join in oppoſition to him. That reſiſtance could ſcarce be attempted twice; and there was therefore the greater neceſſity of waiting till time and incidents had prepared the minds of the nation for it. That the King's prejudices in favor of popery, tho' in the main pernicious, yet were ſo far fortunate, that they rendered the connexion inſeparable betwixt the national religion and national liberty. And that if any illegal attempts were afterwards made, the church, which was at preſent the chief ſecurity of the Crown, would ſurely catch the alarm, and would ſoon diſpoſe the people to an effectual reſiſtance.

These laſt reaſons, fortified by the prejudices and affections of party, prevailed in Parliament; and the Commons, beſides thanks for the King's ſpeech, voted unanimouſly, that they would ſettle on the preſent King during his life all the revenue enjoyed by the late King at the time of his deceaſe. That they might not detract from this generoſity by any ſymptoms of diſtruſt, they alſo voted unanimouſly, that the Houſe entirely relied on his Majeſty's royal word and repeated declarations to ſupport the religion of the church of England: But they added, that that religion was dearer to them than their lives. The ſpeaker, in preſenting the revenue-bill, took care to inform the King of the Commons' vote with regard to religion; but could not, by ſo ſignal a proof of confidence, extort from him one word, in favor of that religion, on which, he told his Majeſty, they ſet ſo high a value. Notwithſtanding the grounds of ſuſpicion, which this ſilence afforded, the Houſe continued in the ſame liberal diſpoſition. The King having demanded a farther ſupply for the navy and other purpoſes, they revived thoſe duties on wines and vinegar, which had once been enjoyed by the late King; and they added ſome impoſitions on tobacco and ſugar. This grant amounted on the whole to about ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year.

The Houſe of Lords were in a humor no leſs compliant. They even went ſome lengths towards breaking in pieces all the remains of the popiſh plot; that once formidable engine of bigotry and faction.

Oates convicted of perjury.

A little before the meeting of Parliament, Oates had been tried for perjury on two indictments. One for ſwearing, that he was preſent at a conſult of jeſuites in London the twenty-fourth of April, 1679: Another for ſwearing, that father Ireland was in London between the eighth and twelfth of Auguſt and on the beginning of September the ſame year. Never criminal was convicted on fuller and more undoubted evidence. Two and twenty perſons, who had been ſtudents at St. Omers, moſt of them men of credit and family, gave evidence, that Oates had entered into that ſeminary about Chriſtmas in the preceding year, and had never been abſent but one night, till the month of July following. Forty-ſeven witneſſes, perſons alſo of untainted character, ſwore that father Ireland, on the third of Auguſt, had gone to Staffordſhire, where he remained till the middle of September; and, what ſome years before would have been regarded as a very material circumſtance, nine of theſe witneſſes were Proteſtants of the church of England. Oates's ſentence was to be fined a thouſand marks on each indictment, to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be impriſoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. The impudence of the man ſupported itſelf under the conviction, and his courage under the puniſhment. He made ſolemn appeals to Heaven, and proteſtations of the veracity of his teſtimony: Tho' the whipping was ſo cruel, that it was evidently the intention of the Court to put him to death by that puniſhment, he was enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover: And he lived to King William's reign; when he had a penſion of four hundred pounds a year conferred on him. A conſiderable number ſtill adhered to him in his diſtreſſes, and regarded him as the martyr of the proteſtant cauſe. The populace were affected with the ſight of a puniſhment, more ſevere than is commonly exerciſed in England. And the ſentence of perpetual impriſonment was eſteemed illegal.

The conviction of Oates's perjury was taken notice of by the Houſe of Peers. Beſides freeing the popiſh lords, Powis, Arundel, Bellaſis, and Tyrone, together with Danby, from the former impeachment by the Commons, they went ſo far as to vote a reverſal of Stafford's attainder, on account of the falſhood of that evidence, on which he had been condemned. This bill fixed ſo deep a ſtain on the former proceedings of the excluſioniſts, that it met with great oppoſition among the Lords; and it was at laſt, after one reading, dropped by the Commons. Tho' the reparation of injuſtice be the ſecond honor, which a nation can attain; the preſent emergence ſeemed very improper for granting ſo full a juſtification of the Catholics, and throwing ſo ſignal an imputation on the Proteſtants.

Monmouth's invaſion.

The courſe of parliamentary proceedings was interrupted by the news of Monmouth's arrival on the weſt coaſt with three ſhips from Holland. No ſooner was this intelligence conveyed to the Parliament, than they voted, that they would adhere to his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes. They paſſed a bill of attainder againſt Monmouth: and they granted a ſupply of four hundred thouſand pounds for ſuppreſſing this rebellion. After having thus ſtrengthend the hands of the King, they adjourned themſelves.

Monmouth, when ordered to depart the kingdom, during the late reign, had retired to Holland; and as it was well-known, that he was ſtill much favored by his indulgent father, all marks of honor and diſtinction were beſtowed upon him by the Prince of Orange. After the acceſſion of James, the Prince thought proper to diſmiſs Monmouth and all his followers; and that illuſtrious fugitive retired to Bruſſels. Finding himſelf ſtill purſued by the King's ſeverity, he was puſhed, contrary to his judgment as well as inclination, to make a very raſh and premature attempt upon England. He ſaw that the King had lately mounted the Throne, not only without oppoſition, but ſeemingly with the good will and affections of his ſubjects. A Parliament was ſitting, which diſcovered the greateſt diſpoſition to comply with the Court, and whoſe adherence to the Crown, he knew, would give great ſanction and authority to all public meaſures. The grievances of this reign were hitherto inconſiderable; and the people were not as yet in a diſpoſition to remark them with great ſeverity. All theſe conſiderations occurred to Monmouth; but ſuch was the impatience of his followers, ſuch the precipitate humor of Argyle, who ſet out for Scotland a little before him, that no reaſons could be attended to; and this unhappy man was drove upon his fate.

11th of June.

THE imprudence, however, of his enterprize did not at firſt appear. Tho' on his landing at Lime in Dorſetſhire, he had ſcarce a hundred followers; ſo popular was his name, that in four days he had aſſembled above two thouſand horſe and foot. They were indeed, almoſt all of them, the loweſt of the people; and his declaration was chiefly calculated to ſuit the prejudices of the vulgar, or the moſt bigotted of the whig-party. He called the King, Duke of Yorke; and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, a popiſh uſurper. He imputed to him the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey and of Eſſex, nay the poiſoning the late King. And he invited all the people to join in oppoſition to his tyranny.

THE Duke of Albemarle, ſon to him who had reſtored the Royal Family, ſummoned together the militia of Devonſhire to the number of 4000 men, and took poſt at Axminſter, in order to oppoſe the rebels; but obſerving, that his troops bore a great affection to Monmouth, he thought proper to retire. Monmouth, tho' he had given many ſignal proofs of perſonal courage, had not the vigor of mind requiſite for an undertaking of this nature. From an ill-grounded diffidence of his men, he neglected to attack Albemarle; an eaſy enterprize, by which he might both have acquired credit and ſupplied himſelf with arms. Lord Grey, who commanded his horſe, diſcovered himſelf to be a notorious coward; yet ſuch was the ſoftneſs of Monmouth's nature, that Grey was ſtill continued in his command. Fletcher of Salton, a Scotchman, a perſon of ſignal probity and fine genius, had been engaged by his republican principles in this enterprize, and commanded the cavalry together with Grey: But being inſulted by one, who had newly joined the army, and whoſe horſe he had in a hurry made uſe of, he was prompted by paſſion, to which he was much ſubject, to diſcharge a piſtol at the man; and he killed him on the ſpot. This accident obliged him immediately to leave the camp;

and

Chap. I. 1685. and the loſs of ſo gallant an officer was a great prejudice to Monmouth's enterprize.

The next ſtation of the rebels was Taunton, a very diſaffected town, which gladly and even fondly received them, and re-inforced them with conſiderable numbers. Twenty young maids of ſome rank preſented Monmouth with a pair of colors of their handiwork, together with a copy of the bible. Monmouth was here perſwaded to take upon him the title of King, and aſſert the legitimacy of his birth; a claim, which he advanced in his firſt declaration, but whoſe diſcuſſion he was determined, he then ſaid, during ſome time to poſtpone. His numbers had now increaſed to ſix thouſand men; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to diſmiſs a great many, who crowded to his ſtandard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, Frome; and was proclaimed in all theſe places: But forgetting, that ſuch deſperate enterprizes can be rendered ſucceſsful by the moſt adventurous courage alone, he allowed the expectations of the people to languiſh, without attempting any conſiderable undertaking.

While Monmouth, by his imprudent and ill-timed caution, was thus waſting time in the weſt, the King employed himſelf in making preparations to oppoſe him. Six regiments of Britiſh troops were called over from Holland: The army was conſiderably augmented: And regular forces, to the number of 3000 men, were diſpatched under the command of Feverſham and Churchill, in order to check the progreſs of the rebels.

Monmouth, obſerving that no conſiderable men joined him, finding that an inſurrection which was projected in the city had not taken place, hearing that Argyle, his confederate, was already defeated and taken; ſunk into ſuch deſpondency, that he had once reſolved to withdraw himſelf, and leave his unhappy followers to their fate. His followers expreſſed more courage than their leader, and ſeemed determined to adhere to him in every fortune. The negligent diſpoſition made by Feverſham, invited Monmouth to attack the King's army at Sedgemoor near Bridgewater; and his men in this action ſhowed what a native courage and a principle of duty, even when unaſſiſted by diſcipline, is able to perform. They made great impreſſion on the veteran troops; drove them from their ground; continued the fight till their ammunition failed them; and would at laſt have obtained a victory, had not the miſconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Grey prevented it. After a conteſt of three hours, the rebels gave way; and were followed with great ſlaughter. About 1500 fell in the battle and purſuit. And thus was concluded in a few weeks this enterprize, raſhly undertaken, and feebly conducted.

5th of July. Monmouth defeated.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horſe ſunk under him. He then changed cloaths with a peaſant, in order to conceal himſelf. The peaſant was found by the purſuers, who now redoubled the diligence of their ſearch. At laſt, the unhappy Monmouth was diſcovered, lying in the bottom of a ditch, and covered with fern: His body depreſſed with fatigue and hunger; his mind by the memory of paſt misfortunes, by the proſpect of future diſaſters. Human nature is unequal to ſuch calamitous ſituations; much more, the temper of a man, ſoftened by early proſperity, and accuſtomed to value himſelf chiefly on military bravery. He burſt into tears, when ſeized by his enemies; and he ſeemed ſtill to indulge the fond hope and deſire of life. Tho' he might have known, from the greatneſs of his own offences, and the ſeverity of James's temper, that no mercy could be expected, he wrote him the moſt ſubmiſſive letters, and conjured him to ſpare the blood of a brother, who had ever been ſo ſtrongly attached to his intereſts. James, finding ſuch ſymptoms of depreſſion and deſpondency in the unhappy priſoner, admitted him to his preſence, in hopes of extorting a diſcovery of his accomplices: But Monmouth would not purchaſe life, however loved, at the price of ſo much infamy. Finding all efforts vain, he aſſumed courage from deſpair, and prepared himſelf for death with a ſpirit, better ſuited to his rank and character. This favorite of the people was attended to the ſcaffold with a plentiful effuſion of tears. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error, which he had committed in beheading Ruſſel, where it had been neceſſary to redouble the blow. This precaution ſerved only to diſmay the executioner. He ſtruck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raiſed his head from the block, and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure. He gently laid down his head a ſecond time; and the executioner ſtruck him again and again to no purpoſe. He at laſt threw aſide the ax, and cried out that he was incapable of finiſhing the bloody office. The ſheriff obliged him to renew the attempt; and at two blows more the head was ſevered from the body.

and executed,
15th of July.

Thus periſhed in the thirty-ſixth year of his age a nobleman, who, in leſs turbulent times, was well qualified to be an ornament to the Court, even to be ſervicable to his country. The favor of his Prince, the careſſes of faction, the allurements of popularity, ſeduced him into enterprizes, which exceeded his capacity. The goodwill of the people ſtill followed him in every fortune. Even after his execution, their fond credulity flattered them with hopes of ſeeing him once more at their head. They believed, that the perſon executed was not Monmouth, but one, who, having the fortune to reſemble him nearly, was willing to give this proof of his extreme attachment, and to ſuffer death in his ſtead.

This victory, obtained by the King in the commencement of his reign, would naturally, had it been prudently managed, have tended much to encreaſe his power and authority. But by reaſon of the cruelty, with which it was proſecuted, and of the temerity, which it afterwards occaſioned, it was a principal cauſe of his ſudden ruin and downfall.

Cruelty of colonel Kirke.

Such arbitrary principles had the Court inſtilled into all its ſervants, that Feverſham, immediately after the victory, hanged up above twenty priſoners; and was proceeding in his executions, when the biſhop of Bath and Wells warned him, that theſe unhappy men were now by law entitled to a trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murther. This remonſtrance however did not ſtop the ſavage nature of colonel Kirke, a ſoldier of fortune, who had long ſerved at Tangiers, and had contracted, from his habitudes with the Moors, an inhumanity leſs known in Europæan and in free countries. At his firſt entry into Bridgewater, he hanged nineteen without the leaſt enquiry into the merits of their cauſe. As if to make ſport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company ſhould drink to the King's health, or to the queen's, or to judge Jefferies's. Obſerving their feet to ſhake in the agonies of death, he cried that he would give them muſic to their dancing; and he immediately commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to ſound. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up three times, queſtioning him at every interval, whether he repented of his crime: But the man obſtinately aſſerting, that, notwithſtanding all the paſt, he would ſtill willingly engage in the ſame cauſe, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains. One ſtory is memorable for the treachery, as well as barbarity, which attended it. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herſelf at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms, which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could beſtow upon her. The tyrant was inflamed with deſire, not ſoftened into love or clemency. He promiſed to grant her requeſt, provided that ſhe, in her turn, would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions: But after ſhe had paſſed the night with him, the wanton ſavage, next morning, ſhowed her from the window her brother, the darling object for whom ſhe had ſacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had ſecretly ordered to be there erected for his execution. Rage and deſpair and indignation took poſſeſſion of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her ſenſes. The whole country, innocent as well as guilty, were expoſed to the ravages of this barbarian. The ſoldiery were let looſe to live on free quarter; and his own regiment, inſtructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a more particular manner by their outrages.

By way of pleaſantry, he uſed to denominate them *his lambs*; an appellation, which was long remembered with horror in the weſt of England.

The cruel Jefferies ſucceeded after ſome interval; and ſhowed the people, that the rigors of the law might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. This man, who wantoned in cruelty, had already given a ſpecimen of his brutal nature in many trials, where he had preſided; and he now ſet out with a ſavage joy as to a full harveſt of death and deſtruction. He began at Dorcheſter; and thirty rebels being arraigned, he exhorted them, but in vain, to ſave him, by their free confeſſion, the trouble of trying them: And when twenty-nine were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional puniſhment of their diſobedience, to be led to immediate execution. Moſt of the other priſoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty; and no leſs than two hundred and ninety-two received ſentence at Dorcheſter. Of theſe eighty were executed. Exeter was the next ſtage of his cruelty: Two hundred and forty-three were there tried, of whom a great number were condemned and executed. He alſo opened his commiſſion at Taunton and Wells; and every where carried terror and aſtoniſhment along with him. The juries were ſo ſtruck with his menaces, that they gave their verdict with precipitation, and many innocent perſons were involved with the guilty. And on the whole, beſides thoſe butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of juſtice. The whole country was ſtrowed with the heads and limbs of traitors. Every village almoſt beheld the dead carcaſs of a wretched inhabitant. And all the rigors of juſtice, unabated by any appearance of clemency, were fully diſplayed to the people by the inhuman Jefferies.

Of all the executions during this diſmal period, the moſt remarkable were thoſe of Mrs. Gaunt and Lady Liſle, who had been accuſed of harboring traitors. Mrs. Gaunt was an Anabaptiſt noted for her beneficence, which ſhe extended to perſons of all profeſſions and perſwaſions. One of the rebels, knowing her humane character, had recourſe to her in his diſtreſs, and was concealed by her. Hearing of the proclamation, which offered an indemnity and rewards to ſuch as diſcovered criminals, he baſely betrayed his benefactreſs, and bore evidence againſt her. He received a pardon for his treachery; ſhe was burned alive for her charity.

Lady Lisle was widow of one of the Regicides, who had enjoyed great favor and authority under Cromwel, and who having fled, after the reſtoration, to Lauzunne in Swiſſerland, was there aſſaſſinated by three Iriſh ruffians, who hoped to make their fortune by this infamous piece of ſervice. His widow was now proſecuted for harboring two rebels the day after the battle of Sedgemoor; and Jefferies puſhed on the trial with the moſt unrelenting violence. In vain, did the aged

Chap. I. 1685. priſoner plead, that theſe criminals had been put into no proclamation, had been convicted by no verdict; nor could any man be denominated a traitor, till the ſentence of ſome legal court was paſſed upon him: That it appeared not by any proof, that ſhe was ſo much as acquainted with the guilt of the perſons, or had heard of their joining the rebellion of Monmouth: That tho' ſhe might be obnoxious on account of her family, it was well known, that her heart was ever loyal, and that no perſon in England had ſhed more tears for that fatal event, in which her huſband had unfortunately borne too great a ſhare: And that the ſame principles, which ſhe herſelf had ever embraced, ſhe had carefully inſtilled into her ſon, and had, at that very time, ſent him to fight againſt thoſe rebels, whom ſhe was now accuſed of harboring. Tho' theſe arguments moved not the inhuman Jefferies, they had influence on the jury. Twice they brought in a favorable verdict: They were as often ſent back with menaces and reproaches; and at laſt were conſtrained to give ſentence againſt the priſoner. Notwithſtanding all applications for pardon, the cruel ſentence was executed. The King ſaid, that he had given Jefferies a promiſe not to pardon her: An excuſe, which could ſerve only to aggravate the blame againſt himſelf.

ONE might have hoped, that, by all theſe bloody executions, a rebellion, ſo precipitate, ſo ill-ſupported, and of ſuch ſhort duration, would have been ſufficiently expiated: But nothing could ſatiate the ſpirit of rigor, which poſſeſſed the adminiſtration. Even thoſe multitudes, who received pardon, were obliged to attone for their guilt by fines, which reduced them to beggary; or where their former poverty made them incapable of payment, they were condemned to cruel whippings or ſevere impriſonments. Nor could the innocent eſcape the hands, equally rapacious as cruel, of the chief juſtice. Prideaux, a gentleman of Devonſhire, being thrown into priſon, and terrified with the ſevere and arbitrary meaſures, which at that time met with no control, was obliged to buy his liberty of Jefferies at the price of fifteen thouſand pounds; tho' he could never ſo much as learn the crime, of which he was accuſed.

GOODENOUGH, the ſeditious under-ſheriff of London, who had been engaged in the moſt bloody and deſperate part of the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, was taken priſoner after the battle of Sedgemoor, and was reſolved to ſave his own life, by an accuſation of Corniſh, the ſheriff, whom he knew to be extremely obnoxious to the Court. Colonel Rumſey joined him in the accuſation; and the proſecution was ſo haſtened, that the priſoner was tried, condemned, and executed in the ſpace of a week. The perjury of the witneſſes appeared immediately after; and the King ſeemed to regret the execution of Corniſh. He granted his eſtate to his family, and condemned the witneſſes to perpetual impriſonment.

The injuſtice of this ſentence againſt Corniſh was not required, to diſguſt the nation againſt the Court: The continued rigor and cruelty of the other executions had already impreſſed an univerſal hatred towards the miniſters of juſtice, attended with a compaſſion for the unhappy ſufferers, who, as they had been ſeduced into this crime by miſtaken principles, bore their puniſhment with the ſpirit and zeal of martyrs. The people might have been willing on this occaſion to diſtinguiſh between the King and his miniſters: But care was taken to prove, that they had done nothing but what was agreeable to their maſter. Jefferies, on his return, was immediately, for thoſe eminent ſervices, created a peer; and was ſoon after veſted with the dignity of chancellor. No body could then doubt but the King intended to rule more by fear than love, and that he was not averſe to the cruelties, which had been practiſed.

State of affairs in Scotland.

We muſt now take a view of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland; where the fate of Argyle had been decided before that of Monmouth. Immediately after the King's acceſſion, a Parliament had been ſummoned at Edinburgh; and all affairs were there conducted by the duke of Queenſbery the commiſſioner, and the earl of Perth the chancellor. The former had reſolved to make an entire ſurrender of the liberties of his country; but was determined ſtill to adhere to its religion: The latter entertained no ſcruples of paying court even by the ſacrifice of both. But no courtiers, even the moſt proſtitute, could go farther than the Parliament itſelf, towards a reſignation of their liberties. In a vote, which they called an offer of duty, after adopting the fabulous hiſtory of an hundred and eleven Scotch Monarchs, they acknowleged, that all theſe Princes, by the firſt and fundamental law of the ſtate, had been veſted with a ſolid and abſolute authority. They declared their abhorrence of all principles and poſitions, derogatory to the King's ſacred, ſupreme, ſovereign, abſolute power, of which none, they ſaid, whether ſingle perſons or collective bodies, can participate, but in dependance on him and by commiſſion from him. They promiſed, that the whole nation, betwixt ſixty and ſixteen, ſhall be in readineſs for his Majeſty's ſervice, where and as oft as it ſhall be his royal pleaſure to require them. And they annexed the whole exciſe both of inland and foreign commodities for ever to the Crown.

All the other acts of this aſſembly ſavored of the ſame ſpirit. They declared it high treaſon for any perſon to refuſe the teſt, if tendered by the council. To defend the obligation of the covenant ſubjected a perſon to the ſame penalty. To be preſent at any conventicle was made puniſhable with death and confiſcation of goods. Even ſuch as refuſed to give teſtimony, either in caſes of treaſon or nonconformity, were declared equally puniſhable as if guilty of thoſe very crimes: An excellent prelude to all the rigors of an inquiſition. It muſt be confeſſed, that nothing could equal the abject ſervility of the Scotch nation during this period but the arbitrary ſeverity of the adminiſtration.

Argyle's invaſion,

It was in vain, that Argyle ſummoned a nation, ſo loſt to all ſenſe of liberty, ſo degraded by repeated iniquities, to riſe in vindication of their violated laws and privileges. The greater part of thoſe who declared for him, were his own vaſſals; men, who, if poſſible, were ſtill more ſunk in ſlavery than the reſt of the nation. He arrived, after a proſperous voyage, in Argyleſhire, attended by ſome fugitives from Holland; and among the reſt, by Sir Patric Hume, a man of mild diſpoſitions, who had been driven to this extremity by a continued train of oppreſſion. The privy council was apprized of Argyle's intentions. The whole militia of the kingdom, to the number of twenty-two thouſand men, were already in arms; and a third part of them, with all the regular forces, were on their march to oppoſe him. All the conſiderable gentry of his clan were thrown into priſon. And two ſhips of war were on the coaſt to watch his motions. Under all theſe diſcouragements he yet made a ſhift, partly from terror, partly from affection, to collect and arm a body of about two thouſand five hundred men; but ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides with inſuperable difficulties. His arms and ammunition were ſeized: His proviſions cut off: The marqueſs of Athole preſſed him on one ſide; lord Charles Murray on another; the duke of Gordon hung upon his rear; the earl of Dunbarton met him in front. His followers daily fell off from him; but Argyle, reſolute to perſevere, broke at laſt with the ſhattered remains of his troops into the diſaffected part of the low countries, which he had endeavored to allure to him by declarations for the covenant. No perſon ſhowed either courage or inclination to join him; and his ſmall and ſtill decreaſing army, after wandering about for a little time, was at laſt defeated and diſſolved without an enemy. Argyle himſelf was ſeized and carried to Edinburgh; where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant ſpirit, he was publicly executed. He ſuffered upon the former unjuſt ſentence, which had been paſſed upon him. The reſt of his followers either eſcaped or were pardoned; all except Rumbold and Ayloffe, two Engliſhmen, who had attended him on this expedition.

defeat, and execution.

9th of November. A Parliament.

The King was ſo elated with this continued tyde of proſperity, that he began to undervalue even an Engliſh Parliament, at all times formidable to his family; and from his ſpeech to both Houſes, whom he had aſſembled early in the winter, he ſeemed to think himſelf exempted from all rules of prudence or neceſſity of diſſimulation. He plainly told them, that the militia, which had formerly been ſo much magnified, was now found, by the experience of the laſt rebellion, to be altogether uſeleſs; and he required a new ſupply, in order to maintain thoſe additional forces, which he had levied. He alſo took notice, that he had employed a great many catholic officers, and that he had, in their favor, diſpenſed with the law, requiring the teſt to be taken by every one who poſſeſſed any public office. And to cut ſhort all oppoſition, he declared, that, having reaped the benefit of their ſervice during ſuch times of danger, he was determined, neither to expoſe them afterwards to diſgrace, nor himſelf, in caſe of another rebellion, to the want of their aſſiſtance.

SUCH violent averſion did this Parliament bear towards oppoſition; ſo great dread had been inſtilled of the conſequences attending any breach with the King; that it is probable, had he practiſed his diſpenſing power without declaring it, no enquiries would have been made, and time might have reconciled the nation to this dangerous exerciſe of the prerogative. But to invade at once their conſtitution, to threaten their religion, to eſtabliſh a ſtanding army, and even to require them, by their concurrence, to contribute towards all theſe meaſures, exceeded the bounds of their patience, and they began, for the firſt time, to diſplay ſome ſmall remains of Engliſh ſpirit and generoſity. When the King's ſpeech was taken into conſideration by the Commons, many ſevere reflections were thrown out againſt the preſent meaſures; and the Houſe was with ſeeming difficulty engaged to promiſe in a general vote, that they would grant ſome ſupply. But inſtead of finiſhing that buſineſs, which could alone render them acceptable to the King, they proceeded to examine the diſpenſing power; and they voted an addreſs to the King againſt it. Before this addreſs was preſented, they reſumed the conſideration of the ſupply; and as one million two hundred thouſand pounds were demanded by the Court, and two hundred thouſand pounds propoſed by the patriots, a middle courſe was choſen, and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, after ſome diſpute, were at laſt voted. The addreſs againſt the diſpenſing power was expreſſed in the moſt reſpectful and ſubmiſſive manner; yet was it very ill received by the King, and his anſwer contained a flat denial, uttered with great warmth and vehemence. The Commons were ſo daunted with this reply, that they kept ſilence a long time; and when Coke, member for Derby, roſe up and ſaid, "I hope we are all Engliſh-"men, and not to be frighted with a few hard words:" So little ſpirit appeared in that aſſembly, often ſo refractory and mutinous, that they ſent him to the Tower for bluntly expreſſing a free and generous ſentiment. They adjourned without fixing a day for the conſideration of his Majeſty's anſwer; and on their next meeting, they very ſubmiſſively proceeded to the conſideration of the ſupply, and even went ſo far as to vote, that three hundred thouſand pounds of the ſum propoſed ſhould be annually levied for nine years and a half enſuing. The King, therefore, had in effect, almoſt without ſtruggle or violence, obtained a total victory over the Commons; and they were contented to grant at once what would, during ſo long a time, have ſupplied all the neceſſities of the government, have rendered their farther meeting uſeleſs, and even have rivetted their own chains upon them.

The next oppoſition came from the Houſe of Peers, which has not commonly taken the lead on theſe occaſions, and even from the bench of biſhops, whence the Court uſually expects the greateſt complaiſance and ſubmiſſion. The upper Houſe had been engaged, in the firſt days of the ſeſſion, to give general thanks for the King's ſpeech; by which compliment they were underſtood, according to the practice of that time, to have acquieſced in every part of it: Yet notwithſtanding that ſtep, Compton, biſhop of London, in his own name and that of his brethren, moved that a day ſhould be appointed for taking the ſpeech into conſideration: He was ſeconded by Halifax, Nottingham, and Mordaunt. Jefferies, the chancellor, oppoſed this motion; and ſeemed inclined to uſe in that Houſe the ſame brutal arrogance, to which on the bench he had ſo long been accuſtomed: But he was ſoon taught to know his place; and he proved, by his behavior, that inſolence, when checked, naturally ſinks into meanneſs and cowardice. The biſhop of London's motion prevailed.

The King might reaſonably have preſumed, that even if the Peers ſhould ſo far recover courage as to make an application againſt his diſpenſing power, the ſame ſteddy anſwer, which he had given the Commons, would make them relapſe into the ſame timidity; and he might by that means have obtained a very conſiderable ſupply, without making any conceſſions in return. But ſo imperious was his temper, ſo lofty the idea which he had entertained of his own authority, ſo violent the ſchemes ſuggeſted by his own bigotry and that of his prieſts; that, without any delay, without waiting for any farther provocation, he immediately proceeded to a prorogation. He continued the Parliament during a year and a half by four more prorogations; but having in vain tried by ſeparate applications to break the obſtinacy of the leading members, he at laſt diſſolved that aſſembly. And as it was plainly impoſſible for him to find among his proteſtant ſubjects a ſet of men more devoted to royal authority, it was univerſally concluded, that he intended thenceforth to govern entirely without Parliaments.

Never King mounted the throne of England with greater advantages than James; nay poſſeſſed greater facility, if that were any advantage, of rendering himſelf and his poſterity abſolute: But all theſe fortunate circumſtances tended only, by his own miſconduct, to bring more ſudden ruin upon him. The nation ſeemed diſpoſed of themſelves to reſign their liberties into his hands, had he not, at the ſame time, made an attempt upon their religion: And he might even have ſucceeded in ſurmounting at once their liberties and religion, had he conducted his ſchemes with common prudence and diſcretion. Openly to declare to the Parliament, ſo early in his reign, his intention to diſpenſe with the teſts, the great barrier againſt popery, ſtruck an univerſal alarm thro' the nation; infuſed terror into the church, which had hitherto been the chief ſupport of Monarchy; and even diſguſted the army, by whoſe means alone he could now propoſe to govern. The former horror againſt popery was revived by polemical books and ſermons; and in every diſpute the victory ſeemed to be gained by the proteſtant divines, who were heard with more favorable ears, and who conducted the controverſy with more learning and eloquence. But another incident happened at this time, which tended extremely to excite the animoſity of the nation againſt the catholic communion.

Chap. I.
1685.

Lewis the fourteenth, after having long harraſſed and moleſted the Proteſtants, entirely revoked the edict of Nantz; which had been enacted by Harry the fourth for ſecuring them the exerciſe of their religion; which had been declared irrevocable; and which, during the experience of near a century, had been attended with no ſenſible inconvenience. All the iniquities, inſeparable from perſecution, were exerciſed againſt thoſe unhappy religioniſts; who became obſtinate in proportion to the oppreſſions which they ſuffered, and either covered under a feigned converſion a more violent abhorrence of the catholic communion, or ſought among foreign nations for that liberty, of which they were bereaved in their native country. Above half a million of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious ſubjects deſerted France; and exported, together with immenſe ſums of money, thoſe arts and manufactures, which had chiefly tended hitherto to enrich that kingdom. They propagated everywhere the moſt tragical accounts of the tyranny, exerciſed againſt them, and revived among the Proteſtants all thoſe ſentiments of the bloody and perſecuting ſpirit of popery, to which ſo many incidents in all ages had given too much foundation. Near fifty thouſand refugees paſſed over into England; and all men were diſpoſed from their repreſentations to foſter the utmoſt horror againſt the projects, which they apprehended to be entertained by the King for the abolition of the proteſtant religion. When a Prince of ſo much humanity and of ſuch ſignal prudence as Lewis could be engaged, by the bigotry of his religion alone, without any provocation, to embrace ſuch ſanguinary and impolitic meaſures; what might be dreaded, they aſked, from James, who was ſo much inferior in theſe virtues, and who had already been irritated by ſuch obſtinate and violent oppoſition? In vain did the King affect to throw the higheſt blame on the perſecutions of France: In vain did he afford the moſt real protection and aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed Hugonots. All theſe ſymptoms of toleration were regarded as fallacious; oppoſite to the avowed principles of his ſect, and belied by the ſevere adminiſtration, which he himſelf had exerciſed againſt the Nonconformiſts in Scotland.

1686.

The ſmalleſt approach towards the introduction of popery, muſt, in the preſent diſpoſition of the people, have afforded reaſon of jealouſy; much more ſo wide a ſtep as that of diſpenſing with the teſts, the ſole ſecurity which the nation, being diſappointed of the excluſion-bill, found provided againſt thoſe dreaded innovations. Yet was the King reſolute to perſevere in his purpoſe; and having failed in bringing over the Parliament, he made an attempt, with more ſucceſs, for eſtabliſhing the diſpenſing power, by a verdict of his judges. Sir Edward Hales, a new proſelyte, had accepted a commiſſion of colonel; and directions were given to his coachman to proſecute him for the penalty of five hundred pounds, which the law, eſtabliſhing the teſts, had granted to informers. By this feigned action, the King hoped, both from the authority of the deciſion, and the reaſon of the thing, to put an end to all queſtions with regard to his diſpenſing power.

Diſpenſing power.

It could not be expected, that the lawyers, appointed to plead againſt Hales, would exert great force on that occaſion: But the cauſe was regarded with ſuch anxiety by the public, that it has been thorowly diſcuſſed in ſeveral elaborate diſcourſes*; and could men diveſt themſelves of prejudice, there want not ſufficient materials, on which to form a true judgment. The claim and exerciſe of the diſpenſing power is allowed to be very antient in England; and tho' it ſeems at firſt to have been copied from papal uſurpations, it may plainly be traced up as high as the reign of Henry the third. In the gothic government, men were more anxious to ſecure their private property than to ſhare in the public adminiſtration; and provided no innovations were attempted on their rights and poſſeſſions, the care of executing the laws, and enſuring general ſafety was without jealouſy entruſted to the Sovereign. Penal ſtatutes were commonly intended to arm the Prince with more authority for that purpoſe; and being in the main calculated for promoting his influence and intereſt as firſt magiſtrate, there ſeemed no danger in allowing him to diſpence with their execution, in ſuch particular caſes as might require an exception or indulgence. That practice had ſo much prevailed, that the Parliament itſelf had more than once acknowleged this prerogative of the Crown; particularly during the reign of Henry the fifth, when they enacted the law againſt aliens †, and alſo when they paſſed the ſtatute of proviſors ‡. But tho' the general tenor

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* Particularly Sir Edward Herbert's defence in the State Trials, and Sir Robert Atkins's Enquiry concerning the diſpenſing power.

† Rot. Parl. 1. Hen. V. n. xv.

‡ Rot. Parl. 1. Hen.

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tenor of the penal ſtatutes was ſuch as gave the King a ſuperior intereſt in their execution beyond any of his ſubjects; it could not but ſometimes happen in a mixed government, that the Parliament would deſire to enact laws, by which the regal power, in ſome particulars, even where private property was not immediately concerned, might be regulated and reſtrained. In the twenty-third of Henry the ſixth, a law of this kind was enacted, prohibiting any man to ſerve in a county as ſheriff above a year; and a clauſe was inſerted, by which the King was diſabled from granting a diſpenſation. Plain reaſon might have taught, that this law at leaſt ſhould be exempted from the King's prerogative: But as the diſpenſing power ſtill prevailed in other caſes, it was ſoon able, aided by the ſervility of the courts of judicature, even to overpower this ſtatute, which the legiſlature had evidently intended to ſecure againſt all violation. In the reign of Henry the ſeventh, the caſe was brought to a trial before all the judges in the Exchequer-chamber; and it was decreed, that, notwithſtanding the ſtrict clauſe abovementioned, the King might diſpenſe with the ſtatute: He could firſt, it was alleged, diſpenſe with the prohibitory clauſe, and then with the ſtatute itſelf. This opinion of the judges, however abſurd, had ever ſince paſſed for undoubted law: The practice of continuing the ſheriffs had ever prevailed: And moſt of the property of England had been fixed by deciſions, which juries, returned by ſuch ſheriffs, had given in the courts of judicature. Many other diſpenſations of a like nature may be produced; not only ſuch as took place by intervals, but ſuch as were uniformly continued. Thus the law was diſpenſed with which prohibited any man to go a judge of aſſize into his own county; that which rendered all Welchmen incapable of offices in Wales; that which required every one, who received a pardon for felony, to find ſureties for his good behavior. In the ſecond of James the firſt, a new conſultation of all the judges had been held in the Exchequer-chamber upon a like queſtion: This prerogative of the Crown was again unanimouſly confirmed*: And it became an eſtabliſhed principle in Engliſh juriſprudence, that, tho' the King could not allow of what was morally unlawful, he could permit what was only prohibited by poſitive ſtatute†. Even the jealous Houſe of Commons, which extorted the petition of right, made no ſcruple, by the mouth of Glanville, their manager, to allow of the diſpenſing power to its full extent‡; and in the

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Hen. V. n. xxii. It is remarkable, however, that in the reign of Richard the ſecond, the Parliament granted the King only a temporary power of diſpenſing with the ſtatute of proviſors. Rot. Parl. 15. Rich. II. n. i. A plain implication that he had not, of himſelf, ſuch a prerogative. So uncertain were many of theſe points at that time.

* Sir Edward Coke's Reports, ſeventh report. † See the Extracts from Townſhend's Journal, in vol. i. p. 106. ‡ State Trials, vol. vii. firſt edit. p. 205.

famous trial of ſhip-money, Holborne, the popular lawyer, had, freely, and in the moſt expreſs terms, made the ſame conceſſion *. Sir Edward Coke, the great oracle of Engliſh law, had not only concurred with all other lawyers in favor of this prerogative; but ſeems even to believe it ſo inherent in the Crown, that an act of Parliament itſelf could not aboliſh it †. And he particularly obſerves, that no law can impoſe ſuch a diſability of enjoying offices as the King may not diſpenſe with; becauſe the King, from the law of nature, has a right to the ſervice of all his ſubjects. This particular reaſon, as well as all the general principles, is applicable to the queſtion of the teſts; nor can the dangerous conſequence of granting diſpenſations in that caſe be ever received before a court of judicature. Every prerogative of the Crown, it may be ſaid, admits of abuſe: Should the King pardon all criminals, law muſt be totally diſſolved: Should he declare and continue perpetual war againſt all nations, inevitable ruin muſt enſue: Yet theſe powers are entruſted to the Sovereign; and we muſt be contented, as our anceſtors were, to depend upon his prudence and diſcretion in the exerciſe of them.

Tho' this reaſoning ſeems founded on ſuch principles as are uſually admitted by lawyers, the people had entertained ſuch violent prepoſſeſſions againſt the uſe, which James here made of his prerogative, that he was obliged, before he brought on Hales's cauſe, to diſplace four of the judges, Jones, Montague, Charleton and Nevil; and even Sir Edward Herbert, the chief juſtice, tho' a man of acknowleged virtue, yet becauſe he here ſupported the pretenſions of the Crown, fell under a great load of infamy. Men eſteemed a diſpenſing, to be in effect the ſame with a repealing power; and they could not conceive, that leſs authority was requiſite to repeal than to enact any ſtatute. If one penal law was diſpenſed with, any other might undergo the ſame fate: And by what principle could even the laws, which define property, be afterwards ſecured from violation? The teſt act had ever been conceived the great barrier of the eſtabliſhed religion under a popiſh ſucceſſor: As ſuch it had been inſiſted on by the Parliament; as ſuch granted by the King; as ſuch, during the debates with regard to the excluſion, recommended by the chancellor. By what magic, what chicane of law, is it now annihilated, and rendered of no validity? Theſe queſtions were every where aſked; and men, ſtraitened by precedents and deciſions of great authority, were reduced to queſtion the antiquity of this prerogative itſelf, and to aſſert, that even the practice of near five centuries could not beſtow on it ſufficient authenticity ‡. It was not conſidered, that

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* State Trials, vol. v. firſt edit. p. 171.

† Sir Edward Coke's Reports, twelfth report, p. 18.

‡ Sir Robert Atkins, p. 21.

that the preſent difficulty or ſeeming abſurdity had proceeded from late innovations introduced into the government. Ever ſince the beginning of this century, the Parliament had, with the moſt laudable zeal, been acquiring powers and eſtabliſhing principles, favorable to law and liberty: The authority of the Crown had been limited in many important particulars: And penal ſtatutes were often calculated to ſecure the conſtitution againſt the attempts of miniſters, as well as to preſerve general peace and repreſs crimes and immoralities. A prerogative however, derived from very antient, and almoſt uniform practice, the diſpenſing power, ſtill remained, or was ſuppoſed to remain, with the Crown; ſufficient in an inſtant to overturn this whole fabric, and throw down all the fences of the conſtitution. Either this incongruity was not perceived, or no remedy had hitherto been provided for it. Neither of the parties ſeem to have taken the argument in a proper light. The advocates for the Crown, becauſe old lawyers allowed, without diſtinction, of the diſpenſing power, would admit of no exception, even where a ſtatute was expreſly framed as a limitation of the Crown; tho' common ſenſe, a principle more powerful than any precedent or authority whatſoever, certainly in that caſe requires an exception. The patrons of liberty, becauſe ſuch a power, even exerciſed with exceptions, might often lead into doubtful queſtions, might eaſily be abuſed, and was always founded on a principle too favorable, as they thought, to royal prerogative, would acknowlege in no caſe a diſpenſing power; tho' the eſtabliſhed practice of ages muſt certainly be allowed of conſiderable weight and authority. The revolution alone, which ſoon ſucceeded, happily put an end to all theſe diſputes: By means of it a uniform edifice was at laſt erected: The monſtrous inconſiſtence, ſo viſible between the antient Gothic parts of the fabric and the recent plans of liberty, was wholly aboliſhed: And to their mutual felicity, King and people were finally taught to know their proper limits and boundaries.

Whatever topics lawyers might find to defend James's diſpenſing power, the nation thought it dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty; and his reſolution of exerciſing it may on that account be eſteemed equally alarming, as if the power had been founded on the moſt recent and moſt flagrant uſurpation. It was not likely, that an authority, which had been aſſumed thro' ſo many obſtacles, would in his hands lie long idle and unemployed. Four catholic lords were brought into the privy council, Powis, Arundel, Bellaſis, and Dover. Halifax, finding, that notwithſtanding all his merits, he poſſeſſed no real credit or authority, became very refractory in his oppoſition; and his office of privy ſeal was given to Arundel. The King was open, as well as zealous, in the deſire of making converts; and men plainly ſaw, that the only way to acquire his affection and confidence was by a ſacrifice of their religion. Sunderland, ſome time after, ſcrupled not to gain favor at this price. Rocheſter, the treaſurer, tho' the King's brother-in-law, yet, becauſe he refuſed to give this inſtance of complaiſance, was turned out of his office: The Treaſury was put in commiſſion; and Bellaſis was placed at the head of it. All the courtiers were diſguſted, even ſuch as had little regard to religion. The diſhonor, as well as diſtruſt, attending renegades, made moſt men reſolve, at all hazards, to adhere to their antient faith.

State of Scotland.

In Scotland, James's zeal for proſelytiſm was more ſucceſsful. The earls of Murray, Perth, and Melfort were brought over to the Court religion; and the two latter noblemen made uſe of a very courtly reaſon for their converſion: They pretended, that the papers, found in the late King's cabinet, had opened their eyes, and had convinced them of the preference due to the Catholic religion. Queenſberry, who diſcovered not the ſame complaiſance, fell into total diſgrace, notwithſtanding his former ſervices, and the unlimited ſacrifices, which he had made to the meaſures of the Court. Theſe merits could not even enſure him of ſafety againſt the vengeance, to which he ſtood expoſed. His rival, Perth, who had been ready to ſink under his ſuperior intereſt, now acquired entire dominion; and all the complaints, exhibited againſt him, were totally obliterated. His faith, according to a ſaying of Halifax, had made him whole.

State of Ireland.

But it was in Ireland chiefly, that the maſk was wholly taken off; and that the King thought himſelf at liberty to proceed according to the full extent of his bigotted zeal, and his arbitrary violence. Ormond was recalled; and tho' the primate and lord Granard, two proteſtants, ſtill poſſeſſed the authority of juſtices, the whole power was lodged in the hands of Talbot, the general, ſoon after created earl of Tyrconnel; a man, who, from the blindneſs of his prejudices and fury of his temper, was tranſported with the moſt immeaſurable ardor for the Catholic cauſe. After the ſuppreſſion of Monmouth's rebellion, orders were given by Tyrconnel to diſarm all the proteſtants, under pretext of ſecuring the public peace, and keeping their arms in a few magazines for the uſe of the militia. Next, the army was new-modelled; and great numbers of officers were diſmiſſed, becauſe it was pretended, that they or their fathers had ſerved under Cromwel and the Republic. The injuſtice was not confined to them. Near three hundred officers more were afterwards broke; tho' many of them had purchaſed their commiſſions: About four or five thouſand private ſoldiers, becauſe they were Proteſtants, were diſmiſſed; and being ſtripped even of their regimentals, were turned out to ſtarve in the ſtreets. While theſe violences were carrying on, Clarendon, who had been named lord lieutenant, came over; but he quickly found, that, as he had refuſed to give the King the deſired pledge of fidelity, by changing his religion, he poſſeſſed no credit nor authority. He was even a kind of priſoner in the hands of Tyrconnel; and as he gave all oppoſition in his power to the precipitant meaſures of the Catholics, he was ſoon after recalled, and Tyrconnel ſubſtituted in his place. The unhappy Proteſtants now ſaw all the legal authority, as well as the military force, transferred into the hands of their inveterate enemies; inflamed with hereditary hatred, and ſtimulated by every motive, which either the paſſion for power, property, or religion could inſpire. Even the barbarous banditti were let looſe to prey on them in their preſent defenceleſs condition. A renewal of the ancient maſſacres was apprehended; and great multitudes, ſtruck with the beſt grounded terror, deſerted the kingdom, and infuſed into the Engliſh nation a dread of thoſe violences, to which, after ſome time, they might juſtly, from the prevalence of the Catholics, think themſelves expoſed.

All judicious perſons of the Catholic communion were diſguſted with theſe violent meaſures, and could eaſily foreſee the conſequences. But James was entirely governed by the raſh councils of the Queen and of his confeſſor, father Peters, a jeſuit, whom he ſoon after created a privy counſellor. He thought too that as he was now in the decline of life, it was neceſſary for him, by haſty ſteps, to carry his deſigns into execution; leſt the ſucceſſion of the Princeſs of Orange ſhould overturn all his projects. In vain did Arundel, Powis, and Bellaſis remonſtrate, and ſuggeſt more moderate and cautious meaſures. Theſe men had ſeen and felt, during the proſecution of the plot, the furious antipathy which the nation bore to popery; and tho' ſome ſubſequent incidents had ſeemingly allayed that ſpirit, they knew, that the ſettled habits of the nation were ſtill the ſame, and that the ſmalleſt incident was ſufficient to renew the former animoſity. A very moderate indulgence therefore to their religion would have ſatisfied them; and all attempts to acquire power, much more to operate a change of the national faith, they eſteemed dangerous and deſtructive.

Breach betwixt the King and the church.

On the firſt broaching of the popiſh plot, the Church of England had concurred with the ſame violence and credulity as the reſt of the nation, in the proſecution of it: but dreading afterwards the prevalence of republican and preſbyterian principles, they had been engaged to ſupport the meaſures of the court; and to their aſſiſtance James had chiefly owed his ſucceſſion to the crown. Finding that all theſe ſervices were forgot, and that the Catholic religion was the King's ſole darling, the church had commenced an oppoſition to court-meaſures; and popery was now acknowleged the more immediate danger. In order to prevent inflammatory ſermons on this popular ſubject, James revived ſome directions to preachers which had been promulgated by the late King, in the beginning of his reign, when no deſign againſt the national religion was as yet formed, or at leaſt apprehended.

hended. But in the preſent delicate and intereſting ſituation of the church, there was little reaſon to expect, that orders, founded on no legal authority, would be rigidly obeyed by preachers, who ſaw no ſecurity to themſelves but in preſerving the confidence and regard of the people. Inſtead of avoiding controverſy, according to the King's admonition, the preachers every where declaimed againſt popery; and among the reſt, Dr. Sharpe, a clergyman of London, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and affected to throw great contempt on thoſe who had been induced to change their religion by ſuch pitiful arguments as the Romiſh miſſionaries could ſuggeſt. This topic, being ſuppoſed to reflect on the King, gave great offence at court; and poſitive orders were iſſued to the biſhop of London, his dioceſan, immediately to ſuſpend Sharpe, till his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be farther known. The prelate replied, that he could not poſſibly obey theſe commands, and that he was not empowered, in ſuch a ſummary manner, to inflict any puniſhment even upon the greateſt delinquent. But neither theſe obvious reaſons, nor the moſt dutiful ſubmiſſions, both of the prelate and of Sharpe himſelf, could appeaſe the court. The King was determined to proceed with the utmoſt violence in this cauſe. The biſhop himſelf he reſolved to puniſh for diſobedience to his arbitrary commands; and the expedient which he employed for that purpoſe, was of a nature at once the moſt illegal and moſt alarming.

Court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.

AMONG all the engines of authority formerly employed by the Crown, none had been more dangerous or even deſtructive to liberty, than the court of high commiſſion, which, together with the ſtar-chamber, had been aboliſhed in the reign of Charles I. by act of Parliament; where a clauſe was alſo inſerted, prohibiting the erection, in all future times, of that court or any of a like nature. So head-long and imperious was James in his councils, that this law was eſteemed no obſtacle; and an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was anew iſſued, by which ſeven commiſſioners were veſted with full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. On this court were beſtowed the ſame inquiſitorial powers, poſſeſſed by the former court of high commiſſion: They might proceed upon bare ſuſpicion; and the better to ſet the law at defiance, it was expreſly inſerted in their patent itſelf, that they were to exerciſe their juriſdiction, notwithſtanding any law or ſtatute to the contrary. The King's deſign to ſubdue the church was now ſufficiently known; and had he been able to eſtabliſh the authority of this new-erected court, his ſucceſs was infallible. A more ſenſible blow could not be given both to national liberty and religion; and happily the conteſt could not be tried

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* The perſons named were the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Sancroft; the biſhop of Durham, Crew; of Rocheſter, Sprat; the earl of Rocheſter, Sunderland, chancellor Jefferies, and lord chief juſtice Herbert. The archbiſhop refuſed to act, and the biſhop of Cheſter was ſubſtituted in his place.

tried in a cauſe more iniquitous and unpopular than that againſt Sharpe and the biſhop of London.

The prelate was cited before the commiſſioners. After denying the legality of the court, after claiming the privilege of all Chriſtian biſhops to be tried by the metropolitan and his ſuffragans; he pleaded in his own defence, that as he was obliged, if he had ſuſpended Sharp, to act in the capacity of a judge, he could not, conſiſtent either with law or juſtice, pronounce ſentence without a previous citation and trial: That he had by petition repreſented this difficulty to his Majeſty; and not receiving any anſwer, he had reaſon to think, that his petition had given entire ſatisfaction: That in order to ſhew his farther deference, he had adviſed Sharpe to preach no more, till he had juſtified his conduct to the King; an advice, which, coming from a ſuperior, was equivalent to a command, and had accordingly met with the proper obedience: That he had thus in his apprehenſion conformed himſelf to his Majeſty's pleaſure; but if he ſhould ſtill be found wanting to his duty in any particular, he was now contented to crave pardon, and to make reparation. All this ſubmiſſion, both in Sharpe and the prelate, had no effect: The King was determined to have an example: Orders were accordingly ſent to the commiſſioners to proceed: And by a majority the biſhop, as well as the doctor, was ſuſpended.

Sentence againſt the biſhop of London.

1687.

Almost the whole of this ſhort reign conſiſts of attempts, either imprudent or illegal and commonly both, againſt whatever was moſt loved and revered by the nation: Even ſuch ſchemes of the King's as might be laudable in themſelves, were ſo diſgraced with theſe intentions, that they ſerve only to aggravate the charge againſt him. James was become a great patron of toleration, and an enemy to all thoſe perſecuting laws, which, from the influence of the church, had been enacted both againſt the Diſſenters and Catholics. Not contented with granting diſpenſations to particular perſons, he aſſumed a power of iſſuing a declaration of general indulgence, and of ſuſpending at once all the penal ſtatutes, by which a conformity was required to the eſtabliſhed religion. This was a ſtrain of authority, it muſt be confeſſed, quite inconſiſtent with law and a limited conſtitution; and no precedents, unleſs they were ſo uniform as totally to alter the legiſlature, could poſſibly be ſufficient to authorize it: But in reality, all the precedents of this nature were both modern and doubtful. The late King had indeed, oftener than once, and what is more ſurprizing, without giving much umbrage, exerted this dangerous power: He had in 1662 ſuſpended the execution of a law, which regulated carriages: During the two Dutch wars, he had twice ſuſpended the act of navigation: And the Commons in 1666, being reſolved, contrary to the King's

Penal laws ſuſpended.

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judgement, to enact that iniquitous law againſt Iriſh cattle, found it neceſſary, in order to obviate the exerciſe of this prerogative, which they deſired not at that time entirely to deny or abrogate, to call the importation of that cattle a nuiſance.

THO' the former authority of the King was great in civil affairs, it was ſtill greater in eccleſiaſtical; and the whole deſpotic power of the popes was often believed, in virtue of his ſupremacy, to be devolved to him. The laſt Parliament of Charles the firſt, by depriving the King and convocation of the power of framing canons without conſent of Parliament, had ſomewhat diminiſhed the ſuppoſed extent of the ſupremacy; but ſtill very conſiderable remains of it, at leaſt very important claims, were preſerved, and were occaſionally made uſe of by the Sovereign. In 1662, Charles, pleading both the rights of his ſupremacy and his ſuſpending power, had granted a general indulgence or toleration; and in 1672 he renewed the ſame edict: Tho' the remonſtrances of his Parliament obliged him, on both occaſions, to retract; and in the laſt inſtance, the triumph of law over prerogative was eſteemed very great and memorable. In general, we may remark, where the exerciſe of the ſuſpending power was agreeable and uſeful, the power itſelf was the leſs queſtioned: Where the exerciſe was thought lyable to exceptions, men not only oppoſed it, but proceeded to deny altogether, as they had good reaſon, the legality of the prerogative on which it was founded.

JAMES, much more imprudent, head-ſtrong, and arbitrary than his brother, iſſued anew a proclamation, ſuſpending all the penal laws in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects. He was not deterred by the conſideration, that this ſcheme of indulgence was already blaſted by two fruitleſs attempts; and that in ſuch a government as that of England, it was not ſufficient that a prerogative be approved of by a few prejudiced lawyers and antiquarians: If it was condemned by the general voice of the nation, and yet was ſtill exerted, the victory over national liberty was equally ſignal, as if obtained by the moſt flagrant injuſtice and uſurpation. Theſe two conſiderations indeed would rather ſerve to recommend this project to James; who deemed himſelf ſuperior in vigor and activity to his brother, and who certainly thought, that his people enjoyed no liberties but by his royal conceſſion and indulgence.

IN order to procure a better reception for his edict of toleration, the King, finding himſelf oppoſed by the church, began to pay great court to the Diſſenters; and he thought, that, by playing one party againſt another, he would eaſily obtain the victory over both; a refined policy which it much exceeded his capacity to execute. His intention was ſo obvious, that it was impoſſible for him ever to gain the ſincere confidence and regard of the Nonconformiſts. They knew, that the genius of their religion was diametrically oppoſite to that of the Catholics, the

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ſole object of the King's affection. They were ſenſible, that both the violence of his temper, and the bigotted maxims of his religion were repugnant to the principles of toleration. They had ſeen, that on his firſt acceſſion to the Crown, as well as during his brother's reign, he had courted the church at their expence; and it was not till after his dangerous ſchemes were rejected by the prelates, that he had recourſe to the Nonconformiſts. All his favors, therefore, muſt, to every man of judgement among the ſectaries, appear moſt inſidious: Yet ſuch was the pleaſure reaped from preſent eaſe, ſuch their animoſity againſt the church, who had ſo long ſubjected them to the rigors of perſecution, that they every where expreſſed the moſt entire duty to the King and compliance with his meaſures; and could not forbear rejoicing extremely in the preſent depreſſion of their enemies.

But had the Diſſenters been ever ſo much inclined to ſhut their eyes with regard to the King's intentions, the manner of conducting his ſcheme in Scotland was ſufficient to diſcover the ſecret. The King firſt applied to the Scotch Parliament, and deſired an indulgence for the Catholics alone, without comprehending the Preſbyterians: But that aſſembly, tho' more diſpoſed than even the Parliament of England, to ſacrifice their civil liberties, reſolved likewiſe to adhere pertinaciouſly to their religion; and they now rejected for the firſt time the King's application. James therefore found himſelf obliged to exert his prerogative; and he thought it prudent to intereſt a party of his ſubjects, beſides the Catholics, in ſupporting this act of authority. To the great ſurprize of the harraſſed and perſecuted Preſbyterians, they heard the principles of toleration every where extolled, and found that permiſſion was granted to attend conventicles, an offence, which, even during this reign, had been declared no leſs than a capital crime. The King's declaration, however, of indulgence contained articles, ſufficient to depreſs their joy. As if Popery were already predominant, he declared, "that he never would uſe force "or *invincible neceſſity* againſt any man on account of his perſwaſion or the proteſtant "religion:" A promiſe ſurely of toleration given to the Proteſtants with great precaution, and admitting a conſiderable latitude for perſecution and violence. It is likewiſe remarkable, that the King declared in expreſs terms, "that he had thought "fit, by his ſovereign authority, prerogative royal, and *abſolute* power, which all "his ſubjects were to obey *without reſerve*, to grant this royal toleration." The dangerous deſigns of other Princes are to be collected by a compariſon of their ſeveral actions, by a diſcovery of their more ſecret conſults: But ſo blinded was James with zeal, ſo tranſported with his imperious temper, that even his proclamations and public edicts contain expreſſions, which, without any farther enquiry, may ſuffice to his condemnation.

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The Engliſh well knew, that the King, by the conſtitution of their government, thought himſelf intitled, as indeed he was, to as ample authority in his ſouthern, as in his northern kingdom; and therefore, tho' the declaration of indulgence publiſhed for England was more cautiouſly worded, they could not but be alarmed by the arbitrary treatment, to which their neighbors were expoſed. It is even remarkable, that the Engliſh declaration contained clauſes of a ſtrange import. The King there promiſed, that he would maintain his loving ſubjects in all their properties and poſſeſſions, as well of church and abbey lands as of any other. Men thought, that, if the full eſtabliſhment of popery was not at hand, this promiſe was quite ſuperfluous; and they concluded, that the King was ſo replete with joy on the proſpect of that glorious event, that he could not, even for a moment, refrain himſelf from expreſſing it.

State of Ireland.

But what afforded the moſt alarming proſpect, was the violent, and precipitant conduct of affairs in Ireland. The furious Tyrconnel was now veſted with full authority; and carried over with him as chancellor one Fitton, a man who was taken from a jail, and who had been convicted of forgery and the baſeſt crimes, but who compenſated for all his enormities by a headlong zeal for the Catholic religion. He was even heard to ſay from the bench, that the Proteſtants were all rogues, and that there was not one among forty thouſand who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain. The whole ſtrain of the adminiſtration was ſuitable to ſuch ſentiments. The Catholics were put in poſſeſſion of the council table, of the courts of judicature, of the bench of juſtices. In order to make them maſters of the Parliament, the ſame violence was exerciſed that had been practiſed in England. The charters of Dublin and of all the corporations were recalled; and new charters were granted, ſubjecting the corporations to the abſolute will of the Sovereign. The Proteſtant freemen were expelled, Catholics introduced, and the latter ſect, as they always were the majority in number, were now inveſted with the whole power of the kingdom. The act of ſettlement was the only obſtacle to their enjoying the whole property; and Tyrconnel had formed a ſcheme for calling a Parliament, in order to reverſe that act, and empower the King to beſtow the whole lands of Ireland on his catholic ſubjects. But in this outrageous ſcheme he met with oppoſition from the moderate Catholics in the King's council. Lord Belaſis went even ſo far as to affirm with an oath, "that that fellow in Ireland was "fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms." The decay of trade, from the deſertion of the Proteſtants, was repreſented; the ſinking of the revenue; the alarm communicated to England: And by theſe conſiderations the King's reſolutions were for ſome time ſuſpended; tho' it was eaſy to foreſee, from the uſual tenor of his conduct, which ſide would at laſt preponderate.

Embaſſy to Rome.

But the King was not contented with diſcovering in his own kingdoms the imprudence of his conduct: He was reſolved, that all Europe ſhould be witneſs of it. He publicly ſent the earl of Caſtelmaine ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to expreſs his obeiſance to the Pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. Never man, who came on ſo important an errand, met with ſo many neglects and even affronts, as Caſtelmaine. The Pope, inſtead of being pleaſed with this forward ſtep, concluded, that a ſcheme, conducted with ſuch indiſcretion, could never poſſibly be ſucceſsful. And as he was engaged in a violent quarrel with the French monarch, a quarrel which intereſted him much more than the converſion of England, he bore little regard to James, whom he believed too cloſely united with his moſt capital enemy.

The only proof of complaiſance, which the King received from his Holineſs, was his ſending a nuncio into England, in return for the embaſſy. By act of Parliament any communication with the Pope was declared high treaſon: Yet ſo little regard did the King pay to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public and ſolemn reception at Windſor. The duke of Somerſet, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, becauſe he refuſed to aſſiſt at this ceremony, was diſmiſſed from his employments. The nuncio reſided openly in London during all this reign. Four catholic biſhops were publickly conſecrated in the King's chapel, and ſent out, under the title of vicars apoſtolical, to exerciſe the epiſcopal function in their reſpective dioceſes. Their paſtoral letters, directed to the lay Catholics of England, were printed and diſperſed by the expreſs allowance and permiſſion of the King. The regular clergy of that communion appeared at Court in the habits of their order; and ſome of them were ſo indiſcreet as to boaſt, that, in a little time, they hoped to walk in proceſſion thro' the capital.

While the King ſhocked in the moſt open manner all the principles and prejudices of his proteſtant ſubjects, he could not ſometimes but be ſenſible, that he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance for the execution of his deſigns. He had himſelf, by virtue of his prerogative, ſuſpended the penal laws, and diſpenſed with the teſt; but he would gladly have obtained the ſanction of Parliament to theſe acts of power; and he knew, that, without this authority, his edicts alone would never afford ſufficient ſecurity to the Catholics. He had employed, therefore, with the members of Parliament many private conferences, which were then called *cloſetings*; and he uſed every expedient of reaſons, menaces, and promiſes to break their obſtinacy in this particular. Finding all his efforts fruitleſs, he had diſſolved the Parliament, and was reſolved to call a new one, from whom he expected more complaiſance and ſubmiſſion. By the practice of annulling the charters, the King was become maſter of all the corporations, and could at his pleaſure change every where the whole magiſtracy. The church party, therefore, by whom the Crown had been hitherto ſo remarkably ſupported, and to whom the King viſibly owed his own ſucceſſion, were deprived of all authority; and Diſſenters firſt in London, and afterwards in every other town, were ſubſtituted in their place. Not contented with this violent and dangerous innovation, certain regulators were appointed to examine the qualifications of electors; and directions were given them to exclude all ſuch as adhered to the teſt and penal ſtatutes *. Queries to this purpoſe were openly propoſed in all places, in order to try the ſentiments of electors, and judge of the proceedings of the future Parliament. The power of the Crown was at this time ſo exorbitant; the revenue, managed by James's frugality, ſo conſiderable and independant; that if he had embraced any national party, he had been enſured of infallible ſucceſs, and might have carried his authority to what extent he pleaſed. But the Catholics, to whom he had entirely devoted himſelf, were not the hundredth part of the people. Even the proteſtant Nonconformiſts, whom he ſo much courted, were little more than the twentieth; and what was worſe, repoſed very little confidence in the unnatural alliance contracted with the Catholics, and in the principles of toleration, which, contrary to their uſual practice in all ages, ſeemed at preſent to be adopted by that ſect. The King therefore, finding little hopes of ſucceſs, protracted the election of a Parliament, and proceeded ſtill in the exerciſe of his illegal and arbitrary authority.

THE whole power in Ireland had been committed to the Catholics. In Scotland, all the miniſters, whom the King chiefly truſted, were converts to that religion. Every great office in England, civil and military, was gradually transferred from the Proteſtants. Rocheſter and Clarendon, the King's brothers-in-law, tho' they had been ever faithful to his intereſts, could not, by all their ſervices, attone for their adherence to the national religion; and had been diſmiſſed from their employments. The proſtitute Jefferies himſelf, tho' he had ſacrificed honor and juſtice and humanity to the Court; yet becauſe he refuſed alſo to give up his religion, was very faſt declining in favor and intereſt. Nothing now remained but to open the door in the church and univerſities to the intruſion of the Catholics. It was not long before the King made this violent effort; and by conſtraining the prelacy and eſtabliſhed church to ſeek protection in the principles of liberty, he at laſt left himſelf entirely without friends and adherents.

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* The elections in ſome places, particularly in York, were transferred from the people to the magiſtrates, who, by the new charter, were all named by the Crown. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 272. This was in reality nothing different from the King's naming the members. The ſame act of authority had been employed in all the burroughs of Scotland.

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FATHER Francis, a Benedictine, was recommended by the King's mandate to the univerſity of Cambridge for the degree of maſter of arts; and as it was uſual for the univerſity to confer that degree on perſons eminent for learning, without regard to their religion; and as they had even admitted lately the ſecretary to the ambaſſador of Morocco; the King on that account thought himſelf the better intitled to compliance. But the univerſity conſidered, that there was a great difference between a compliment beſtowed on foreigners, and degrees which gave a title to vote in all the elections and decrees of the univerſity, and which, if conferred on the Catholics, would infallibly in time render that ſect entirely ſuperior. They therefore refuſed to obey the King's mandate, and were cited to appear before the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. The vice-chancellor was ſuſpended; but as the univerſity choſe a man of ſpirit to ſucceed him, the King thought proper for the preſent to drop his pretenſions.

Attempt upon Magdalen college.

THE attempt upon the univerſity of Oxford was proſecuted with more inflexible obſtinacy, and was attended with more important conſequences. This univerſity had lately in their famous decree made a ſolemn profeſſion of paſſive obedience; and the Court probably expected, that they would ſhow their ſincerity, when their turn came to practiſe that doctrine; which, tho', in its utmoſt extent, it be contrary both to reaſon and to nature, is apt to meet with the moſt effectual oppoſition from the latter principle. The preſident of Magdalen college, one of the richeſt foundations in Europe, dying about this time, a mandate was ſent in favor of Farmer, a new convert, but one, who, beſides his religion, had not in other reſpects the qualities required by the ſtatutes for enjoying that office. The fellows of the college made very ſubmiſſive applications to the King for recalling his mandate; but before they received an anſwer, the day came, on which, by their ſtatutes, they were required to proceed to an election. They therefore choſe Dr. Hough, a man of virtue, as well as of the firmneſs and vigor requiſite for maintaining his own rights and thoſe of the univerſity. In order to puniſh the college for this contumacy, as it was called, an inferior eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was ſent down, and the new preſident and the fellows were cited before that court. So little regard had been paid to any other conſideration beſides religion, that Farmer, on enquiry, was found guilty of the loweſt and moſt ſcandalous vices; inſomuch that even the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners were aſhamed to inſiſt on his election. A new mandate, therefore, was iſſued in favor of Parker, lately created biſhop of Oxford, a man of a proſtitute character, but who, like Farmer, attoned for all his vices by his avowed willingneſs to embrace the catholic religion. The college repreſented, that all preſidents had ever been appointed by election, and there were even few inſtances of the King's interpoſing by his recommendation in favor of any candidate; that having already made a regular election of a preſident, they could not, during his life time, deprive him of his office, and ſubſtitute any other in his place; that, even if there was a vacancy, Parker, by the ſtatutes of their founder, could not be choſen; that they had all of them bound themſelves by oath to obſerve theſe ſtatutes, and never on any account to accept of a diſpenſation; and that the college had at all times ſo much diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its loyalty, that nothing but the moſt invincible neceſſity could now oblige them to oppoſe his Majeſty's inclinations. All theſe reaſons availed them nothing. The preſident and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college; and Parker was put in poſſeſſion of the office. This act of violence, of all thoſe committed during the reign of James, is perhaps the moſt openly illegal and arbitrary. When the diſpenſing power was the moſt ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on by court lawyers, it had ſtill been allowed, that the ſtatutes, which regard private property, could not be infringed by that prerogative: Yet in this inſtance it appeared, that even theſe were not now ſecure from invaſion. The privileges of a college are attacked: Men are illegally diſpoſſeſſed of their property, for adhering to their duty, to their oaths, and to their religion: The fountains of the church are attempted to be poyſoned; nor would it be long, it was concluded, ere all eccleſiaſtical, as well as civil preferments, would be beſtowed on ſuch as, negligent of honor, virtue, and ſincerity, baſely ſacrificed their faith to the reigning ſuperſtition. Such were the general ſentiments; and as the univerſities have an intimate connexion with the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, and mightily intereſt all thoſe who have there received their education, this arbitrary proceeding begot an univerſal diſcontent againſt the King's adminiſtration.

THE next meaſure of the Court was an inſult ſtill more open on the whole eccleſiaſtics, and rendered the breach betwixt the King and that powerful body fatal, as well as incurable. It is ſtrange, that James, when he felt, from the ſentiments of his own heart, what a mighty influence religious zeal had over him, ſhould yet be ſo infatuated as never once to ſuſpect, that it might poſſibly have a proportional authority over his ſubjects. Could he have profited from repeated experience, he had ſeen inſtances enough of their ſtrong averſion towards that communion, which, from a violent, imperious diſpoſition, he was determined, by every poſſible expedient, to introduce into his kingdoms.

1688.

THE King publiſhed a ſecond declaration of indulgence, almoſt in the ſame terms with the former; and he ſubjoined an order, that, immediately after divine ſervice, it ſhould be red by the clergy in all the churches. As they were known univerſally to diſapprove of the uſe made of the ſuſpending power, this clauſe, they thought, could be meant only as an inſult upon them; and they were ſenſible, that, by their compliance, they would expoſe themſelves, both to public contempt, on account of their tame behavior, and to public hatred by their indirectly patronizing ſo obnoxious a prerogative[*]. They were determined, therefore, almoſt univerſally to preſerve the regard of the people; their only protection, while the laws were become of ſo little validity, and while the Court was ſo deeply engaged in oppoſite intereſts. In order to encourage them in this reſolution, ſix prelates, to wit, Lloyde, biſhop of St. Aſaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, White of Peterborow, and Trelawney of Briſtol, met privately with the primate, and concerted the form of a petition to the King. They there repreſented in few words, that, tho' poſſeſſed of the higheſt ſenſe of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given ſuch eminent teſtimonies; tho' deſirous of affording eaſe in a legal way to all Proteſtant Diſſenters; yet becauſe the declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative, formerly declared illegal by Parliament, they could not, in prudence, honor, or conſcience, ſo far make themſelves parties as the diſtribution of it all over the kingdom would be interpreted to amount to. They therefore beſought the King, that he would not inſiſt upon their reading that declaration[†].

The King was incapable, not only of yielding to the greateſt oppoſition, but of allowing the ſlighteſt and moſt reſpectful contradiction to paſs unpuniſhed. He immediately embraced a reſolution (and his reſolutions, when once embraced, were inflexible) of puniſhing the biſhops, for a petition ſo popular in its matter, and ſo prudent and cautious in its expreſſion. As the petition was delivered him in private, he ſummoned them before the council; and there queſtioned them whether they would acknowlege it. The biſhops ſaw his intention, and ſeemed long deſirous to decline anſwering: But being puſhed by the chancellor, they at laſt owned the petition. On their refuſal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower; and the Crown lawyers received directions to proſecute them for the ſeditious libel, which, it was pretended, they had compoſed and uttered.

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[*] When Charles diſſolved his laſt Parliament, he ſet forth a declaration giving his reaſons for that meaſure, and this declaration the clergy had been ordered to read to the people after divine ſervice. Theſe orders had been agreeable to their party prejudices, and they willingly ſubmitted to them. The contrary was now the caſe.

[†] The words of the petition were. That the great averſeneſs found in themſelves to their diſtributing and publiſhing in all their churches your Majeſty's late declaration for liberty of conſcience, proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majeſty (our holy mother, the church of England, being both in her principles and her conſtant practice unqueſtionably loyal, and having to her great honor been more than once publicly acknowleged to be ſo by your gracious Majeſty) nor yet from any want of tenderneſs to Diſſenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to ſuch a temper as ſhall be thought fit, when the matter ſhall be conſidered and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other conſiderations, from this eſpecially, becauſe that declaration is founded upon ſuch a diſpenſing power as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majeſty's reign, and is a matter of ſo great moment and conſequence to the whole nation both in church and ſtate, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honor, or conſcience ſo far make themſelves parties to it as a diſtribution of it all over the nation and the ſolemn publication of it once and again, even in God's houſe, and in the time of divine ſervice, muſt amount to in common and reaſonable conſtruction.

Impriſonment,

THE people were already aware of the danger, to which the prelates were expoſed; and were raiſed to the higheſt pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the iſſue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld theſe fathers of the church brought from Court under the cuſtody of a guard, when they ſaw them embarked in veſſels on the river, and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once, and they flew to behold this affecting and animating ſpectacle. The whole ſhore was covered with crowds of proſtrate ſpectators, who at once implored the bleſſing of thoſe holy paſtors, and addreſſed their petitions towards Heaven for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion ſtood expoſed. Even the ſoldiers, ſeized with the contagion of the ſame ſpirit, flung themſelves on their knees before the diſtreſſed prelates, and craved the benediction of thoſe criminals, whom they were appointed to guard. Some perſons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly of thoſe bleſſings, which the prelates were diſtributing on all around them. The biſhops themſelves, during this triumphant ſuffering, augmented the general favor, by the moſt lowly ſubmiſſive deportment; and ſtill exhorted the people to fear God, honor the King, and maintain their loyalty; expreſſions more animating than the moſt inflammatory ſpeeches. And no ſooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for thoſe afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy cauſe, had thought them worthy to endure.

trial,

THEIR paſſage, when conducted to their trial, was, if poſſible, attended with greater crowds of anxious ſpectators. All men ſaw the dangerous criſis, to which affairs were reduced, and were ſenſible, that the iſſue could not poſſibly be put on a more favorable cauſe, than that in which the King had ſo imprudently engaged. Twenty-nine temporal peers (for the other prelates ſtood aloof) attended the priſoners to Weſtminſter Hall; and ſuch crowds of gentry followed the proceſſion, that ſcarce any room was left for the populace to enter. The lawyers for the biſhops were Sir Robert Sawyer, Sir Francis Pemberton, Pollexfen, Treby, and Sommers. No cauſe, even during the proſecution of the popiſh plot, was ever heard with ſo much zeal and attention. The popular torrent, which, of itſelf, ran fierce and ſtrong, was now farther irritated by the oppoſition of the government.

THE council for the biſhops pleaded, that the law allowed ſubjects, if they thought themſelves aggrieved in any particular, to addreſs themſelves by petition to the King, provided they kept within certain bounds, which the ſame law preſcribed them, and which in the preſent petition the prelates had rigidly obſerved: That an active obedience in caſes, which were contrary to conſcience, was never pretended to be due to government; and law was allowed to be the great meaſure of the compliance and ſubmiſſion of ſubjects: That when any perſon found commands to be impoſed upon him, which he could not obey, it was more reſpectful to offer to the Prince his reaſons for refuſal, than to remain in an obſtinate and refractory ſilence: That it was no breach of duty in ſubjects, even tho' not expreſly called upon, to diſcover their ſenſe of public meaſures, in which every one had ſo intimate a concern: That the biſhops in the preſent caſe were called upon, and muſt either expreſs their approbation by compliance, or their diſapprobation by petition: That it could be no ſedition to deny the prerogative of ſuſpending the laws; becauſe there really was no ſuch prerogative, nor ever could be, in a legal and limited government: That even if this prerogative was real, it had yet been frequently diſputed before the whole nation, both in Weſtminſter-hall, and in both houſes of Parliament; and no one had ever dreamed of puniſhing the denial of it as criminal: That the prelates, inſtead of making an appeal to the people, had applied in private to his Majeſty, and had even delivered their petition ſo ſecretly, that, except by the confeſſion, extorted from them before the council, it was found impoſſible to prove them the authors: And that tho' the petition was afterwards printed and diſperſed, it was not ſo much as attempted to be proved, that they had the leaſt knowlege of that publication.

THESE arguments were convincing in themſelves, and were heard with a very favorable diſpoſition by the audience. Even ſome of the judges, tho' their ſeats were held during pleaſure, declared themſelves in favor of the priſoners. The jury however, from what cauſe is not certainly known, took ſeveral hours to deliberate, and kept, during ſo long a time, the whole people in the moſt anxious expectation. But when the wiſhed-for verdict, *not guilty*, was at laſt pronounced, the intelligence was echoed thro' the whole hall, was conveyed to the crowds without, was carried into the city, and was propagated with infinite joy thro'out the whole kingdom.

17th of June and acquital of the biſhops.

Chap. I.
1688.

Ever ſince Monmouth's rebellion, the King had, every ſummer, encamped his army on Hounſlow-heath, that he might both improve their diſcipline, and by ſo unuſual a ſpectacle over-awe the mutinous people. A popiſh chapel was openly erected in the midſt of the camp, and great pains taken, tho' in vain, to bring over the ſoldiers to that communion. The few converts, whom the prieſts had made, were treated with ſuch contempt and ignominy, as deterred every one from following the example. Even the Iriſh officers, whom the King introduced among them, ſerved rather, from the averſion borne them, to weaken his intereſt in the army. It happened that the very day, on which the biſhops' trial was finiſhed, the King had reviewed the troops, and had retired into lord Feverſham, the general's, tent; when he was ſurprized to hear a great uproar in the camp, attended with the moſt extravagant ſymptoms of tumultuous joy. He ſuddenly enquired the cauſe, and was told by Feverſham, "It was nothing but the rejoicing of the ſoldiers for the acquital of the biſhops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he, "but ſo much the worſe for them."

The King was ſtill determined to ruſh forward in the ſame courſe, where he was already, by his precipitate career, ſo fatally advanced. Tho' he knew, that every order of men, except a handful of Catholics, were enraged at his paſt meaſures, and ſtill more terrified with the future proſpect; tho' he ſaw that the ſame diſcontents had reached the army, his ſole reſſource during the general diſaffection: Yet was he incapable of changing his meaſures, or even of remitting his violence in the proſecution of them. He ſtruck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favor the biſhops: He iſſued orders to proſecute all thoſe clergymen, who had not red his declaration; that is, the whole church of England, two hundred excepted: He ſent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen-college, to elect for preſident, in the room of Parker, lately deceaſed, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular biſhop of Madaura: And he is even ſaid to have nominated the ſame perſon to the ſee of Oxford. So great an infatuation is perhaps an object of compaſſion rather than of anger: And is really ſurprizing in a man, who, in other reſpects, was not deficient in ſenſe and accompliſhments.

10th of June.
Birth of the Prince of Wales.

A few days before the acquital of the biſhops, an event happened, which, in the King's ſentiments, much overballanced all the mortifications, which he had received on that occaſion. The Queen was brought to bed of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. This bleſſing was impatiently longed for, not only by the King and Queen, but by all the zealous Catholics both abroad and at home. They ſaw, that the King was paſt middle age; and that on his death the ſucceſſion muſt devolve on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, two zealous Proteſtants, who would ſoon replace every thing on the antient foundations. Vows therefore were offered at every ſhrine for a male ſucceſſor: Pilgrimages were undertaken, particularly one to Loretto, by the dutcheſs of Modena; and ſucceſs was chiefly attributed to that pious office. But in proportion as this event was agreeable to the Catholics, it encreaſed the diſguſt of the Proteſtants, by depriving them of that agreeable, tho' ſomewhat diſtant proſpect, in which at preſent they flattered themſelves. Calumny even went ſo far as to aſcribe to the King the deſign of impoſing on the world a ſuppoſititious child, who might be educated in his principles, and after his death ſupport the catholic religion in his dominions. The nation almoſt univerſally believed him capable, from bigotry, of committing any crime; as they had ſeen, that, from like motives, he was guilty of every imprudence: And the affections of nature, they thought, would be eaſily ſacrificed to the ſuperior motives of propagating a catholic and orthodox faith. The preſent occaſion was not the firſt, when that calumny had been propagated. In the year 1682, the Queen, then Dutcheſs of Yorke, had been pregnant; and rumors were ſpred, that an impoſture would, at that time, be put upon the nation: But happily, the infant proved a female, and thereby ſpared the party all the trouble of ſupporting their moſt improbable fiction *.

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* This ſtory is taken notice of in a weekly paper, the Obſervator, publiſhed at that very time, 23d of Auguſt, 1682. Party zeal is capable of ſwallowing the moſt incredible ſtory; but it is ſurely ſingular, that the ſame calumny, when once baffled, ſhould yet be renewed with ſuch ſucceſs.

CHAP. II.

Conduct of the Prince of Orange.——He forms a league againſt France, ——refuſes to concur with the King,——reſolves to oppoſe the King, ——is applied to by the Engliſh.——Coalition of parties.——Prince's preparations.——Offers of France to the King,——rejected.——Suppoſed league with France.——General diſcontents.——The King retracts his meaſures.——Prince's declaration.——The Prince lands in England.——General commotion.——Deſertion of the army,——and of Prince George,——and of the Princeſs Anne.——King's conſternation,——and flight.——General confuſion.——King ſeized at Feverſham.——Second evaſion.——King's character.——Convention ſummoned.——Settlement of Scotland.——Engliſh Convention meets.——Views of the parties.——Free conference betwixt the Houſes.——Commons prevail.——Settlement of the Crown.——Manners and ſciences.

1688. WHILE every motive, civil and religious, concurred to alienate from the King every rank and denomination of men, it might be expected, that his throne would, without delay, fall to pieces by its own weight: But ſuch is the influence of eſtabliſhed government; ſo averſe are men from beginning hazardous enterprizes; that had not the nation received ſuccor from abroad, affairs might long have remained in their preſent delicate ſituation, and the King might at laſt have prevailed in his raſh, and ill concerted projects.

Conduct of the Prince of Orange. THE Prince of Orange, ever ſince his marriage with the Lady Mary, had maintained a very prudent conduct; agreeable to that ſound underſtanding, with which he was ſo eminently endowed. He made it a maxim to concern himſelf very little in Engliſh affairs, and never by any meaſure to diſguſt any of the factions, or give umbrage to the Prince, who filled the throne. His natural inclination, as well as intereſt, led him to employ himſelf with aſſiduous induſtry in the affairs of the continent, and to oppoſe the grandeur of the French Monarch, againſt whom he had long, both from perſonal and political conſiderations, conceived the moſt violent animoſity. By this conduct, he gratified the prejudices of the whole Engliſh nation: But as he croſſed the inclinations of Charles, who ſought peace by compliance with France, he had much declined in the favor and affections of that monarch.

James on his acceſſion found it ſo much his intereſt to live on good terms with the heir apparent, that he ſhowed the Prince ſome demonſtrations of friendſhip; and the Prince on his part was not wanting in every inſtance of duty and regard towards the King. On Monmouth's invaſion, he immediately diſpatched over ſix regiments of Britiſh troops, which were in the Dutch ſervice: and he offered to take the command of the King's forces againſt the rebels. However much he might diſapprove the maxims of the King's adminiſtration, he ever kept a total ſilence on that ſubject, and gave no countenance to thoſe diſcontents, which were propagated with ſuch induſtry thro'out the nation.

It was from the application of James himſelf, that the Prince firſt openly took any part in Engliſh affairs. Notwithſtanding the lofty ideas, which the King had entertained of his own prerogative, he found, that the edicts, emitted from it, ſtill wanted much of the authority of laws, and that the continuance of them might in the iſſue become dangerous, both to himſelf and to the Catholics, whom he deſired to favor. An act of Parliament alone could enſure the indulgence or toleration, which he had labored to eſtabliſh; and he hoped, that, if the Prince would declare in favor of that ſcheme, the members, who had hitherto reſiſted all his own applications, would at laſt be prevailed with to adopt it. The conſent, therefore, of the Prince to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes and of the teſt was ſtrongly ſollicited by the King; and in order to engage him to that meaſure, hopes were given *, that England would ſecond him in all thoſe enterprizes, which his active and extenſive genius had with ſuch ſucceſs concerted on the continent.

He forms a league againſt France.

The Prince knew, that the Emperor and the King of Spain were enraged by the repeated injuries, which they had ſuffered from the ambition of Lewis; and ſtill more, by the frequent inſults, which his pride had made them undergo. He was apprized of the influence of theſe Monarchs over the catholic Princes of the empire: He had himſelf obtained a great authority with the proteſtant Princes: And he formed a project of uniting Europe in one general league againſt the encroachments of France, which ſeemed ſo nearly to threaten the liberty and independance of all its neighbors.

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* Burnet, vol. i. p. 711. D'Avaux, 15th of April, 1688.

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1688.

No characters are more incompatible than thoſe of a conqueror and a perſecutor; and Lewis ſoon found, that, beſides his weakening his own kingdoms by the baniſhment of ſo many uſeful ſubjects, the refugees had enflamed all the proteſtant nations againſt him, and had raiſed him enemies, who, in defence of their religion as well as liberty, were obſtinately reſolved to oppoſe his progreſs. The city of Amſterdam and other towns in Holland, which had fallen into a dependance on France, being terrified with the accounts, which they every moment received, of the furious perſecutions againſt the Hugonots, had dropped all private factions, and had entered into an entire confidence with the Prince of Orange[*]. The proteſtant Princes of the empire had formed a ſeparate league at Magdebourg for the defence of their religion. The Engliſh were anew enraged at the blind bigotry of their Sovereign, and diſpoſed to embrace the moſt deſperate reſolutions againſt him. From a view of the ſtate of Europe during this period, it appears, that Lewis, beſides ſullying an illuſtrious reign, had wantonly by this perſecution raiſed invincible barriers to his arms, which otherwiſe it had been very difficult, if not impoſſible, to reſiſt.

The Prince of Orange knew how to avail himſelf of all theſe advantages. By his intrigues and influence a league was formed at Auſbourg, where the whole empire united in its defence againſt the French Monarch. Spain and Holland became parties in the alliance. The acceſſion of Savoy was afterwards obtained. Sweden and Denmark ſeemed to favor the ſame cauſe. But tho' theſe numerous ſtates compoſed the greater part of Europe, the league was ſtill deemed imperfect and unequal to its end; ſo long as England maintained that neutrality, in which ſhe had hitherto perſevered.

James, tho' more prone to bigotry, was more ſenſible to his own and to national honor than his brother; and had he not been confined by the former motive, he would have maintained with more ſpirit the intereſt and independance of his kingdoms. When a proſpect, therefore, appeared of promoting his religious ſchemes by oppoſing the progreſs of France, he was not averſe from that meaſure; and he gave his ſon-in-law room to hope, that, by concurring with his views in England, he might prevail with him to ſecond thoſe projects, which the Prince was ſo ambitious of promoting.

Refuſes to concur with the King.

A more tempting offer could not be made to a perſon of ſo enterprizing a character: But the objections to that meaſure, upon deliberation, appeared to him inſuperable. The King, he obſerved, had incurred the moſt violent hatred of his own ſubjects: Great apprehenſions were entertained of his deſigns: The only reſſource, which the nation ſaw, was in the future ſucceſſion of the Prince and Princeſs: Should he concur in thoſe dreaded meaſures, he would draw on himſelf all the odium, under which the King labored: The nation might even refuſe to bear the expence of alliances, which would in that caſe become ſo ſuſpicious: And he might himſelf incur danger of loſing a ſucceſſion, which was awaiting him, and which the egregious indiſcretion of the King ſeemed even to give him hopes of reaping before it ſhould devolve to him by the courſe of nature. The Prince, therefore, would go no farther than to promiſe his conſent to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes, by which the Nonconformiſts as well as Catholics were expoſed to puniſhment. The teſt he eſteemed a ſecurity abſolutely requiſite for the eſtabliſhed religion.

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[*] D'Avaux, 24th of July, 1681; 10th of June, 15th of October, 11th of November, 1688. vol. iv. p. 30.

The King did not remain ſatisfied with a ſingle trial. There was one Stuart, a Scotch lawyer, who had been baniſhed for treaſonable practices; but who had afterwards obtained a pardon, and had been recalled. By the King's directions, Stuart wrote ſeveral letters to penſionary Fagel, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance in Holland; and beſides urging all the motives for an unlimited toleration, he deſired, that his reaſons ſhould, in the King's name, be communicated to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange. Fagel during a long time made no reply; but finding, that his ſilence was conſtrued into an aſſent, he at laſt expreſſed his own ſentiment and that of their Highneſſes. He ſaid, that it was their fixed opinion, that no man, merely becauſe he differed from the eſtabliſhed faith, ſhould ever, while he remained a peaceable ſubject, be expoſed to any puniſhment or even moleſtation: That the Prince and Princeſs of Orange gave heartily their conſent for repealing legally all the penal ſtatutes, as well thoſe enacted againſt the Catholics, as againſt the Proteſtant Nonconformiſts; and would concur with the King in any meaſure for that purpoſe. That the teſt was not to be conſidered as a penalty inflicted on the profeſſors of any religion, but as a ſecurity provided for the eſtabliſhed worſhip. That it was no puniſhment on men to be excluded from public offices, and to live peaceably on their own revenues or induſtry. That even in the United Provinces, which were ſo often cited as models of toleration, tho' all ſects were admitted, yet civil offices were only enjoyed by the profeſſors of the eſtabliſhed religion. That military commands, indeed, were ſometimes beſtowed on Catholics; but as they were conferred with great precaution, and ſtill lay under the control of the magiſtrate, they could give no juſt reaſon for umbrage. And that their Highneſſes, however deſirous of gratifying the King, and of endeavoring, by every means, to render his reign peaceable and happy, could not agree to any meaſure, which would expoſe their religion to ſuch imminent danger.

When this letter was publiſhed, as it ſoon was, it inſpired great courage into the Proteſtants of all denominations, and ſerved to keep them united in their oppoſition to the encroachments of the Catholics. On the other hand, the King, who was not contented with a ſimple toleration for his own religion, but was reſolved, that it ſhould enjoy great credit, if not an abſolute ſuperiority, was extremely diſguſted, and took every occaſion to expreſs his diſpleaſure, as well againſt the Prince of Orange as the United Provinces. He gave the Algerine pyrates, who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his harbors, and liberty to diſpoſe of their prizes. He revived ſome complaints of the Eaſt India company with regard to the affair of Bantam [*]. He required the ſix Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice to be ſent over. He began to put his navy in a formidable condition. And from all his movements, the Hollanders entertained apprehenſions, that he ſought only an occaſion and pretexts for making war upon them.

Reſolves to oppoſe the King.

The Prince in his turn reſolved to puſh affairs with more vigor, and to preſerve all the Engliſh Proteſtants in his intereſts, as well as maintain them firm in their preſent union againſt the Catholics. He knew, that the men of education in England were, many of them, retained in their religion more by honor than by principle [†]; and that, tho' every one was aſhamed to be the firſt proſelyte, yet, if the example was once ſet by ſome eminent perſons, intereſt would every day make conſiderable converſions to a communion, which was ſo zealouſly promoted by the Sovereign. Dykvelt therefore was ſent over as envoy to England; and the Prince gave him inſtructions, beſides publicly remonſtrating with the King on his conduct both at home and abroad, to apply in his name, after a proper manner, to every ſect and denomination. To the church party he ſent aſſurances of favor and regard, and proteſted, that his education in Holland had no way prejudiced him againſt epiſcopal government. The Nonconformiſts he exhorted not to be deceived by the fallacious careſſes of a popiſh Court, but to wait patiently, till, in the maturity of time, laws, enacted by Proteſtants, ſhould give them that toleration, which, with ſo much reaſon, they had long claimed and demanded. Dykvelt executed his commiſſion with ſuch dexterity, that all orders of men caſt their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from thoſe dangers, with which their religion and liberty were ſo nearly threatened.

Is applied to by the Engliſh.

Many of the moſt conſiderable perſons, both in church and ſtate, made ſecret applications to Dykvelt, and thro' him to the Prince of Orange. Admiral Herbert too, tho' a man of great expence, and ſeemingly of little religion, had thrown up his employments, and retired to the Hague, where he aſſured the

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[*] D'Avaux, 21ſt of January, 1687.

[†] Burnet.

Prince of the diſaffection of the ſeamen, by whom that admiral was extremely beloved. Admiral Ruſſel, couſin german to the unfortunate lord of that name, paſſed frequently between England and Holland, and kept the communication open with all the great men of the proteſtant party. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, came over under pretext of drinking the waters at Spaw, and conveyed ſtill ſtronger aſſurances of an univerſal combination againſt the meaſures of the King. Lord Dunblaine, ſon to the earl of Danby, being maſter of an independant frigate, made ſeveral voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty, and even conſiderable ſums of money *, to the Prince of Orange.

There remained, however, ſome reaſons, which retained all parties in awe, and kept them from breaking out into immediate violence. The Prince, on the one hand, was afraid of hazarding, by his invaſion, an inheritance, which the laws enſured to the Princeſs; and the Engliſh Proteſtants, on the other hand, from the proſpect of her ſucceſſion, ſtill entertained hopes of obtaining at laſt a peaceable and a ſafe redreſs of all their grievances. But when the Prince of Wales was born, both the Prince and the Engliſh nation were reduced to deſpair, and ſaw no reſſource but in a confederacy for their mutual intereſts. And thus the event, which the King had ſo long made the object of his moſt ardent prayers, and from which he expected the firm eſtabliſhment of his throne, proved the immediate cauſe of his ruin and downfall.

Zuylestein, who had been ſent over to congratulate the King on the birth of his ſon, brought the Prince formal invitations from moſt of the great men in England, to aſſiſt them, by his arms, in the recovery of their laws and liberty. The biſhop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonſhire, Dorſet, the duke of Norfolk, the marqueſs of Hallifax, the lords Lovelace, Delamere, Paulet, Eland, Mr. Hambden, Powle, Leſter, beſides many eminent citizens of London; all theſe perſons, tho' of the moſt oppoſite parties, concurred in their applications to the Prince. The Whigs, ſuitable to their antient principles of liberty, which had led them to attempt the excluſion bill, eaſily agreed to oppoſe a King, whoſe conduct had verified whatever his worſt enemies had prognoſticated of his ſucceſſion. The Tories and the church party, finding their paſt ſervices forgotten, their rights invaded, their religion threatened, agreed to drop for the preſent all overſtrained doctrines of ſubmiſſion, and attend to the great and powerful dictates of nature. The Nonconformiſts, dreading the careſſes of known and inveterate enemies, deemed the offers of toleration more ſecure from a Prince, educated in thoſe principles, and accuſtomed to that practice. And thus all faction was for a

Coalition of parties.

time

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* D'Avaux, 14th of September, 24th of September, 8th of October, 15th of October, 1688.

time laid aſleep in England; and rival parties, forgeting their animoſity, had ſecretly concurred in a deſign of oppoſing their unhappy and miſguided Sovereign. The earl of Shrewſbury, who had acquired great popularity by deſerting, at this time, the Catholic religion, in which he had been educated, left his regiment, mortgaged his eſtate for forty thouſand pounds, and made a tender of his ſword and purſe to the Prince of Orange. Lord Wharton, notwithſtanding his age and infirmities, had taken a journey for the ſame purpoſe. Lord Mordaunt was at the Hague, and puſhed on the enterprize with that ardent and courageous ſpirit, for which he was ſo eminent. Even Sunderland, the King's favorite miniſter, is believed to have entered into a correſpondence with the Prince; and at the expence of his own honor and his maſter's intereſt, to have ſecretly embraced a cauſe, which, he foreſaw, was likely ſoon to predominate*.

The Prince was eaſily determined to yield to the applications of the Engliſh, and to embrace the defence of a nation, which, during its preſent fears and diſtreſſes, regarded him as its ſole protector. The great object of his ambition was to be placed at the head of a confederate army, and by his valor to avenge the injuries, which himſelf, his country, and his allies had ſuſtained from the haughty Lewis. But while England remained under the preſent government, he deſpaired of ever forming a league, which would be able, with any probability of ſucceſs, to make oppoſition againſt that powerful Monarch. The tyes of affinity could not be ſuppoſed to have great influence over a perſon of the Prince's rank and temper; much more, as he knew, that they were at firſt unwillingly contracted by the King, and had never ſince been cultivated by any eſſential favors or good offices. Or ſhould any reproach remain upon him for violating the duties of private life; the glory of delivering oppreſſed nations would, he hoped, be able, in the eyes of all reaſonable men, to make ample compenſation. He could not well expect, on the commencement of his enterprize, that it would lead him to mount the throne of England: But he undoubtedly foreſaw, that its ſucceſs would eſtabliſh his authority in that kingdom. And ſo egregious was James's temerity, that there was no advantage, ſo great or obvious, which that Prince's indiſcretion might not afford his enemies.

The Prince of Orange, thro'out his whole life, was peculiarly happy in the ſituations, in which he was placed. He ſaved his own country from ruin, he reſtored the liberties of theſe kingdoms, he ſupported the general independency of

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* D'Avaux was always of that opinion. See his Negotiations 6th of May, 20th of May, 18th, 27th of September, 22d of November, 1688. But it is pretended, that that lord always ſuggeſted moderate councils to the King; a ſure proof, if true, of his fidelity. See his defence.

Chap. III.
1688.

of Europe. And thus, tho' his virtue, it is confeſſed, be not the pureſt, which we meet with in hiſtory, it will be difficult to find any perſon, whoſe actions and conduct have contributed more eminently to the general intereſts of ſociety and of mankind.

Prince's preparations.

The time, when the Prince entered on his enterprize, was very well choſen; as the people were then in the higheſt ferment, on account of the inſult, which the impriſonment and trial of the biſhops had put upon the church, and indeed upon all the Proteſtants of the nation. His method of conducting the preparations was no leſs wiſe and politic. Under other pretexts, he had beforehand made conſiderable augmentations to the Dutch fleet; and the ſhips were at that time lying in harbor. Some additional troops were alſo levied; and ſums of money, raiſed for other purpoſes, were diverted by the Prince to the uſe of this expedition. The States had entered into entire confidence with him, and partly from terror of the exorbitant power of France, partly from diſguſt at ſome reſtraints laid on their commerce in that kingdom, were ſenſible how neceſſary ſucceſs in this enterprize was become to their domeſtic happineſs and ſecurity. Many of the neighboring Princes regarded him as their guardian and protector, and were guided by him in all their councils. He held conferences with Caſtanaga, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, with the Electors of Brandenburgh and Saxony, with the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, with the whole houſe of Lunenbourg. It was agreed, that theſe Princes ſhould replace the troops employed againſt England, and ſhould protect the United Provinces during the abſence of the Prince of Orange. Their forces were already on their march for that purpoſe: A conſiderable encampment of the Dutch army was formed near Nimeguen: Every place was in motion; and tho' the roots of this conſpiracy reached from one end of Europe to the other, ſo ſecret were the Prince's conſults, ſo fortunate was the diſpoſition of affairs, that he ſtill could cover his preparations under other pretexts; and little ſuſpicion was entertained of his real intentions.

The King of France, menaced by the league of Auſbourg, had reſolved to ſtrike the firſt blow againſt the allies; and having ſought a quarrel with the Emperor and the Elector Palatine, he had invaded Germany with a great army, and laid ſiege to Philipſbourg. The Elector of Cologne, who was alſo Biſhop of Liege and Munſter, and whoſe territories almoſt entirely ſurrounded the United Provinces, had dyed about this time; and the candidates for that rich ſucceſſion were Prince Clement of Bavaria, ſupported by the houſe of Auſtria, and the cardinal of Furſtembourg, an entire dependant on France. The Pope, who favored the allies, was able to throw the ballance between the parties, and Prince Clement was choſen; a circumſtance which contributed extremely to the ſecurity of the States.

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States. But as the cardinal kept poſſeſſion of many of the fortreſſes, and had applied to France for ſuccors, the neighboring territories were all in motion; and thus the preparations of the Dutch and their allies ſeemed intended merely for their own defence againſt the enterprizes of Lewis.

Offers of France to the King.

All the artifices, however, of the Prince could not entirely conceal his real intentions from the ſagacity of the French court. D'Avaux, Lewis's envoy at the Hague, had been able, by a compariſon of circumſtances, to infer the purpoſes of the preparations in Holland; and he inſtantly informed his maſter of the diſcovery. Lewis conveyed the intelligence to James; and accompanied the information with a very important offer. He was willing to join a ſquadron of French ſhips to the Engliſh fleet; and to ſend over any number of troops, which James ſhould judge requiſite for his ſecurity. When this propoſal was rejected, he again offered to raiſe the ſiege of Philipſbourg, to march his army into the Netherlands, and by the terror of his arms to detain the Dutch forces in their own country. This propoſal met with no better reception.

Rejected.

James was not, as yet, entirely convinced, that his ſon in law intended an invaſion upon England. Fully perſwaded, himſelf, of the ſacredneſs of his own authority, he fancied, that a like belief had made deep impreſſion on his ſubjects; and notwithſtanding the ſtrong ſymptoms of diſcontent which broke out, ſuch an univerſal combination in rebellion appeared to him no way credible. His army, in which he truſted, and which he had conſiderably augmented, would be eaſily able, he thought, to repel foreign force, and to ſuppreſs any ſedition among the populace. A ſmall number of French troops, joined to theſe, would tend only to breed diſcontent; and afford them a pretext for mutinying againſt foreigners, ſo feared and ſo hated by the nation. A great body of auxiliaries might indeed ſecure him, both againſt an invaſion from Holland, and againſt the rebellion of his own ſubjects; but would be able afterwards to reduce him to total dependance, and render his authority entirely precarious. Even the French invaſion of the Low Countries might be attended with very dangerous conſequences; and would ſuffice, in theſe jealous times, to revive the old ſuſpicion of a combination againſt Holland, and againſt the proteſtant religion; a ſuſpicion, which had already produced ſuch diſcontents in England. Theſe were the views ſuggeſted by Sunderland; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the reaſons, on which they were founded, were ſufficiently plauſible; as indeed the ſituation, to which the King had reduced himſelf, was, to the laſt degree, delicate and perplexing.

Still Lewis was unwilling to abandon a friend and ally, whoſe intereſt he regarded as cloſely connected with his own. By the ſuggeſtion of Skelton, the King's miniſter at Paris, orders were ſent D'Avaux to remonſtrate with the States in Lewis's name againſt theſe preparations, which they were making to invade England. The ſtrict amity, ſaid the French miniſter, which ſubſiſts between the two monarchs will make Lewis regard every attempt againſt his ally as an act of hoſtility againſt himſelf. This remonſtrance had a very bad effect, and put the States in a flame. What is this alliance, they aſked, between France and England, which has been ſo carefully concealed from us? Is it of the ſame nature with the former; meant for our deſtruction and for the extirpation of the proteſtant religion? If ſo, it is high time for us to provide for our own defence, and to anticipate thoſe projects, which are forming againſt us.

Even James was diſpleaſed with this officious ſtep taken by Lewis for his ſervice. He was not reduced, he ſaid, to the condition of the cardinal of Furſtemberg, and obliged to ſeek the protection of France. He recalled Skelton for his raſh conduct, and threw him into the Tower. He ſolemnly diſavowed D'Avaux's memorial; and proteſted, that no alliance ſubſiſted between him and Lewis, but what was public and known to all the world *. The States, however, ſtill affected to appear incredulous on that article; and the Engliſh, extremely prepoſſeſſed againſt their Sovereign, firmly believed, that a project was concerted with Lewis for their entire ſubjection. Portſmouth, it was ſaid, was to be put into the hands of that ambitious monarch: England was to be filled with French and Iriſh troops: and every man, who was not willing to embrace the Romiſh ſuperſtition, was by theſe bigotted Princes devoted to ſudden deſtruction.

These ſuggeſtions were every where ſpred abroad, and tended extremely to augment the diſcontents, of which both the fleet and army, as well as the people, betrayed every day the moſt evident ſymptoms. The fleet had begun to mutiny; becauſe Stricland, the admiral, a Roman Catholic, introduced the maſs aboard his ſhip, and diſmiſſed the proteſtant chaplain. It was with ſome difficulty they could be appeaſed; and they ſtill perſiſted in declaring, that they would not fight againſt the Dutch, whom they called friends and brethren; but would willingly engage the French, whom they regarded as national enemies. The King had intended to augment his army with Iriſh recruits, and he reſolved to try the experiment on the regiment of the Duke of Berwic, his natural ſon; but Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, refuſed to admit them; and to this oppoſition five captains ſteddily adhered.

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* That there really was no new alliance formed betwixt France and England appears both from Sunderland's apology, and from D'Avaux's negotiations, lately publiſhed: See Vol. IV. p. 18. Eng. Tranſlation. 27th of September, 1687. 16th of March, 6th of May, 10th of Auguſt, 2d of September, 23d of September, 24th of September, 5th of October, 7th of October, 11th of November, 1688.

hered. They were all caſhiered ; and had not the diſcontents of the army on this occaſion become very apparent, it was reſolved to have tried and puniſhed thoſe officers for mutiny.

The King made a trial of the diſpoſitions of his army, in a manner ſtill more undiſguiſed. Finding oppoſition from all the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers of the kingdom, he reſolved to appeal to the military, who, if unanimous, were able alone to ſerve all his purpoſes, and enforce univerſal obedience. His intention was to engage all the regiments, one after another, to give their conſent to the repeal of the teſt and penal ſtatutes ; and accordingly, the major of Lichfield's drew out the battallion before the King, and told them, that they were required either to enter into his Majeſty's views, in theſe particulars, or to lay down their arms. The King was ſurprized to find, that, two captains and a few popiſh ſoldiers excepted, the whole battallion immediately embraced the latter part of the alternative. For ſome time, he remained ſpeechleſs ; but having recovered from his aſtoniſhment, he commanded them to take up their arms ; adding with a ſullen, diſcontented air, "That for the "future, he would not do them the honor to aſk their advice."

23d of September.

The King retracts his meaſures.

While the King was diſmayed with theſe ſymptoms of general diſaffection, he received a letter from the marqueſs of Albeville, his miniſter at the Hague ; which informed him with certainty that he was ſoon to look for a powerful invaſion from Holland, and that Penſionary Fagel had at laſt acknowleged, that the ſcope of all the Dutch preparations was to tranſport forces into England. Tho' James could reaſonably expect no other intelligence, he was aſtoniſhed at the news: He grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand: His eyes were now opened, and he found himſelf on the brink of a frightful precipice, which his deluſions had hitherto concealed from him. His miniſters and counſellors, equally aſtoniſhed with himſelf, ſaw no reſſource but in a ſudden and precipitant retractation of all thoſe fatal meaſures, by which he had created himſelf ſo many enemies, foreign and domeſtic. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for common ſecurity: He replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and juſtices, who had been deprived of their commiſſions for their adherence to the teſt and the penal laws: He reſtored the charters of London and of all the corporations: He annulled the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion : He took off the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion : He re-inſtated the expelled preſident and fellows of Magdalen college : And he was even reduced to careſs thoſe biſhops, whom he had ſo lately proſecuted and inſulted. All theſe meaſures were regarded as ſymptoms of fear, not of repentance. The biſhops, inſtead of promiſing ſuccor, or ſuggeſting comfort, recapitulated to him all the inſtances of his mal-adminiſtration, and adviſed him thenceforwards to follow more ſalutary council. And as intelligence arrived of a great diſaſter, which had befallen the Dutch fleet, it is commonly believed, that the King recalled, for ſome time, the conceſſions, which he had ordered to be made to Magdalen college: A very bad ſign of his ſincerity in his other conceſſions. Nay, ſo prevalent were his unfortunate prepoſſeſſions, that, amidſt all his preſent diſtreſſes, he could not forbear, at the baptiſm of the young Prince, from appointing the Pope to be one of the godfathers.

THE report, that a ſuppoſititious child was to be impoſed on the nation, had been widely ſpred, and greedily received, before the Prince of Wales's birth: But the King, who, without ſeeming to take notice of the matter, might eaſily have quaſhed that ridiculous rumor, had, from an ill-timed haughtineſs, totally neglected it. He diſdained, he ſaid, to ſatisfy thoſe, who could deem him capable of ſo baſe and villainous an action. Finding that the calumny ſtill gained ground, and had made deep impreſſion on his ſubjects, he was now obliged to ſubmit to the mortifying office of aſcertaining the reality of that birth. Tho' no particular attention had been beforehand given to enſure proof, the evidence, both of the Queen's pregnancy and delivery, was rendered indiſputable; and ſo much the more, that no argument or proof of any importance, nothing but popular rumor and ſurmize, could be thrown into the oppoſite ſcale.

Prince's declaration.

MEANWHILE, the Prince of Orange's declaration was diſperſed over the kingdom, and met with univerſal approbation. All the grievances of the nation were there enumerated: The diſpenſing and ſuſpending power; the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; the filling all offices with Catholics, and the raiſing a jeſuit to be a privy-counſellor; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where churches, colleges, ſeminaries for that ſect; the diſplacing of judges, if they refuſed to give ſentence according to orders, received from Court; the annulling the charters of all the corporations, and the ſubjecting the election of members to arbitrary will and pleaſure; the treating petitions, even the moſt modeſt, and from perſons of the higheſt rank, as criminal and ſeditious; the committing the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of Papiſts; the aſſuming an abſolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exacting in that kingdom an obedience without reſerve; and the violent preſumptions againſt the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. In order to redreſs all theſe grievances, the Prince ſaid, that he intended to come over into England with an armed force, which might protect him from the King's evil counſellors: And that his ſole aim was to have a legal and free Parliament ſummoned, who might provide for the ſafety and liberty of the nation, as well as examine the proofs of the Prince of Wales's legitimacy. No-one, he added, could entertain ſuch hard thoughts of him as to imagine,

gine, that he had formed other deſigns than to procure the full and laſting ſettlement of the religion, liberty, and property of the ſubject. The force, which he intended to bring with him, was totally diſproportioned to any views of conqueſt; and it were abſurd to ſuſpect, that ſo many perſons of high rank, both in church and ſtate, would have given him ſo many ſolemn invitations for ſuch a pernicious purpoſe. Tho' the Engliſh miniſters, terrified with his enterprize, had pretended to redreſs ſome of the grievances complained of; there ſtill remained the foundation of all grievances, that upon which they could in an inſtant be again erected, an arbitrary and deſpotic power in the Crown. And for this uſurpation there was no poſſible remedy, but by a full declaration of all the rights of the ſubject in a free Parliament.

21ſt of October.

So well concerted were the Prince's meaſures, that, in three days, above four hundred tranſports were hired; the army quickly fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen; the artillery, arms, ſtores, horſes were embarked; and the Prince ſet ſail from Helvoet-Sluice, with a fleet of near five hundred veſſels, and an army of above fourteen thouſand men. He firſt encountered a ſtorm, which drove him back: But his loſs being ſoon repaired, the fleet put to ſea under the command of admiral Herbert, and made ſail with a fair wind towards the weſt of England. The ſame wind detained the King's fleet in the river, and enabled the Dutch to paſs the Straits of Dover without moleſtation. Both ſhores were covered with multitudes of people, who, beſides admiring the grandeur of the ſpectacle, were held in anxious ſuſpence by the proſpect of an enterprize, the moſt important, which, during ſome ages, had been undertaken in Europe. The Prince had a proſperous voyage, and landed his army ſafely in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniverſary of the gun-powder-treaſon.

THE Dutch army marched firſt to Exeter; and the Prince's declaration was there publiſhed. That whole county was ſo terrified with the executions, which had enſued upon Monmouth's rebellion, that no body for ſeveral days joined the Prince. The biſhop of Exeter in a fright fled to London, and carried to Court intelligence of the invaſion. As a reward of his zeal, he received the archbiſhopric of Yorke, which had long been kept vacant, with an intention, as was univerſally believed, of beſtowing it on ſome Catholic. The firſt perſon, who joined the Prince, was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet. Sir Edward Seymour made propoſals for an aſſociation, which every one ſigned. By degrees, the earl of Abington, Mr. Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, Howe came to Exeter. All England was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheſhire, the earl of Danby ſeized Yorke, the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, de-

General commotion.

clared for the Prince, the earl of Devonſhire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the ſame cauſe; and every day there appeared ſome effect of that univerſal combination, into which the nation had entered againſt the meaſures of the King. Even thoſe who took not the field againſt him, were able to embarraſs and confound his councils. A petition for a free Parliament was ſigned by twenty-four biſhops and peers of the greateſt diſtinction, and was preſented to the King. No one thought of oppoſition or reſiſtance againſt the invader.

Deſertion of the army.

But the moſt dangerous ſymptom was the diſaffection, which, from the general ſpirit of the nation, not from any particular reaſon, had crept into the army. The officers ſeemed all diſpoſed to prefer the intereſts of their country and of their religion before thoſe principles of honor and fidelity, which are commonly eſteemed the moſt ſacred tyes by men of that profeſſion. Lord Colcheſter, ſon to the earl of Rivers, was the firſt officer, who deſerted to the Prince; and he was attended by a few of his troops. Lord Lovelace made a like effort; but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken priſoner: Lord Cornbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, was more ſucceſsful. He attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry; and he actually brought a conſiderable part of them to the Prince's quarters. Several officers of diſtinction informed Feverſham, the general, that they could not in conſcience fight againſt the Prince of Orange.

Lord Churchhill had been raiſed from the rank of a page, had been inveſted with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and had owed his whole fortune to the King's bounty: Yet even this perſon could reſolve, during the preſent extremity, to deſert his unhappy maſter, who had ever repoſed entire confidence in him. He carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural ſon to the late King, colonel Berkeley, and ſome troops of dragoons. This conduct was a ſignal ſacrifice to public virtue of every duty in private life; and required, for ever afterwards, the moſt upright, the moſt diſintereſted, and moſt public-ſpirited behavior to render it juſtifiable.

The King had arrived at Saliſbury, the head quarters of his army, when he received this fatal news. That Prince, tho' a ſevere enemy, had ever appeared a warm, ſteddy, and ſincere friend; and he was extremely ſhocked with this, as well as with many other inſtances of ingratitude, to which he was now expoſed. There remained none, in whom he could confide. As the whole army had diſcovered ſymptoms of diſcontent, he concluded it full of treachery; and being deſerted by thoſe whom he had moſt favored and obliged, he no longer expected that others would hazard their lives in his ſervice. During this diſtraction and per-

25th of November.

plexity, he embraced a ſudden reſolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London: A meaſure, which could ſerve only to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery.

But Churchhill had prepared a ſtill more mortal blow for his diſtreſt benefactor. His lady and he had an entire aſcendant over the family of Prince George of Denmark; and the time now appeared ſeaſonable for overwhelming the unhappy King, who was already ſtaggering with the violent ſhocks, which he had received. Andover was the firſt ſtage of his Majeſty's retreat towards London; and there, Prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, Sir George Heuet and ſome other perſons of diſtinction deſerted him in the night-time, and retired to the Prince's camp. No ſooner had this news reached London, than the Princeſs Anne, pretending fear of the King's diſpleaſure, withdrew herſelf in the company of the biſhop of London and lady Churchhill. She fled to Nottingham; where the earl of Dorſet received her with great reſpect, and the gentry of the county quickly formed a troop for her protection.

and of Prince George,

and of the Princeſs Anne.

The late King, in order to gratify the nation, had entruſted the education of his nieces entirely to Proteſtants; and as theſe Princeſſes were eſteemed the chief reſſource of the eſtabliſhed religion after their father's defection, great care had been taken to inſtill into them, from their earlieſt infancy, the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt popery. During the violence too of ſuch popular currents, as now prevailed in England, all private conſiderations are commonly loſt in the general paſſion; and the more principle any perſon poſſeſſes, the more apt is he, on ſuch occaſions, to neglect and abandon his domeſtic duties. Tho' theſe cauſes may account for the Princeſs's behavior, they had no way prepared the King to expect ſo aſtoniſhing an event. He burſt into tears, when the firſt intelligence of it was conveyed to him. Undoubtedly he forſaw in this incident the total expiration of his royal authority: But the nearer and more intimate concern of a parent laid hold of his heart; when he found himſelf abandoned in his uttermoſt diſtreſs by a child, and a virtuous child, whom he had ever regarded with the moſt tender affection. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children "have forſaken me!" It is indeed ſingular, that a Prince, whoſe chief blame conſiſted in imprudences and miſguided principles, ſhould be expoſed, from religious antipathy, to ſuch treatment, as even Nero, Domitian, or the moſt enormous tyrants, that have diſgraced the records of hiſtory, never met with from their friends and family.

King's conſternation,

So violent were the prejudices, which at this time prevailed, that this unhappy father, who had been deſerted by his favorite child, was believed, upon her diſappearance,

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appearance, to have put her to death: And it was fortunate, that the truth was timely diſcovered; otherwiſe the populace, even the King's guards themſelves, might have been engaged, in revenge, to commence a maſſacre of the prieſts and Catholics.

THE King's fortune now expoſed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behavior was not ſuch as could procure him the eſteem of his friends and adherents. Unable to reſiſt the torrent, he preſerved not preſence of mind in yielding to it; but ſeemed in this emergence as much depreſſed with adverſity, as he had before been vainly elated by proſperity. He called a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London; and followed their advice in iſſuing writs for a new Parliament, and in ſending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commiſſioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. But theſe were the laſt acts of royal authority which he exerted. He even hearkened to imprudent council, by which he was prompted to deſert the throne, and to gratify his enemies beyond what their fondeſt hopes could have promiſed them.

THE Queen, obſerving the fury of the people, and knowing how much ſhe was the object of general hatred, was ſtruck with the deepeſt terror, and began to apprehend a parliamentary impeachment, from which, ſhe was told, the Queens of England were not exempted. The popiſh courtiers, and above all, the prieſts, knew, that they would be the firſt ſacrifice, and that their perpetual baniſhment was the ſmalleſt penalty, which they muſt expect from national reſentment. They were therefore deſirous of carrying the King along with them; whoſe preſence, they knew, would ſtill be ſome reſſource and protection to them in foreign countries, and whoſe reſtoration, if it ever happened, would again re-inſtate them in power and authority. The general defection of the Proteſtants made the King regard the Catholics, as his only ſubjects, on whoſe council he could rely; and the fatal cataſtrophé of his father afforded them a plauſible reaſon for making him apprehend a like fate. The infinite difference of circumſtances was not, during men's preſent diſtraction, ſufficiently weighed. Even after the people were inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of Charles the firſt could not be deemed a national deed: It was perpetrated by a fanatical army, puſhed on by a daring and enthuſiaſtic leader; and the whole kingdom had ever entertained, and did ſtill entertain, a moſt violent abhorrence againſt that enormity. The ſituation of public affairs, therefore, no more reſembled what they were forty years before, than the Prince of Orange, either in birth, character, fortune, or connexions, could be ſuppoſed a parallel to Cromwel.

The emiſſaries of France, and among the reſt, Barillon, the French ambaſſador, were buſy about the King; and they had entertained a very falſe notion, which they inſtilled into him, that nothing would more certainly retard the public ſettlement, and beget univerſal confuſion, than his deſertion of the kingdom. The Prince of Orange had with good reaſon embraced a contrary opinion; and he eſteemed it extremely difficult to find expedients for ſecuring the nation, ſo long as the King kept poſſeſſion of the crown. Actuated, therefore, by this public motive, and no leſs, we may well preſume, by private ambition, he was determined to uſe every expedient, which might intimidate the King, and make him deſert that throne, which he himſelf was alone enabled to fill. He declined a perſonal conference with the King's commiſſioners, and ſent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them: The terms, which he propoſed, implied almoſt a preſent participation of the ſovereignty: And he ſtopped not a moment the march of his army towards London.

The news, which the King received from all quarters, helped to continue the panic, into which he was fallen, and which his enemies expected to improve to their advantage. Collonel Copley, deputy-governor of Hull, made himſelf maſter of that important fortreſs; and threw into priſon lord Langdale, the governor, a Catholic; together with lord Montgomery, a nobleman of the ſame religion. The town of Newcaſtle received the lord Lumley, and declared for the Prince of Orange and a free Parliament. The duke of Norfolk, lord lieutenant of the county of that name, engaged it in the ſame meaſure. The Prince's declaration was red in Oxford by the duke of Ormond, and received with great applauſe by that loyal Univerſity, who alſo made an offer of their plate to the Prince. Every day, ſome perſon of quality or diſtinction, and among the reſt, the duke of Somerſet, went over to the enemy. A very violent declaration was diſperſed in the Prince's name, but not with his participation; where every one was commanded to ſeize and puniſh all Papiſts, who, contrary to law, pretended either to carry arms, or exerciſe any act of authority. It may not be unworthy of notice, that a merry ballad, called Lilliballero, being at this time publiſhed in deriſion of the Papiſts and the Iriſh, it was greedily received by the people, and was univerſally ſung by all ranks of men, even by the King's army, who were ſtrongly ſeized with the national ſpirit. This incident both diſcovered, and ſerved to encreaſe, the general diſcontent of the kingdom.

The contagion of mutiny and diſobedience had alſo reached Scotland, whence the regular forces, contrary to the advice of Balcarras, the treaſurer, were withdrawn, in order to re-inforce the Engliſh army. The marqueſs of Athole, together with the viſcount Tarbat, and others, finding the opportunity favorable, began to intrigue againſt Perth, the chancellor; and the Preſbyterians and other malecontents flocked from all quarters to Edinburgh. The chancellor, apprehenſive of the conſequences, found it expedient to withdraw; and the populace, as if that event were a ſignal for their inſurrection, immediately roſe in arms, and rifled the popiſh chapel in the King's palace. All the Catholics, even all the zealous Royaliſts, were obliged to conceal themſelves; and the privy council, inſtead of their former ſubmiſſive ſtrains of addreſs to the King, and violent edicts againſt their fellow-ſubjects, now made applications to the Prince of Orange, as the ſole reſtorer of law and liberty.

THE King every moment alarmed, more and more, with theſe proofs of a general diſaffection, not daring to repoſe truſt in any but thoſe who were expoſed to more danger than himſelf, agitated by indignation towards ingratitude, by diſdain of infidelity, impelled by his own fears and thoſe of others; precipitantly embraced the reſolution of withdrawing into France, and he ſent off beforehand the Queen and the infant Prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favorite of the French Monarch. He himſelf diſappeared in the night-time, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert; and made the beſt of his way to a ſhip, which waited him near the mouth of the river. As if this meaſure had not been the moſt grateful to his enemies of any which he could adopt, he had carefully concealed his intention from all the world; and nothing could equal the ſurprize, which ſeized the city, the court, the kingdom, upon the diſcovery of this ſtrange event. Men beheld, all on a ſudden, the reins of government thrown up by the hand which held them; and ſaw none, who had any right, or even pretenſion, to take poſſeſſion of them.

and flight. 12th of December.

THE more effectually to involve every thing in confuſion, the King appointed not any one, who ſhould, in his abſence, exerciſe any part of the adminiſtration; he threw the great ſeal into the river; and he recalled all thoſe writs, which had been iſſued for elections to the new Parliament. It is often ſuppoſed, that the ſole motive, which impelled him to this ſudden deſertion, was his reluctance to meet a free Parliament, and his reſolution not to ſubmit to thoſe terms, which his ſubjects would deem requiſite for the ſecurity of their liberties and their religion. But it muſt be conſidered, that his ſubjects had firſt deſerted him, and entirely loſt his confidence; that he might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to entertain fears for his liberty, if not for his life; and that the conditions would not probably be moderate, which the nation, ſenſible of his inflexible temper, enraged with the violation of their laws and the danger of their religion, and foreſeeing his reſentment on account of their paſt oppoſition, would, in his preſent circumſtances, exact from him.

Chap. II.
1688.

By this temporary diſſolution of government, the populace were now maſters; and there was no diſorder, which, during their preſent ferment, might not be dreaded from them. They roſe in a tumult and deſtroyed all the maſs-houſes. They even attacked and rifled the houſes of the Florentine envoy and Spaniſh ambaſſador, where many of the Catholics had lodged their moſt valuable effects. Jefferies, the chancellor, who had diſguiſed himſelf, in order to fly the kingdom, was diſcovered by them, and ſo abuſed, that he dyed in a little time afterwards. Even the army, which ſhould have ſuppreſſed thoſe tumults, would, it was apprehended, ſerve rather to encreaſe the general diſorder. Feverſham had no ſooner heard of the King's retreat, than he diſbanded the troops in the neighborhood, and without either diſarming or paying them, let them looſe to prey upon the country.

In this extremity, the biſhops and peers, who were in town, being the only remaining authority of the ſtate (for the privy council, compoſed of the King's creatures, was totally diſregarded) thought proper to aſſemble, and to interpoſe for the preſervation of the community. They choſe the marqueſs of Halifax their ſpeaker: They gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city: They iſſued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garriſons: And they made applications to the Prince, whoſe enterprize they highly applauded, and whoſe ſucceſs they joyfully congratulated.

The Prince on his part was not wanting to the tyde of ſucceſs, which flowed in upon him, nor backward in aſſuming that authority, which the preſent exigency had put into his hands. Beſides the general popularity, attending his cauſe, a new incident made his approach to London ſtill more welcome. In the preſent trepidation of the people, a rumor aroſe, either from chance or deſign, that the diſbanded Iriſh had taken arms, and had commenced an univerſal maſſacre of all the Proteſtants in England. This ridiculous belief was ſpred all over the kingdom on one day; and begot every where the deepeſt conſternation. The alarum bells were rung; the beacons fired; men fancied that they ſaw at a diſtance the ſmoke of the burning cities, and heard the groans of thoſe who were ſlaughtered in their neighborhood. It was ſurprizing, that the Catholics did not all periſh, in the rage which naturally ſucceeds ſuch popular panics.

King ſeized at Feverſham.

While every one, either from principle, intereſt, or animoſity, turned their back on the unhappy King, who had abandoned his own cauſe; the unwelcome news arrived, that he had been ſeized by the populace at Feverſham, while he was making his eſcape in diſguiſe; that he had been very much abuſed, till he was known; but that the gentry had then interpoſed and protected him, tho' they ſtill refuſed to conſent to his evaſion. This intelligence threw all parties into confuſion. The Prince ſent Zuyleſtein with orders, that the King ſhould approach no nearer than Rocheſter; but the meſſage came too late. He was already arrived in London, where the populace, moved by compaſſion for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity, had received him with ſhouts and acclamations.

During the King's abode at Whitehall, little attention was payed him by the nobility or any perſons of diſtinction. They had, all of them, been previouſly diſguſted on account of his blind partiality to the Catholics; and they knew, that they were now become more criminal in his eyes by their late public applications to the Prince of Orange. He himſelf ſhowed not any ſymptoms of ſpirit, nor diſcovered any intention of reſuming the reins of government, which he had once thrown aſide. His authority was now plainly expired; and as he had exerciſed his power, while poſſeſſed of it, with very precipitant and haughty councils, he relinquiſhed it by a deſpair, equally precipitant and puſillanimous.

Nothing remained for the now ruling powers but to deliberate how they ſhould diſpoſe of his perſon. Beſides, that the Prince may juſtly be ſuppoſed to have poſſeſſed more generoſity than to think of offering violence to an unhappy Monarch, ſo nearly related to him; he knew, that nothing would ſo effectually promote his own views as the King's retreat into France, a country at all times ſo obnoxious to the Engliſh. It was determined, therefore, to puſh him into that meaſure, which, of himſelf, he ſeemed ſufficiently inclined to embrace. The King having ſent lord Feverſham on a civil meſſage to the Prince, deſiring a conference for an accommodation in order to the public ſettlement, that nobleman was put in arreſt, under pretext of his wanting a paſſport: The Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, where the King then lodged, and to diſplace the Engliſh: And Halifax, Shrewſbury, and Delamere, brought a meſſage from the Prince, which they delivered to the King in bed after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a ſeat of the dutcheſs of Lauderdale's. He deſired permiſſion, which was eaſily granted, of retiring to Rocheſter, a town near the ſea coaſt. It was perceived, that the artifice had taken effect; and that the King, terrified with this harſh treatment, had renewed his former reſolution of leaving the kingdom.

He lingered, however, ſome days at Rocheſter, under the protection of a Dutch guard, and ſeemed deſirous of an invitation ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of the throne. He was undoubtedly ſenſible, that, as he had, at firſt, truſted too much to his people's loyalty, and in confidence of their ſubmiſſion, had offered the higheſt violence to their principles and prejudices; ſo had he, at laſt, on finding his diſappointment, gone too far into the other extreme, and had haſtily ſuppoſed them devoid of all ſenſe of duty or allegiance. But obſerving, that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all concurred in neglecting him, and leaving him to his own councils, he ſubmitted to his melancholy fate; and being urged by earneſt letters from the Queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him and he arrived ſafely at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, whence he haſtened to St. Germains. Lewis received him with the higheſt generoſity, ſympathy, and regard; a conduct, which, more than his moſt ſignal victories, contributes to the honor of that great Monarch.

Second evaſion. 23d of December.

King's character.

THUS ended the reign of a Prince, whom, if we conſider his perſonal character rather than his public conduct, we may ſafely pronounce to have been more unfortunate than criminal. He had many of thoſe qualities which form a good citizen: Even ſome of thoſe, which, had they not been ſwallowed up in bigotry and arbitrary principles, ſerve to compoſe a good Sovereign. In domeſtic life, his conduct was irreproachable, and is intitled to our approbation. Severe, but open in his enmities, ſteddy in his councils, diligent in his ſchemes, brave in his enterprizes, faithful, ſincere, and honorable in his dealings with all men: Such was the character, with which the duke of Yorke mounted the throne of England. In that high ſtation, his frugality of public money was remarkable, his induſtry exemplary, his application to naval affairs ſucceſsful, his encouragement of trade judicious, his jealouſy of national honor laudable: What then was wanting to make him an excellent Sovereign? A due regard and affection to the religion and conſtitution of his country. Had he been poſſeſſed of this eſſential quality, even his midling talents, aided by ſo many virtues, would have rendered his reign honorable and happy. When it was wanting, every excellency, which he poſſeſſed, became dangerous and pernicious to his kingdoms.

THE ſincerity of this Prince (a virtue, on which he highly valued himſelf) has been much queſtioned in thoſe re-iterated promiſes, which he made of preſerving the liberties and religion of the nation. It muſt be confeſſed, that his reign was one continued invaſion of both; yet is it known, that, to his laſt breath, he perſiſted in aſſerting, that he never meant to ſubvert the laws, or procure more than a toleration and an equality of privileges to his catholic ſubjects. This queſtion can only affect the perſonal character of the King, not our judgment of his public conduct. Tho' by a ſtretch of candor we ſhould admit of his ſincerity in theſe profeſſions, the people were equally juſtifiable in their reſiſtance of him. So lofty was the idea, which he had entertained of his *legal* authority, that it left his ſubjects little or no right to liberty, but what was dependant on his ſovereign will and pleaſure. And ſuch was his zeal of proſelytiſm, that, whatever he might have intended, he plainly ſtopped not at toleration and equality: He confined all power, encouragement, and favor to the Catholics: Converts from intereſt would ſoon have multiplied upon him: If not the greateſt, at leaſt the beſt part of the people, he would have flattered himſelf, were brought over to his religion: And he would in a little time have thought it juſt, as well as pious, to beſtow on it all the public eſtabliſhments. Rigors and perſecutions againſt heretics would ſpeedily have followed; and thus liberty and the proteſtant religion had in the iſſue been totally ſubverted; tho' we ſhould not ſuppoſe, that the King, on the commencement of his reign, had ſeriouſly formed a plan for that purpoſe. And on the whole, allowing this Prince to have poſſeſſed good qualities and good intentions, his conduct ſerves only, on that very account, as a ſtronger proof, how dangerous it is to allow any Prince, infected with that ſuperſtition, to wear the crown of theſe kingdoms.

AFTER this manner, the valor and abilities of the Prince of Orange, ſeconded by ſurprizing fortune, had effected the deliverance of this iſland; and with very little effuſion of blood (for only one officer of the Dutch army and a few private ſoldiers fell in an accidental ſkirmiſh) had expelled from the throne a great Prince, ſupported by a formidable fleet and a numerous army. Still the more difficult taſk remained, and what perhaps the Prince regarded as not the leaſt important: The obtaining for himſelf that crown, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. Some lawyers, intangled in the ſubtilties and forms of their profeſſion, could think of no expedient; but that the Prince ſhould claim the crown by right of conqueſt, ſhould aſſume immediately the title of Sovereign; and ſhould call a Parliament, which, being thus legally ſummoned by a King in poſſeſſion, could ratify whatever had been tranſacted before they aſſembled. But this meaſure, being deſtructive of all principles of liberty, the only principles on which his future throne could be eſtabliſhed, was prudently rejected by the Prince, who, finding himſelf poſſeſſed of the goodwill of the nation, reſolved to leave them entirely to their own guidance and direction. The peers and biſhops to the number of near ninety made an addreſs, deſiring him to ſummon a convention by circular letters; to aſſume, in the mean time, the management of all public affairs; and to concert meaſures for the ſecurity of Ireland. At the ſame time, they refuſed reading a letter, which the King had left in order to apologize for his late deſertion, by the violence, which had been put upon him. This ſtep was a ſufficient indication of their intentions with regard to that unhappy Monarch.

STILL the Prince ſeemed unwilling to act upon an authority, which might be deemed ſo imperfect: He was deſirous of obtaining a more expreſs declaration of the public conſent. A very judicious expedient was fallen on for that purpoſe. All the members, who had ſat in the Houſe of Commons during any Parliament of Charles the ſecond (the only Parliaments whoſe election was eſteemed free) were invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of the city. This was the moſt proper repreſentative of the people, which could be ſummoned during the preſent emergence. They unanimouſly voted the ſame addreſs with the Lords: And the Prince, being thus ſupported by all the legal authority, which could poſſibly be obtained in the preſent critical juncture, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England; and his orders were univerſally complied with. A moſt profound tranquillity prevailed thro'out the kingdom; and the Prince's adminiſtration was ſubmitted to, as if he had ſucceeded in the moſt regular manner to the vacant throne. The fleet received his orders: The army, without murmur or oppoſition, allowed him to new-model them. And the city ſupplied him with a loan of two hundred thouſand pounds.

Convention ſummoned.

1689.
7th of January.
Settlement of Scotland.

The conduct of the Prince with regard to Scotland, was founded on the ſame prudent and moderate maxims. Finding, that there were many Scotchmen of rank at that time in London, he ſummoned them together, laid before them his intentions, and aſked their advice in the preſent emergency. This aſſembly, conſiſting of thirty noblemen and about fourſcore gentlemen, choſe duke Hamilton for preſident; a man, who, being of a temporizing character, was determined to pay court to the preſent authority. His eldeſt ſon, the earl of Arran, profeſſed an adherence to King James; a uſual policy in Scotland, where the father and ſon, during civil commotions, are often obſerved to take oppoſite ſides; in order to ſecure at all adventures the family from forfeiture. Arran propoſed to invite back the King upon conditions; but as he was vehemently oppoſed in this motion by Sir Patric Hume, and ſeconded by nobody, the aſſembly made an offer to the Prince of the preſent adminiſtration, which he willingly accepted. To anticipate a little on theſe events; a convention, by circular letters from the Prince, was ſummoned at Edinburgh on the twenty-ſecond of March; where it was ſoon viſible, that the intereſt of the malecontents would entirely prevail. The more zealous Royaliſts, regarding this aſſembly as illegal, had forborn to appear at elections; and the other party were returned from moſt places. The revolution was not, in Scotland as in England, effected by the coalition of Whig and Tory: The former party alone had over-powered the government, and were too much enraged by the paſt injuries, which they had ſuffered, to admit of any compoſition with their former maſters. So ſoon as the purpoſe of the convention was diſcovered, the earl of Balcarras and viſcount Dundee, the leaders of the Tories, withdrew from Edinburgh; and the convention having paſſed a vote, that King James, by his mal-adminiſtration, and his abuſe of power, had *forfeited* all title to the crown, they made a tender of the royal dignity to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

22d of January. English convention meets.

The Engliſh convention was aſſembled; and it immediately appeared, that the Houſe of Commons, both from the prevailing humor of the people, and from the influence of preſent authority, were moſtly choſen from among the whig party. After thanks were unanimouſly given by both Houſes to the Prince of Orange for the deliverance, which he had brought them; a memorable vote was in a few days paſſed by a great majority of the Commons, and ſent up to the Houſe of Peers for their concurrence. It was contained in theſe words. "That King James the ſecond, having endeavored to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract betwixt King and people, and having, by the advice of "Jeſuits and other wicked perſons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the "throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when carried to the upper Houſe, met with great oppoſition; of which it is here neceſſary for us to explain the reaſon.

The Tories and the High-church-men, finding themſelves at once menaced with a ſubverſion of their laws and of their religion, had zealouſly promoted the national revolt, and had on this occaſion departed from thoſe principles of non-reſiſtance, of which, while the King favored them, they had formerly made ſuch loud profeſſions. Their preſent apprehenſions had prevailed over their political tenets; and the unfortunate James, who had too much relied on thoſe general declarations, which never will be reduced to practice, found in the iſſue that both parties were ſecretly united in oppoſition to him. But no ſooner was the danger paſſed, and the general fear ſomewhat allayed, than party prejudices reſumed, in ſome degree, their former authority; and the Tories were aſhamed of that victory, which their antagoniſts, during the late tranſactions, had obtained over them. They were inclined, therefore, to ſteer a middle courſe; and, tho' generally determined to oppoſe the King's return, they reſolved not to conſent to the dethroning him, or altering the line of ſucceſſion. A regent with kingly power was the expedient, which they propoſed; and a late inſtance in Portugal ſeemed to give ſome authority and precedent to that plan of government.

Views of the parties.

In favor of this ſcheme the Tories urged, that, by the uniform tenor of the Engliſh laws, the right of the crown was ever regarded as ſacred, and could, on no account, and by no mal-adminiſtration, be forfeited by the Sovereign: That to dethrone a King and to elect his ſucceſſor, was a practice quite unknown to the conſtitution, and had a tendency to render kingly power entirely dependant and precarious: That where the Prince, from his tender years, from lunacy, or from other natural infirmity, was incapacitated to hold the reins of government, both the laws and former practice agreed in appointing a regent, who, during the interval, was inveſted with the whole power of the adminiſtration: That the inveterate and dangerous prejudices of King James had rendered him as unfit to ſway the Engliſh ſcepter, as if he had fallen into lunacy; and it was therefore natural for the people to have recourſe to the ſame remedy: That the election of one King was a precedent for the election of another; and the government, by that means, would either degenerate into a republic, or what was worſe, into a turbulent and ſeditious Monarchy: That the caſe was ſtill more dangerous, if there remained a Prince, who claimed the crown by right of ſucceſſion, and diſputed, on ſo plauſible a ground, the title of the preſent Sovereign: That tho' the doctrine of non-reſiſtance might not, in every poſſible circumſtance, be abſolutely true, yet was the belief of it extremely expedient; and to eſtabliſh a government, which ſhould have the contrary principle for its baſis, was to lay the foundation of perpetual revolutions and convulſions: That the appointment of a regent was indeed expoſed to many inconveniencies; but ſo long as the line of ſucceſſion was preſerved entire, there was ſtill a proſpect of putting an end, ſome time or other, to the public diſorders: And that ſcarce any inſtance occurred in hiſtory, eſpecially in the Engliſh hiſtory, where a diſputed title had not in the iſſue, been attended with much greater ills, than all thoſe, which the people had ſought to ſhun, by departing from the lineal ſucceſſor.

THE leaders of the whig-party, on the other hand, aſſerted, that, if there was any ill in the precedent, that ill would reſult as much from the eſtabliſhing a regent, as from the dethroning one King, and appointing his ſucceſſor; nor would the one expedient, if wantonly and raſhly embraced by the people, be leſs the ſource of public convulſions than the other: That if the laws gave no expreſs permiſſion to depoſe the Sovereign, neither did they authorize the reſiſting his authority, or ſeparating the power from the title: That a regent was unknown, except where the Prince, by reaſon of his tender age or his infirmities, was incapable of a will; and in that caſe, his will was ſuppoſed to be involved in that of the regent: That it would be the height of abſurdity to try a man for acting upon a commiſſion, received from a Prince, whom we ourſelves acknowlege to be the lawful Sovereign; and no jury would decide ſo contrary both to law and to common ſenſe, as to condemn ſuch a criminal: That even the proſpect of being delivered from this monſtrous inconvenience was, in the preſent ſituation of things, more diſtant than that of putting an end to a diſputed ſucceſſion: That allowing the young Prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad; he would be educated in principles deſtructive of the conſtitution and eſtabliſhed religion; and he would probably leave a ſon, liable to the ſame inſuperable objection: That if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time forget or neglect their claim; an advantage, which could not be hoped for, while the adminiſtration was conducted in their name, and while they were ſtill acknowleged to poſſeſs the legal title: And that a nation thus perpetually governed by regents or protectors approached much nearer a republic, than one ſubject to Monarchs, whoſe hereditary regular ſucceſſion, as well as preſent authority, was fixed and appointed by the people.

THIS queſtion was agitated with great zeal by the oppoſite parties in the Houſe of Peers. The chief ſpeakers among the Tories were Clarendon, Rocheſter, and Nottingham; among the Whigs, Halifax and Danby. The queſtion was carried for a King by two voices only, fifty-one againſt forty-nine. All the prelates, except two, the biſhops of London and Briſtol, voted for a regent. The primate, a diſintereſted but puſillanimous man, kept at a diſtance, both from the Prince's court and from Parliament.

THE Houſe of Peers proceeded next to examine piece-meal the vote, ſent up to them by the Commons. They debated, "Whether there was an original contract "between King and people," and the affirmative was carried by fifty-three againſt forty-ſix; a proof that the Tories were already loſing ground. The next queſtion was, "Whether King James had broke that original contract?" and after a ſlight oppoſition the affirmative prevailed. The Lords proceeded to take into conſideration the word, *abdicated*; and it was carried that *deſerted* was more proper. The concluding queſtion was, "Whether King James, having broke the original con-"tract, and *deſerted* the government, the throne was thereby vacant?" This queſtion was debated with more heat and contention than any of the former; and upon a diviſion, the Tories prevailed by eleven voices, and it was carried to omit the laſt article with regard to the vacancy of the crown. The vote was ſent back to the Commons with theſe amendments.

THE earl of Danby had embraced the project of beſtowing the Crown ſolely upon the Princeſs of Orange, and of admitting her as hereditary legal ſucceſſor to King James: Paſſing by the infant Prince as illegitimate or ſuppoſititious. His change of party in the laſt queſtion gave the Tories ſo conſiderable a majority in the number of voices.

Free conferences betw the Houſes.

THE Commons ſtill inſiſted on their vote, and ſent up reaſons, why the Lords ſhould depart from their amendments. The Lords were not convinced; and it was neceſſary to have a free conference, in order to ſettle this queſtion. Never national debate ſurely was more important, nor managed by more able ſpeakers; yet is one ſurprized to find the topics, inſiſted on by both ſides, ſo very frivolous; more reſembling the verbal diſputes of the ſchools than the ſolid reaſonings of ſtateſmen and legiſlators. In public tranſactions of ſuch conſequence, the true motives, which produce any meaſure, are ſeldom avowed. The Whigs, now the ruling party, having united with the Tories, in order to bring about the revolution, had ſo much deference for their new allies, as not to inſiſt, that the crown ſhould be declared *forfeited*, on account of the King's mal-adminiſtration: Such a declaration, they thought, would imply too expreſs a cenſure of the old tory principles, and too open a preference of their own. They agreed therefore to confound together the King's abuſing his power and his withdrawing from the kingdom; and they called the whole an *abdication*; as if he had given a virtual, tho' not a verbal, conſent to his dethronement. The Tories took advantage of this obvious impropriety, which had been occaſioned merely by the complaiſance or prudence of the Whigs; and they inſiſted upon the word, *deſertion*, as much more ſignificant and intelligible. It was retorted on them, that, however that expreſſion might be juſtly applied to the King's withdrawing himſelf, it could not, with any propriety, be extended to his violation of the fundamental laws. And thus both parties, while they warped their principles from regard to their antagoniſts, and from prudential conſiderations, loſt the praiſe of conſiſtence and uniformity.

The managers for the Lords next inſiſted, that even allowing the King's abuſe of power to be equivalent to an abdication, or in other words, to a civil death, it could operate no otherwiſe than his voluntary reſignation or his natural death; and could only make way for the next ſucceſſor. It was a maxim of Engliſh law, *that the throne was never vacant*; but inſtantly upon the deceaſe of one King was filled with his legal heir, who was entitled to all the authority of his predeceſſor. And however young or unfit for government the ſucceſſor, however unfortunate in his ſituation, tho' he were even a captive in the hands of public enemies; yet no juſt reaſon, they thought, could be aſſigned, why, without any default of his own, he ſhould loſe a crown, to which, by birth, he was fully intitled. The managers of the Commons might have oppoſed this reaſoning by many ſpecious and even ſolid arguments. They might have ſaid, that the great ſecurity for allegiance being merely opinion, any ſcheme of ſettlement ſhould be adopted, in which, it was moſt probable, the people would acquieſce and perſevere. That tho' upon the natural death of one King, whoſe adminiſtration had been agreeable to the laws, many and great inconveniencies would be endured rather than exclude his lineal ſucceſſor; yet the caſe was not the ſame, when the people had been obliged, by their revolt, to dethrone a Prince, whoſe illegal meaſures had, in every circumſtance, violated the conſtitution. That in theſe extraordinary revolutions, the government returned to its firſt principles, and the community acquired a right of providing for the public intereſt by expedients, which, on other occaſions, might be deemed violent and irregular. That the recent uſe of one extraordinary remedy familiarized the people to the practice of another, and more reconciled their minds to ſuch licences than if the government had run on in its uſual tenor. And that King James, having carried abroad his ſon, as well as withdrawn himſelf, had given ſuch juſt provocation to the kingdom, had voluntarily involved it in ſuch difficulties, that the intereſts of his family were juſtly ſacrificed to the public ſettlement and tranquillity. Tho' theſe topics ſeem reaſonable, they were intirely forborne by the whig managers; both becauſe they implied an acknowlegement of the infant Prince's legitimacy, which, it was agreed, to keep in obſcurity, and becauſe they contained too expreſs a condemnation of tory principles. They were contented to maintain the vote of the Commons by ſhifts and evaſions; and both ſides parted at laſt without coming to any agreement.

BUT it was impoſſible for the public to remain long in the preſent ſituation. The perſeverance, therefore, of the Lower Houſe obliged the Lords to comply; and by the deſertion of ſome Peers to the whig party, the vote of the Commons, without any alteration, paſſed by a ſmall majority in the Upper Houſe, and received the ſanction of every part of the legiſlature, which then ſubſiſted.

IT happens unluckily for thoſe, who maintain an original contract between the magiſtrate and people, that great revolutions of government, and new ſettlements of civil conſtitutions, are commonly conducted with ſuch violence, tumult and diſorder, that the public voice can ſcarce ever be heard; and the opinions of the citizens are at that time leſs attended to than even in the common courſe of adminiſtration. The preſent tranſactions in England, it muſt be confeſſed, are a very ſingular exception to this obſervation. The new elections had been carried on with great tranquillity and freedom: The Prince had ordered the troops to depart from all the towns, where the voters aſſembled: A tumultuary petition to the two Houſes having been promoted, he took care, tho' the petition was calculated for his own advantage, effectually to ſuppreſs it: He entered into no intrigues, either with the electors or the members: He kept himſelf in a total ſilence, as if he had been no way concerned in theſe tranſactions: And ſo far from forming cabals with the leaders of parties, he diſdained even to beſtow careſſes on thoſe, whoſe aſſiſtance might be uſeful to him. This conduct was highly meritorious, and diſcovered great moderation and magnanimity; even tho' the Prince unfortunately, thro' the whole courſe of his life, and on every occaſion, was noted for an addreſs ſo cold, dry, and diſtant, as it was very difficult for him, on account of any intereſt, to ſoften or familiarize.

AT laſt, the Prince deigned to break ſilence, and to expreſs, tho' in a private manner, his ſentiments on the preſent ſituation of affairs. He called together Halifax, Shrewſbury, Danby, and a few more; and he told them, that having been invited over to reſtore their liberty, he had engaged in this enterprize, and had at laſt happily effected his purpoſe: That it belonged to the Parliament, now choſen and aſſembled with freedom, to concert meaſures for the public ſettlement; and he pretended not to interpoſe in their determinations. That he heard of ſeveral ſchemes propoſed for eſtabliſhing the government: Some inſiſted on a regent; others were deſirous of beſtowing the Crown on the Princeſs: It was their concern alone to prefer that plan of adminiſtration which was moſt agreeable or advantageous to them. That if they choſe to ſettle a regent, he had no objection: He only thought it incumbent on him to inform them, that he was determined not to be the regent, nor ever to engage in a ſcheme, which, he knew, would be expoſed to ſuch inſuperable difficulties. That no man could have a juſter or a deeper ſenſe of the Princeſs's merit than he was impreſſed with; but he would rather remain a private perſon than enjoy a crown, which muſt depend on the will or life of another. And that they muſt therefore make account, if they choſe either of theſe two plans of ſettlement, that it would be totally out of his power to aſſiſt them in carrying it into execution: His affairs abroad were too important to be abandoned for ſo precarious a dignity, or even to allow him ſo much leizure as would be requiſite to introduce order into their disjointed government.

THESE views of the Prince were ſeconded by the Princeſs herſelf, who, as ſhe poſſeſſed many virtues, was a moſt obſequious wife to a huſband, who, in the judgement of the generality of her ſex, would have appeared ſo little attractive and amiable. All conſiderations were neglected, when they came in competition with what ſhe eſteemed her duty to the Prince. When Danby and others of her partizans wrote her an account of their ſchemes and proceedings, ſhe expreſſed great diſpleaſure; and even tranſmitted their letters to her huſband, as a ſacrifice to conjugal fidelity. The Princeſs Anne alſo concurred in the ſame plan for the public ſettlement; and being promiſed an ample revenue, was contented to be poſtponed in the ſucceſſion to the crown. And as the title of her infant brother, in the preſent eſtabliſhment, was entirely neglected; ſhe might, on the whole, eſteem herſelf, in point of intereſt, a great gainer by this revolution.

Settlement of the crown.

ALL parties, therefore, being agreed, the Convention paſſed a bill, where they ſettled the crown on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, the ſole adminiſtration to remain in the Prince: The Princeſs of Denmark to ſucceed after the death of the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; her poſterity after thoſe of the Princeſs, but before thoſe of the Prince by any other wife. The Convention annexed to this ſettlement of the crown a declaration of rights, where all the points, which had, of late years, been diſputed between King and people, were finally determined; and the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumſcribed and more exactly defined, than in any former period of the Engliſh government *.

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Manners, arts and ſciences.

Thus we have ſeen, thro' the courſe of four reigns, a continued ſtruggle maintained between the crown and the people: Privilege and Prerogative were ever at variance: And both parties, beſides the preſent object of diſpute, had many latent claims, which, on a favorable occaſion, they produced againſt their adverſaries. Governments too ſteddy and uniform, as they are ſeldom free, ſo are they, in the judgement of ſome, attended with another ſenſible inconvenience: They abate the active powers of men; depreſs courage, invention, and genius; and produce an univerſal lethargy in the people. Tho' this opinion may be juſt; the fluctuation and conteſt, it muſt be allowed, of the Engliſh government were, during theſe reigns, much too violent both for the repoſe and ſafety of the people. Foreign affairs, at that time, were either entirely neglected, or managed to pernicious purpoſes: And in the domeſtic adminiſtration there was felt a continued fever, either ſecret or manifeſt; ſometimes the moſt furious convulſions and diſorders. The revolution forms a new epoch in the conſtitution; and was attended with conſequences much more advantageous to the people, than the barely freeing them from a bad adminiſtration. By deciding many important queſtions in favor of liberty, and ſtill more, by that great precedent of depoſing one King, and eſtabliſhing a new family, it gave ſuch an aſcendant to popular principles, as has put the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution beyond all controverſy. And it may ſafely be affirmed, without any danger of exaggeration, that we in this iſland have ever ſince enjoyed, if not the beſt ſyſtem of government, at leaſt the moſt entire ſyſtem of liberty, that ever was known amongſt mankind.

To decry with ſuch violence, as is affected by ſome, the whole line of Stuart; to maintain, that their adminiſtration was one continued encroachment on the *inconteſtible* rights of the people; is not giving due honor to that great event, which not only put a period to their hereditary ſucceſſion, but made a new ſettlement of the whole conſtitution. The inconveniencies, ſuffered by the people under the two

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* See Appendix ſecond.

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firſt reigns of that family (for in the main they were proſperous) proceeded in a great meaſure from the unavoidable ſituation of affairs; and ſcarce any thing could have prevented thoſe events, but ſuch vigor of genius in the Sovereign, attended with ſuch good fortune, as might have enabled him entirely to overpower the liberties of his people. While the Parliaments, in theſe reigns, were taking advantage of the neceſſities of the Prince, and attempting every ſeſſion to aboliſh, or circumſcribe, or define, ſome prerogative of the Crown, and innovate in the uſual tenor of government: Muſt it not be expected, that the Prince would defend an authority, which, for above a century, that is, during the whole regular courſe of the former Engliſh government, had been exerciſed without diſpute or controverſy? And tho' Charles the ſecond in 1672 may with reaſon be deemed the aggreſſor, nor is it poſſible to juſtify his conduct; yet were there ſome motives ſurely, which could engage a Prince, ſo ſoft and indolent, and at the ſame time, ſo judicious, to attempt ſuch hazardous enterprizes. He felt, that public affairs had reached a ſituation, at which they could not poſſibly remain, without ſome farther innovation. Frequent Parliaments were become almoſt entirely requiſite to the conduct of public buſineſs; yet theſe aſſemblies were ſtill, in the judgement of the Royaliſts, much inferior in dignity to the Sovereign, whom they ſeemed better calculated to council than control. The Crown ſtill poſſeſſed conſiderable power of oppoſing Parliaments; and had not as yet acquired the means of influencing them. Hence a continued jealouſy between theſe parts of the conſtitution: Hence the inclination mutually to take advantage of each other's neceſſities: Hence the impoſſibility under which the King lay of finding miniſters, who could at once be ſerviceable and faithful to him. If he followed his own choice in appointing his ſervants, without regard to their parliamentary intereſt, a refractory ſeſſion was inſtantly to be expected: If he choſe them from among the leaders of popular aſſemblies, they either loſt their influence by adhering to the Crown, or they betrayed the Crown, in order to preſerve their influence with the people. Neither Hambden, whom Charles the firſt was willing to gain at any price; nor Shafteſbury, whom Charles the ſecond, after the popiſh plot, attempted to engage in his councils, would renounce their popularity for the precarious, and, as they eſteemed it, deceitful favor of the Prince. The root of their authority they ſtill thought to lye in the Parliament; and as the power of that aſſembly was not yet uncontroleable, they ſtill reſolved to augment it, tho' at the expence of the royal prerogatives.

'Tis no wonder, that theſe events, by the repreſentations of faction, have long been extremely clouded and obſcured. No man has yet aroſe, who has been enabled to pay no regard but to truth, and has dared to expoſe her, without covering or diſguiſe, to the eyes of the prejudiced public. Even that party amongſt us, who boaſt of the higheſt regard to liberty, have not poſſeſſed ſufficient liberty of thought; nor have been able to decide impartially of their own merit compared with that of their antagoniſts. More noble undoubtedly in their ends, and more beneficial to mankind; they muſt alſo be allowed to have been often leſs juſtifiable in the means, and in many of their tranſactions to have payed more regard to political than to moral conſiderations. Being obliged to court the populace, they found it requiſite to comply with their rage and folly; and have even, on many occaſions, by propagating fictions, by promoting violence, ſerved to infatuate, as well as corrupt that people, to whom they made a tender of liberty and juſtice. Charles the firſt was a tyrant, a Papiſt, and a contriver of the Iriſh maſſacre: The church of England was relapſing faſt into idolatry: Puritaniſm was the only true religion, and the covenant the favorite object of heavenly regard. Thro' theſe deluſions the party proceeded, and, what may ſeem more wonderful, ſtill to the encreaſe of law and liberty; 'till they reached the impoſture of the popiſh plot, a fiction which exceeds the ordinary bounds of vulgar credulity. But however ſingular theſe events may appear, there is really nothing altogether new in any period of modern hiſtory: And it is remarkable, that tribunitian arts, tho' ſometimes uſeful in a free conſtitution, have often been ſuch as men of ſtrict probity and honor could not bring themſelves either to practiſe or approve. The other faction, who, ſince the revolution, have been obliged to court the populace, ſometimes found it requiſite to employ like artifices.

The whig party, for a courſe of near ſeventy years, have, almoſt without interruption, enjoyed the whole authority of the government; and no honors nor offices could be obtained but by their countenance and protection. But this event, which has been advantageous to the ſtate, has been deſtructive to the truth of hiſtory, and has eſtabliſhed many groſs falſhoods, which it is unaccountable how any civilized nation could have embraced with regard to its domeſtic occurrences. Compoſitions the moſt deſpicable, both for ſtyle and matter, have been extoled, and propagated, and red; as if they had equalled the moſt celebrated remains of antiquity. And becauſe the ruling party had obtained an advantage over their antagoniſts in the philoſophical diſputes concerning ſome of their general principles; they thence aſſumed a right to impoſe on the public their account of all particular tranſactions, and to repreſent the other party as governed entirely by the loweſt and moſt vulgar prejudices. But extremes of all kinds are to be avoided; and tho' no-one will ever pleaſe either faction by moderate opinions, it is there we are moſt likely to meet with truth and certainty.

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We ſhall ſubjoin to this general view of the Engliſh government, ſome account of the ſtate of the finances, arms, trade, manners, arts, between the reſtoration and revolution.

The revenue of Charles the ſecond, as ſettled by the long Paaliament, was put upon a very bad footing. It was too ſmall, if they intended to make him independant in the common courſe of his adminiſtration: It was too large, and ſettled during too long a period, if they reſolved to keep him in entire dependance. The large debts of the republic, which were thrown upon that Prince, the neceſſity of ſupplying the naval and military ſtores, which were entirely exhauſted *; that of repairing and finiſhing his palaces: All theſe cauſes involved the King in great difficulties immediately after his reſtoration; and the Parliament were not ſufficiently liberal in ſupplying him. Perhaps too he had contracted ſome debts abroad; and his bounty to the diſtreſſed cavaliers, tho' it did not correſpond either to their ſervices or expectations, could not fail, in ſome degree, to exhauſt his treaſures. The extraordinary ſums, granted the King during the firſt years, did not ſuffice for theſe extraordinary charges; and the exciſe and cuſtoms, the only conſtant revenue, amounted not to nine hundred thouſand pounds a year, and fell very much ſhort of the ordinary charges of the government. The addition of hearth-money in 1662, and of the other two branches in 1669 and 1670 brought up the revenue to one million three hundred fifty-eight thouſand pounds, as we learn from lord treaſurer Danby's account: But the ſame authority informs us, that the yearly expence of the government was at that time at one million three hundred eighty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy pounds †, without mentioning contingencies, which are always very conſiderable, even under the moſt prudent adminiſtration. Thoſe branches of revenue, granted in 1669 and 1670, expired in 1680, and were never renewed by the Parliament: They were computed to be above two hundred thouſand pounds a year. It muſt be allowed, becauſe aſſerted by all cotemporary authors, of both parties, and even confeſſed by himſelf, that King Charles was ſomewhat profuſe and negligent. But it is likewiſe certain, that a very rigid frugality was requiſite to ſupport the government under ſuch difficulties. There is a familiar rule in all buſineſs, that every man ſhould be payed, in proportion to the truſt repoſed in him, and to the power, which he enjoys; and the nation ſoon found reaſon, from Charles's dangerous connexions with France, to repent their tranſgreſſion of that prudential maxim.

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* Lord Clarendon's ſpeech to the Parliament, Oct. 9, 1665.

† Ralph's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 288. We learn from that lord's Memoirs, p. 12, that the receipts of the Exchequer, during ſix years, from 1673 to 1679, was about eight millions two hundred thouſand pounds, or one million three hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds a year. See likewiſe, p. 169.

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If we eſtimate the ordinary revenue of Charles the ſecond at one million two hundred thouſand pounds a year during his whole reign, the computation will rather be above than under the true value. The Convention Parliament, after all the ſums, which they had granted the King towards the payment of old debts, threw, the laſt day of their meeting, a debt upon him, amounting to one million ſeven hundred forty-three thouſand two hundred ſixty-three pounds [*]. All the extraordinary ſums, which were afterwards voted him by Parliament, amounted to eleven millions four hundred forty-three thouſand four hundred and ſeven pounds; which divided by twenty-four, the number of years, which that King reigned, make four hundred ſeventy-ſix thouſand eight hundred and eight pounds a year. During that time, he had two violent wars to ſuſtain with the Dutch; and in 1678, he made very expenſive preparations for a war with France. In the firſt Dutch war both France and Denmark were allies to the United Provinces, and the naval armaments in England were very great; ſo that it is impoſſible he could have ſecreted any part, at leaſt any conſiderable part, of the ſums, which were then voted him by Parliament.

To theſe ſums we muſt add about one million two hundred thouſand pounds, which had been detained from the bankers on ſhutting up the Exchequer in 1672. The King payed ſix per cent for this money during all the reſt of his reign [†]. It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding this violent breach of faith, the King, two years afterwards, borrowed money at eight per cent; the ſame rate of intereſt, which he had payed before that event [‡]. A proof, that public credit, inſtead of being of ſo delicate a nature, as we are apt to imagine, is, in reality, ſo hardy and robuſt that it is very difficult to deſtroy it.

The revenue of James was raiſed by the Parliament to about one million eight hundred fifty thouſand pounds [∔]; and his income as Duke of Yorke being added, made the whole amount to two millions a year; a ſum well proportioned to the public neceſſities, but enjoyed by him in too independant a manner. The national debt at the revolution amounted to one million fifty-four thouſand nine hundred twenty-five pounds [||].

The militia fell much to decay during theſe two reigns, partly by the policy of the Kings, who had entertained a diffidence of their ſubjects, partly by that ill judged law, which limited the King's power of muſtering and arraying them. In the beginning, however, of Charles's reign, the militia were ſtill deemed formidable.

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[*] Journals, 29th of December, 1660.

[†] Danby's Memoirs, p. 7.

[‡] Id. p. 65.

[∔] Journ. 1ſt of March, 1689.

[||] Journ. 20th of March, 1689.

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ble. De Wit having propoſed to the French King an invaſion of England during the firſt Dutch war, that Monarch replied, that ſuch an attempt would be entirely fruitleſs, and would tend only to unite the Engliſh. In a few days, ſaid he, after our landing, there will be fifty thouſand men at leaſt upon us[*].

Charles in the beginning of his reign had in pay near five thouſand men, of guards and garriſons. At the end of his reign, he augmented this number to near eight thouſand men. James on Monmouth's rebellion had on foot about fifteen thouſand men; and when the Prince of Orange invaded him, there were no fewer than thirty thouſand regular troops in England.

The Engliſh navy, during the greateſt part of Charles's reign, made a great figure, both for numbers of ſhips, valor of the men, and conduct of the commanders. Even in 1678, the fleet conſiſted of eighty-three ſhips[†]; beſides thirty, which were at that time on the ſtocks. On the King's acceſſion he found only ſixty-three veſſels of all ſizes[‡]. During the latter part of Charles's reign, the navy fell conſiderably to decay, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the King's revenue: But James, ſoon after his acceſſion, reſtored it to its former power and glory; and before he left the throne, carried it much farther. The adminiſtration of the admiralty under Pepys is ſtill regarded as a model for order and œconomy. The fleet at the revolution conſiſted of one hundred ſeventy-three veſſels of all ſizes; and required forty-two thouſand ſeamen to man it[‖]. That King, when Duke of Yorke, had been the firſt inventor of ſea ſignals. The military genius, during theſe two reigns, had not totally decayed among the young nobility. Dorſet, Mulgrave, Rocheſter, not to mention Oſſory, ſerved on board the fleet, and were preſent in the moſt furious engagements againſt the Dutch.

The commerce and riches of England did never, during any period, encreaſe ſo faſt as from the reſtoration to the revolution. The two Dutch wars, by diſturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this iſland; and after Charles had made a ſeparate peace with the States, his ſubjects enjoyed unmoleſted the trade of Europe. The only diſturbance, which they met with, was from a few French privateers, who infeſted the channel; and Charles interpoſed not in behalf of his ſubjects with ſufficient ſpirit and vigor. The recovery or conqueſt of New Yorke and the Jerſeys was a very conſiderable acceſſion to the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Engliſh colonies; and together with the ſettlement of Penſilvania and Carolina, which was effected during this reign, extended prodigiouſly the Engliſh empire

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[*] D'Eſtrades 20th of October, 1666.

[†] Pepys's Memoirs, p. 4.

[‡] Memoirs of Engliſh affairs, chiefly naval.

[‖] Lives of the admirals, vol. ii. p. 476.

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empire in America. The perſecutions of the Diſſenters, or more properly ſpeaking, the reſtraints impoſed upon them, contributed to augment and people theſe colonies. Dr. Davenant affirms[*], that the ſhipping of England doubled during theſe twenty-eight years. Several new manufactures were eſtabliſhed; in iron, braſs, ſilk, hats, glaſs, &c. One Brewer, leaving the Low Countries, when they were threatened with a French conqueſt, brought the art of dying woolen cloth into England, and by that improvement ſaved the nation great ſums of money. The encreaſe of coynage during theſe two reigns was ten millions two hundred ſixty-one thouſand pounds. A board of trade was erected in 1670; and the earl of Sandwich was made preſident.

THE French King, about the beginning of Charles's reign, laid ſome impoſitions on Engliſh commodities: And the Engliſh, partly diſpleaſed with this innovation, partly moved by their animoſity againſt France, retaliated, by laying ſuch reſtraints on the commerce with that kingdom as amounted almoſt to a prohibition. They formed calculations, by which they perſwaded themſelves, that they were loſers a million and a half or near two millions a year by the French trade. But no good effects were found to reſult from theſe reſtraints; and in King James's reign they were taken off by the Parliament.

AT the ſame time that the burroughs of England were deprived of their privileges, the like attempt was made on the colonies. King James recalled their charters, by which their liberties were ſecured; and he ſent over governors inveſted with abſolute power. The arbitrary principles of that Monarch appeared in every part of his adminiſtration.

THE people, during theſe two reigns, were, in a great meaſure, cured of that wild fanaticiſm, by which they had formerly been ſo much agitated. Whatever new vices they might acquire, it may be queſtioned, whether, by this change, they were, in the main, much loſers in point of morals. By the example of the King and the cavaliers, licentiouſneſs and debauchery became very prevalent in the nation. The pleaſures of the table were much purſued. Love was treated more as an appetite than a paſſion. The one ſex began to abate of the national character of chaſtity, without being able to inſpire the other with ſentiment or delicacy.

THE abuſes in the former age, ariſing from overſtrained pretenſions of piety, had much propagated the ſpirit of irreligion[†]; and many of the ingenious men of

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[*] Diſcourſe on the public revenues, part ii. p. 29, 33, 36.

[†] THIS ſophiſm, of arguing from the abuſe of any thing againſt the uſe of it, is one of the groſſeſt, and at the ſame time, the moſt common, to which men are ſubject. The hiſtory of all ages, and none

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this period lie under the imputation of Deiſm. Beſides wits and ſcholars by profeſſion, Shafteſbury, Halifax, Buckingham, Mulgrave, Sunderland, Eſſex, Rocheſter, Sidney, Temple are ſuppoſed to have adopted theſe principles.

The ſame factions, which formerly diſtracted the nation, were revived, and exerted themſelves in the moſt ungenerous and unmanly enterprizes againſt each other. King Charles, being in his whole deportment a model of eaſy and gentlemanly

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more than that of the period, which is our ſubject, offers us examples of the abuſe of religion; and we have not been ſparing, in this volume more than in the former, to remark them: But whoever would thence draw an inference to the diſadvantage of religion in general would argue very raſhly and erroneouſly. The proper office of religion is to reform men's lives, to purify their hearts, to inforce all moral duties, and to ſecure obedience to the laws and civil magiſtrate. While it purſues theſe ſalutary purpoſes, its operations, tho' infinitely valuable, are ſecret and ſilent, and ſeldom come under the cognizance of hiſtory. That adulterate ſpecies of it alone, which inflames faction, animates ſedition, and prompts rebellion, diſtinguiſhes itſelf on the open theatre of the world, and is the great ſource of revolutions and public convulſions. The hiſtorian, therefore, has ſcarce occaſion to mention any other kind of religion; and he may retain the higheſt regard for true piety, even while he expoſes all the abuſes of the falſe. He may even think, that he cannot better ſhow his attachment to the former than by detecting the latter, and laying open its abſurdities and pernicious tendency.

It is no proof of irreligion in an hiſtorian, that he remarks ſome fault or imperfection in each ſect of religion, which he has occaſion to mention. Every inſtitution, however divine, which is adopted by men, muſt partake of the weakneſs and infirmities of our nature; and will be apt, unleſs carefully guarded, to degenerate into one extreme or the other. What ſpecies of devotion ſo pure, noble, and worthy the Supreme Being, as that which is moſt ſpiritual, ſimple, unadorned, and which partakes nothing either of the ſenſes or imagination? Yet is it found by experience, that this mode of worſhip does very naturally, among the vulgar, mount up into extravagance and fanaticiſm. Even many of the firſt reformers are expoſed to this reproach; and their zeal, tho', in the event, it proved extremely uſeful, partook ſtrongly of the enthuſiaſtic genius: Two of the judges in the reign of Charles the ſecond ſcrupled not to advance this opinion even from the bench. Some mixture of ceremony, pomp, and ornament may ſeem to correct the abuſe; yet will it be found very difficult to prevent ſuch a form of religion from ſinking ſometimes into ſuperſtition. The church of England itſelf, which is perhaps the beſt medium among theſe extremes, will be allowed, at leaſt during the age of archbiſhop Laud, to have been ſomewhat infected with a ſuperſtition, reſembling the popiſh; and to have payed a higher regard to ſome poſitive inſtitutions, than the nature of the things, ſtrictly ſpeaking, would permit. It is the buſineſs of an hiſtorian to remark theſe abuſes of all kinds; but it belongs alſo to a prudent reader to confine the repreſentations, which he meets with, to that age alone of which the author treats. What abſurdity, for inſtance, to ſuppoſe, that the Preſbyterians, Independants, Anabaptiſts, and other ſectaries of the preſent age partake of all the extravagancies, which we remark in thoſe, who bore theſe appellations in the laſt century? The inference indeed ſeems juſter; where ſects have been noted for fanaticiſm during one period, to conclude, that they will be very moderate and reaſonable in the ſubſequent. For as it is the nature of fanaticiſm to aboliſh all ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion to prieſtly power; it follows, that as ſoon as the firſt ferment is abated, men are naturally in ſuch ſects left to the free uſe of their reaſon, and ſhake off the fetters of cuſtom and authority.

manly behavior, improved the politeneſs of the nation; as much as faction, which of all things is moſt deſtructive to politeneſs, could poſſibly permit. His courtiers were long diſtinguiſhable in England by their obliging and agreeable manners.

Amidst the thick cloud of bigotry and ignorance, which overſpred the nation, during the Commonwealth and Protectorſhip, there were a few ſedate philoſophers, who, in the retirement of Oxford, cultivated their reaſon, and eſtabliſhed conferences for the mutual communication of their diſcoveries in phyſics and geometry. Wilkins, a clergyman, who had married Cromwel's ſiſter, and was afterwards created biſhop of Cheſter, promoted theſe philoſophical converſations. Immediately after the reſtoration, theſe men procured a patent, and having enlarged their number, were denominated the *Royal Society*. But this patent was all they obtained from the King. Tho' Charles was a great lover of the ſciences, particularly chymiſtry and mechanics, he animated them by his example alone, not by his bounty. His craving courtiers and miſtreſſes, by whom he was perpetually ſurrounded, engroſſed all his expence, and left him neither money nor attention for literary merit. His contemporary, Lewis, who fell ſhort of the King's genius and knowlege in this particular, much exceeded him in liberality. Beſides penſions conferred on learned men thro'out all Europe, his academies were directed by rules and ſupported by ſallaries: A generoſity, which does great honor to his memory; and in the eyes of all the ingenious part of mankind, will be eſteemed an atonement for many of the errors of his reign. We may be ſurprized, that this example ſhould not be more followed by Princes; ſince it is certain, that this bounty, ſo extenſive, ſo beneficial, and ſo much celebrated, coſt not that Monarch ſo great a ſum as is often conferred on one ſingle, uſeleſs, overgrown favorite or courtier.

But tho' the French academy of ſciences was directed, encouraged, and ſupported by the Sovereign, there aroſe in England ſome men of ſuperior genius, who were more than ſufficient to caſt the ballance, and who drew on themſelves and on their native country the regard and attention of all Europe. Beſides Wilkins, Wren, Wallis, eminent mathematicians, Hooke, an accurate obſerver by microſcopes, and Sydenham, the reſtorer of true phyſic; there flouriſhed during this period a Boyle and a Newton; men, who trode, with cautious, and therefore the more ſecure ſteps, the only road, which leads to true philoſophy.

Boyle improved the pneumatic engine, invented by Otto Guericke, and was thereby enabled to make ſeveral new and curious experiments on the air as well as on other bodies: His chymiſtry is much admired by thoſe acquainted with that art: His hydroſtatics contain a greater mixture of reaſoning and invention with experiment than any other of his works; but his reaſoning is ſtill remote from that boldneſs and temerity, which had led aſtray ſo many philoſophers. Boyle was

Chap. II. 1689. a great partizan of the mechanical philoſophy; a theory, which, by diſcovering ſome of the ſecrets of nature, and allowing us to imagine the reſt, is ſo agreeable to the natural vanity and curioſity of men.

In Newton this iſland may boaſt of having produced the greateſt and rareſt genius that ever aroſe for the ornament and inſtruction of the ſpecies. Cautious, in admitting no principles but ſuch as were founded on experiment; but reſolute to adopt every ſuch principle, however new or unuſual: From modeſty, ignorant of his ſuperiority above the reſt of mankind; and thence, leſs careful to accommodate his reaſonings to common apprehenſions: More anxious to merit than acquire fame: He was from theſe cauſes long unknown to the world; but his reputation at laſt broke out with a luſtre, which ſcarce any writer, during his own life-time, had ever before attained. While Newton ſeemed to draw off the veil from ſome of the myſteries of nature, he ſhowed at the ſame time the imperfections of the mechanical philoſophy; and thereby reſtored her ultimate ſecrets to that obſcurity, in which they ever did and ever will remain.

This age was far from being ſo favorable to polite literature as to the ſciences. Charles, tho' fond of wit, tho' poſſeſſed himſelf of a conſiderable ſhare of it, tho' his taſte of converſation ſeems to have been ſound and juſt; ſerved rather to corrupt than improve the poetry and eloquence of his time. When the theatres were opened at the reſtoration, and freedom was again given to pleaſantry and ingenuity; men, after ſo long an abſtinence, fed on theſe delicacies with leſs taſte than avidity, and the coarſeſt and moſt irregular ſpecies of wit was received by the court as well as by the people. The productions at that time repreſented on the theatre were ſuch monſters of extravagance and folly; ſo utterly devoid of all reaſon or even common ſenſe; that they would be the diſgrace of Engliſh literature, had not the nation made atonement for its former admiration of them, by the total oblivion to which they are now condemned. The duke of Buckingham's Rehearſal, which expoſed theſe wild productions, ſeems to be a piece of ridicule carried to exceſs; yet in reality the copy ſcarce equals ſome of the abſurdities, which we meet with in the originals.

This ſevere ſatyre, together with the good ſenſe of the nation, corrected, after ſome time, the extravagancies of the faſhionable wit; but the productions of literature ſtill wanted much of that correctneſs and delicacy, which we ſo much admire in the antients, and in the French writers, their judicious imitators. It was indeed during this period chiefly, that that nation left the Engliſh behind them in the productions of poetry, eloquence, hiſtory, and other branches of polite letters; and acquired a ſuperiority, which the efforts of Engliſh writers, during the ſubſequent age, did more ſucceſsfully conteſt with them. The arts and ſciences

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were imported from Italy into this iſland as early as into France; and made at firſt more ſurprizing advances. Spencer, Shakeſpear, Bacon, Johnſon were much ſuperior to their cotemporaries, who flouriſhed in that kingdom. Milton, Waller, Denham, Cowley, Harvey were at leaſt equal to their cotemporaries. The reign of Charles the ſecond, which ſome prepoſterouſly repreſent as our auguſtan age, retarded the progreſs of polite literature in this iſland; and it was then found, that the immeaſurable licentiouſneſs, which was indulged or rather applauded at court, was more deſtructive to the refined arts than even the cant, nonſenſe, and enthuſiaſm of the preceding period.

Most of the celebrated writers of this age remain monuments of genius, perverted by indecency and bad taſte; but none more than Dryden, both by reaſon of the greatneſs of his talents and the groſs abuſe which he made of them. His plays, excepting a few ſcenes, are utterly disfigured by vice or folly or both: His tranſlations appear too much the offspring of haſte and hunger: Even his fables are ill-choſen tales, conveyed in an incorrect, tho' ſpirited verſification. Yet amidſt this great number of looſe productions, the refuſe of our language, there are found ſome ſmall pieces, his Ode to St. Cecilia, the greateſt part of Abſalom and Achitophel, and a few more, which diſcover ſo great genius, ſuch richneſs of expreſſion, ſuch pomp and variety of numbers, that they leave us equally full of regret and indignation, on account of the inferiority or rather great abſurdity of his other writings.

The very name of Rocheſter is offenſive to modeſt ears; yet does his poetry diſcover ſuch energy of ſtyle and ſuch poignancy of ſatyre, as give ground to imagine what ſo fine a genius, had he fallen in a more happy age and followed better models, was capable of producing. The antient ſatyriſts often uſed great liberty in their expreſſions; but their freedom no more reſembles the licence of Rocheſter, than the nakedneſs of an Indian does that of a common proſtitute.

Wycherley was ambitious of the reputation of wit and libertiniſm; and he attained it: He was probably capable of reaching the fame of true comedy, and inſtructive ridicule. Otway had a genius finely turned to the pathetic; but he neither obſerves ſtrictly the rules of the drama, nor the rules, ſtill more eſſential, of propriety and decorum. By one ſingle piece the duke of Buckingham did both great ſervice to his age and honor to himſelf. The earls of Mulgrave, Dorſet, and Roſcommon wrote in a good taſte; but their productions are either feeble or careleſs. The marqueſs of Halifax diſcovers a refined genius; and nothing but leizure and an inferior ſtation ſeem wanting to have procured him great eminence in literature.

Of all the conſiderable writers of this age, Sir William Temple is almoſt the only one, who kept himſelf altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiouſneſs, which overwhelmed the nation. The ſtyle of this author, tho' extremely negligent, and even mixed with foreign idioms, is agreeable and intereſting. That mixture of vanity, which appears in his works, is rather a recommendation to them. By means of it, we enter into acquaintance with the character of the author, full of honor and humanity; and fancy that we are engaged, not in the peruſal of a book, but in converſation with a companion.

Tho' Hudibras was publiſhed, and probably compoſed, during Charles's reign, Butler may juſtly, as well as Milton, be thought to belong to the foregoing period. No compoſition abounds ſo much as Hudibras in ſtrokes of juſt and inimitable wit; yet are there many performances, which give as great or greater entertainment on the whole peruſal. The alluſions are often dark and far-fetched; and tho' ſcarce any author was ever able to expreſs his thoughts in ſo few words, he often employs too many thoughts on one ſubject, and thereby becomes prolix after an unuſual manner. It is ſurprizing how much erudition Butler has introduced with ſo good a grace into a work of pleaſantry and humor: Hudibras is perhaps one of the moſt learned compoſitions, that is to be found in any language. The advantage, which the royal cauſe received from this poem, in expoſing the fanaticiſm and falſe pretences of the former parliamentary party, was prodigious. The King himſelf had ſo good taſte as to be highly ſtruck with the merit of the work, and had even got a great part of it by heart: Yet was he either ſo careleſs in his temper, or ſo little endowed with the virtue of liberality, or, more properly ſpeaking, of gratitude, that he allowed the author, who was a man of virtue and probity, to live in obſcurity and dye in want. Dryden is an inſtance of a negligence of the ſame kind. His Abſalom ſenſibly contributed to the victory, which the Tories obtained over the Whigs after the excluſion Parliaments: Yet could not this merit, aided by his great genius, procure him an eſtabliſhment, which might exempt him from the neceſſity of writing for bread. Otway, tho' a profeſt Royaliſt, could not even procure bread by his writings; and he had the ſingular fate of dying literally of hunger. Theſe incidents throw a great ſtain on the memory of Charles, who had diſcernment, loved genius, was liberal of money, but attained not the praiſe of true generoſity.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

CHARLES II's DECLARATION from BREDA.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving ſubjects of what degree or quality ſoever, greeting. If the general diſtraction, and confuſion, which is ſpread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a deſire, and longing, that thoſe wounds which have ſo many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can ſay will be to no purpoſe. However, after this long ſilence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we deſire to contribute thereunto: And that, as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the poſſeſſion of that right, which God and nature hath made our due; ſo we do make it our daily ſuit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compaſſion to us, and our ſubjects, after ſo long miſery and ſufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet, and peaceable poſſeſſion of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is poſſible; nor do we deſire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our ſubjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire adminiſtration of juſtice thro'out the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deſerved.

AND to the end that fear of puniſhment may not engage any, conſcious to themſelves of what is paſt, to a perſeverance in guilt for the future, by oppoſing the quiet and happineſs of their country, in the reſtoration both of King, and Peers, and People, to their juſt, ancient, and fundamental rights; we do by theſe preſents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to paſs under our great ſeal of England, to all our ſubjects of what degree or quality ſoever, who within forty days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold upon this our grace and favor, and ſhall by any public act declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good ſubjects; excepting only ſuch perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by Parliament. Thoſe only excepted, let all our ſubjects, how faulty ſoever, rely upon the word of a King, ſolemnly given by this preſent declaration, that no crime whatſoever committed againſt us, or our royal father, before the publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in judgement, or be brought in queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt indamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or eſtates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) ſo much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or terms of diſtinction from the reſt of our beſt ſubjects; we deſiring, and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of diſcord, ſeparation, and difference of parties, be utterly aboliſhed among all our ſubjects; whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themſelves, under our protection, for the reſettlement of our juſt rights, and theirs, in a free Parliament; by which, upon the word of a King, we will be adviſed.

And because the paſſion and uncharitableneſs of the times, have produced ſeveral opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animoſities againſt each other; which, when they ſhall hereafter unite in a freedom of converſation, will be compoſed, or better underſtood; we do declare a liberty to tender conſciences; and that no man ſhall be diſquieted, or called in queſtion, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, ſhall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.

And becauſe in the continued diſtractions of ſo many years, and ſo many and great revolutions, many grants and purchaſes of eſtates have been made to and by many officers, ſoldiers, and others, who are now poſſeſſed of the ſame, and who may be liable to actions at law, upon ſeveral titles; we are likewiſe willing that all ſuch differences, and all things relating to ſuch grants, ſales, and purchaſes ſhall be determined in Parliament; which can beſt provide for the juſt ſatisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do farther declare, that we will be ready to conſent to any act or acts of Parliament to the purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the full ſatisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and ſoldiers of the army under the command of general Monk; and that they ſhall be received into our ſervice upon as good pay, and conditions, as they now enjoy.

MVSEVM
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NUMBER II.

The DECLARATION of RIGHTS.

WHEREAS the late King James the ſecond, by the aſſiſtance of divers evil counſellors, judges and miniſters employed by him, did endeavor to ſubvert and extirpate the proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom; by aſſuming and exerciſing a power of diſpenſing with, and ſuſpending of laws, without conſent of Parliament: By committing and proſecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excuſed from concurring to the ſaid aſſumed power: By iſſuing and cauſing to be executed, a commiſſion under the great ſeal, for erected a court called, The Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes: By levying money for and to the uſe of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the ſame was granted by Parliament: By raiſing and keeping a ſtanding-army within this kingdom in time of peace, without conſent of Parliament; and quartering ſoldiers contrary to law: By cauſing divers good ſubjects, being Proteſtants, to be diſarmed, at the ſame time when Papiſts were both armed and employed contrary to law: By violating the freedom of election of members to ſerve in Parliament: By proſecutions in the court of King's Bench for matters and cauſes cognizable only in Parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courſes. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified perſons, have been returned and ſerved on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high-treaſon, which were not freeholders; and exceſſive bail hath been required of perſons committed in criminal caſes, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the ſubjects; and exceſſive fines have been impoſed; and illegal and cruel puniſhments inflicted; and ſeveral grants and promiſes made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment againſt the perſons upon whom the ſame were to be levied: All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and ſtatutes, and freedom of this realm.

AND whereas the ſaid late King James the ſecond, having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highneſs the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleaſed Almighty God to make the glorious inſtrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and divers principal perſons of the Commons) cauſe letters to be written to the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, being Proteſtants, and other letters to the ſeveral counties, cities, univerſities, burroughs, and cinque-ports, for the chuſing of ſuch perſons to repreſent them, as were of right to be ſent to Parliament, to meet and ſit at Weſtminſter, upon the twenty-ſecond day of January, in this year 1688, in order to ſuch an eſtabliſhment, as that their religion, laws and liberties, might not again be in danger of being ſubverted: Upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and Commons, purſuant to their ſeveral letters and elections, being now aſſembled in a full and free repreſentative of this nation, taking into their moſt ſerious conſideration the beſt means for attaining the ends aforeſaid, do in the firſt place (as their anceſtors in like caſe have uſually done) for vindicating and aſſerting their ancient rights and liberties; declare,

1. THAT the pretended power of ſuſpending laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without conſent of Parliament, is illegal. 2. That the pretended power of diſpenſing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been aſſumed and exerciſed of late, is illegal*. 3. That the commiſſion for erecting the late court of commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and all other commiſſions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious. 4. That levying of money for or to the uſe of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is illegal. 5. That it is the right of the ſubjects to petition the King, and all commitments and proſecutions for ſuch petitioning, are illegal. 6. That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding-army within the kingdom in time of peace, unleſs it be with conſent of Parliament, is againſt law. 7. That the ſubjects, which are Proteſtants, may have arms for their defence ſuitable to their condition, and as allowed by law. 8. That elections of members of Parliament ought to be free. 9. That the freedom of ſpeech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or queſtioned in any court or place out of Parliament. 10. That exceſſive bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual puniſhments inflicted. 11. That jurors ought to be duly empannelled and returned, and jurors which paſs upon men in trials of high-treaſon ought to be freeholders. 12. That all grants and promiſes of fines and forfeitures of particular perſons, before conviction, are illegal and void. 13. And that for redreſs of all

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* It is remarkable, that the convention, even when they had the making of their own terms, could not condemn the diſpenſing power in general, which had been uniformly exerciſed by every former King of England. They only condemned it ſo far, *as it had been aſſumed and exerciſed of late.* And it is equally remarkable, that this partial condemnation has in effect involved a total excluſion of that power, which at preſent is exerciſed by the crown on no occaſion. For it was found impoſſible to fix any boundaries, or determine the caſes, in which it would be legal or ſafe to exerciſe it.

grievances, and for the amending, ſtrengthening and preſerving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand and inſiſt upon all and ſingular the premiſſes, as their undoubted rights and liberties: And no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the ſaid premiſſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example. To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highneſs the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redreſs and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence, that his ſaid highneſs the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance ſo far advanced by him, and will ſtill preſerve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here aſſerted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights and liberties; the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, do reſolve, That William and Mary, Prince and Princeſs of Orange, be, and be declared King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the ſaid kingdoms and dominions, to them the ſaid Prince and Princeſs, during their lives and the life of the ſurvivor of them; and that the ſole and full exerciſe of the regal power be only in, and executed by the ſaid Prince of Orange, in the names of the ſaid Prince and Princeſs during their joint lives; and after their deceaſe the ſaid crown and royal dignity of the ſaid kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the ſaid Princeſs; and for default of ſuch iſſue, to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of ſuch iſſue, to the heirs of the body of the ſaid Prince of Orange.

And the ſaid Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and Commons, do pray the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of Orange, to accept the ſame accordingly: And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all perſons of whom the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy might be required by law, inſtead of them; and that the ſaid oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy be abrogated: I A. B. do ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majeſties, King William and Queen Mary. So help me God. I A. B. do ſwear, That I do from my heart abhor, deteſt and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and poſition, That Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do declare, That no foreign Prince, perſon, prelate, ſtate or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm. So help me God.

THE END.

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